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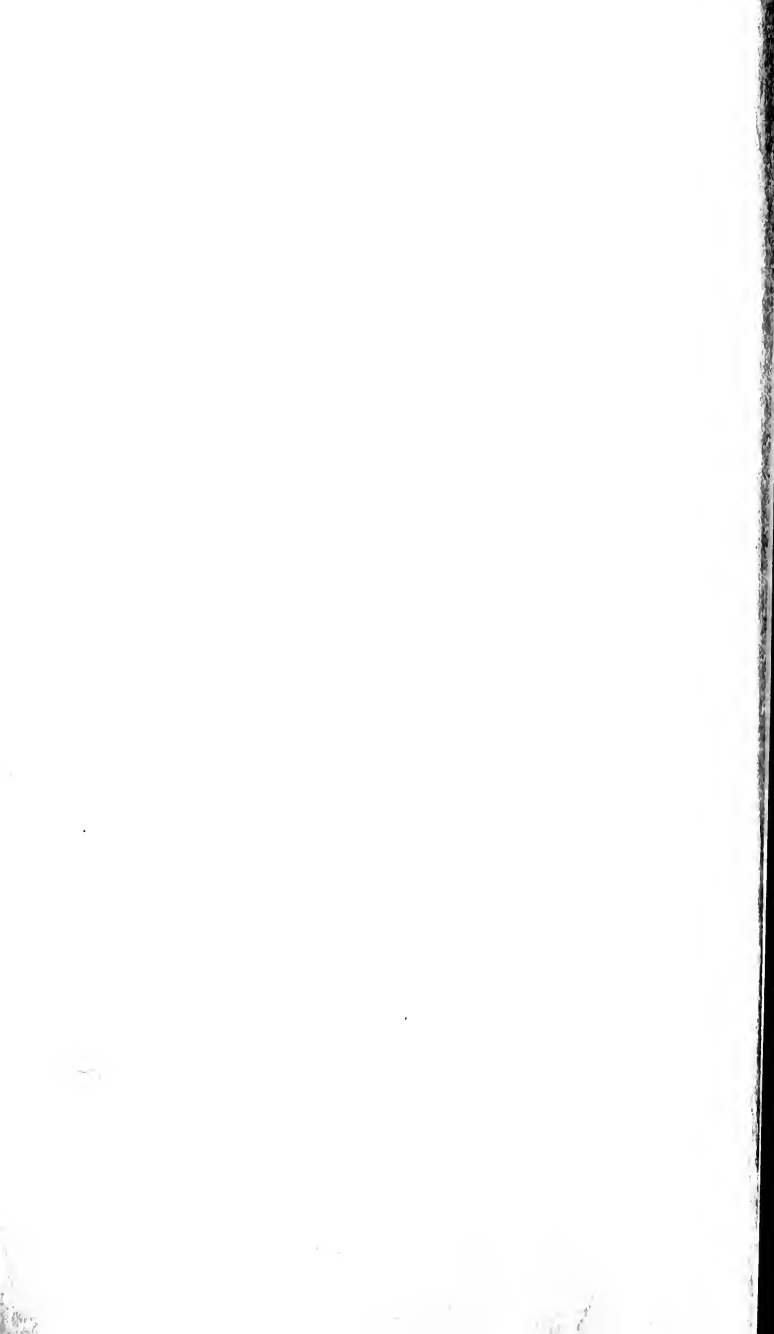
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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

4/11/58

APPENDIX—PART I

A COMPILATION OF ORIGINAL SOURCES USED AS EXHIBITS TO SHOW THE NATURE AND AIMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ITS CONNECTIONS WITH THE U. S. S. R. AND ITS ADVOCACY OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE

WITH INDEX

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



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UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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EXHIBIT No. 1

[Source: A pamphlet published by International Publishers, New York, 1932]

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

AUTHORIZED ENGLISH TRANSLATION

(Edited and annotated by Friedrich Engels)

International Publishers, New York

PREFACE

(By Friedrich Engels)

The *Manifesto* was published as the platform of the Communist League, a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later on international, and, under the political conditions of the Continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society. At a Congress of the League, held in London in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical party programme. Drawn up in Germany, in January, 1848, the manuscript was sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French revolution of February 24th.¹ A French translation was brought out in Paris, shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848.² The first English translation, by Miss Helen Macfarlane, appeared in George Julian Harney's *Red Republican*, London, 1850. A Danish and a Polish edition had also been published.

The defeat of the Parisian insurrection of June, 1848—the first great battle between proletariat and bourgeoisie—drove again into the background, for a time, the social and political aspirations of the European working class. Thenceforth, the struggle for supremacy was again, as it had been before the revolution of February, solely between different sections of the propertied class; the working class was reduced to a fight for political elbow-room, and to the position of extreme wing of the middle-class Radicals. Wherever independent proletarian movements continued to show signs of life, they were ruthlessly hunted down. Thus the Prussian police hunted out the Central Board of the Communist League, then located in Cologne. The members were arrested, and, after eighteen months' imprisonment, they were tried in October, 1852. This celebrated "Cologne Communist Trial" lasted from October 4th till November 12th; seven of the prisoners were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, varying from three to six years. Immediately after the sentence, the League was formally dissolved by the remaining members. As to the *Manifesto*, it seemed thenceforth to be doomed to oblivion.

When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Workingmen's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the *Manifesto*. The International was bound to have a programme broad enough to be acceptable to the English trades unions, to the followers of Proudhon³ in France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain, and to the Lassalleans⁴ in Germany. Marx, who drew up this programme to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favourite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different men.

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from what it had found them in 1864. Proudhonism in France, Lassalleism in Germany were dying out, and even the conservative English trades unions, though most of them had long since severed their connection with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which, last year at Swansea, their president could say in their name "continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us." In fact, the principles of the *Manifesto* had made considerable headway among the workmen of all countries.

The *Manifesto* itself thus came to the front again. Since 1850 the German text had been reprinted several times in Switzerland, England and America. In 1872, it was translated into English in New York, where the translation was published in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*. From this English version, a French one was made in *Le Socialiste* of New York. Since then at least two more English translations, more or less mutilated, have been brought out in America, and one of them has been reprinted in England. The first Russian translation, made by Bakunin, was published at Herzen's *Kolokol* office in Geneva, about 1863; a second one, by the heroic Vera Zasulich, also in Geneva, in 1882.⁵ A new Danish edition is to be found in *Socialdemokratisk Bibliothek*, Copenhagen, 1885; a fresh French translation in *Le Socialiste*, Paris, 1886. From this latter, a Spanish version was prepared and published in Madrid, in 1886. Not counting the German reprints there had been at least twelve editions. An Armenian translation, which was to be published in Constantinople some time ago, did not see the light, I am told, because the publisher was afraid of bringing out a book with the name of Marx on it, while the translator declined to call it his own production. Of further translations into other languages I have heard, but have not seen. Thus the history of the *Manifesto* reflects, to a great extent, the history of the modern working class movement; at present it is undoubtedly the most widespread, the most international production of all Socialist literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of workmen from Siberia to California.

Yet, when it was written, we could not have called it a *Socialist* manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites⁶ in England, Fourierists⁷ in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manners of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working class movement, and looking rather to the "educated" classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism of Cabet⁸ in France, and of Weitling⁹ in Germany. Thus, in 1847, Socialism was a middle class movement, Communism a working class movement. Socialism was, on the continent at least, "respectable"; Communism was the very opposite. And as our notion, from the very beginning, was that "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself," there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have, ever since, been far from repudiating it.

The *Manifesto* being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: That in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles form a series of evolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.

This proposition, which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my *Condition of the Working Class in England*.¹⁰ But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it already worked

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out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here.

From our joint preface to the German edition of 1872, I quote:

"However much the state of things may have altered during the last 25 years, the general principles laid down in this *Manifesto* are, on the whole, as correct to-day as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the *Manifesto* itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded to-day. In view of the gigantic strides of modern industry since 1848, and of the accompanying improved and extended organisation of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, *viz.*, that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.' (See *The Civil War in France; Address by the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association*, 1871, where this point is further developed.) Further, it is self-evident, that the criticism of Socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also, that the remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition parties (Section IV), although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated.

"But then, the *Manifesto* has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter."

The present translation is by Mr. Samuel Moore, the translator of the greater portion of Marx's *Capital*. We have revised it in common, and I have added a few notes explanatory of historical allusions.

London, January 30th, 1888.

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(By Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels)

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals¹¹ and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact:

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the spectre of Communism with a manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

I. BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS¹²

The history of all hitherto existing society¹³ is the history of class struggles.

Freeman, and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master¹⁴ and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

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The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers¹⁵ of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, in which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds,¹⁶ now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed aside by the manufacturing middle class; division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, modern industry, the place of the industrial middle class, by industrial millionaires—the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, it became an armed and self-governing association in the mediæval commune;¹⁷ here independent urban republic as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France); afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner-stone of the great monarchies in general—the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative state, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie has played a most revolutionary rôle in history.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egoistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

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The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the Middle Ages, which reactionaries so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former migrations of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionaries, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual productions. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all nations, even the most barbarian, into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, *i. e.*, to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

More and more the bourgeoisie keeps doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole popula-

tions conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

We see then that the means of production and of exchange, which served as the foundation for the growth of the bourgeoisie, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in a word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economic and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism: it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and no sooner do they overcome these fetters than they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, *i. e.*, capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois state; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry develops, the more is the labour of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner has the labourer received his wages in cash, for the moment escaping exploitation by the manufacturer, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the work people of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash machinery to pieces, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the labourers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover still able to do so for a time. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the nonindustrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trade unions) against the bourgeoisie; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provisions beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is furthered by the improved means of communication which are created by modern industry and which place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers

of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways achieve in a few years.

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hour bill³⁸ in England was carried.

Altogether, collisions between the classes of the old society further the course of development of the proletariat in many ways. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to adopt that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class," the social scum (*Lumpenproletariat*), that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

The social conditions of the old society no longer exists for the proletariat. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

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Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, ranging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence and sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II. PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: Formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

But does wage-labour create any property for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, *i.e.*, that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social *status* in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social, power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

Let us now take wage-labour.

The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, *i.e.*, that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only insofar as the interest of the ruling class require it.

In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in Communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communist abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In a word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolised, *i. e.*, from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: There can no longer be any wage-labour when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communist mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communist modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economic conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention of society, direct or indirect, by means of schools, etc.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character

of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident, that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, *i. e.*, of prostitution both public and private.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The workingmen have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are vanishing gradually from day to day, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death-battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religion, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, *viz.*, the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, *i. e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.

2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.

4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.

5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.

6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.

7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.

8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of child factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

III. SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LITERATURE

1. REACTIONARY SOCIALISM

a. Feudal Socialism

Owing to their historical position, it became the vocation of the aristocracies of France and England to write pamphlets against modern bourgeois society. In the French revolution of July, 1830,¹⁹ and in the English reform agitation, these aristocracies again succumbed to the hateful upstart. Thenceforth, a serious political struggle was altogether out of the question. A literary battle alone remained possible. But even in the domain of literature the old cries of the restoration period²⁰ had become impossible.

In order to arouse sympathy, the aristocracy was obliged to lose sight, apparently, of its own interests, and to formulate its indictment against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the exploited working class alone. Thus the aristocracy took its revenge by singing lampoons against its new master, and whispering in his ears sinister prophecies of coming catastrophe.

In this way arose Feudal Socialism: Half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very heart's core, but always ludicrous in its effect through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history.

The aristocracy, in order to rally the people to them, waved the proletarian alms-bag in front for a banner. But the people, as often as it joined them, saw on their hindquarters the old feudal coats of arms, and deserted with loud and irreverent laughter.

One section of the French Legitimists,²¹ and "Young England,"²² exhibited this spectacle.

In pointing out that their mode of exploitation was different from that of the bourgeoisie, the feudalists forget that they exploited under circumstances and conditions that were quite different, and that are now antiquated. In showing that, under their rule, the modern proletariat never existed, they forget that the modern bourgeoisie is the necessary offspring of their own form of society.

For the rest, so little do they conceal the reactionary character of their criticism, that their chief accusation against the bourgeoisie amounts to this, that under the bourgeois regime a class is being developed, which is destined to cut up root and branch the old order of society.

What they upbraid the bourgeoisie with is not so much that it creates a proletariat, as that it creates a *revolutionary* proletariat.

In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working class; and in ordinary life, despite their high-falutin phrases, they stoop to pick up the golden apples dropped from the tree of industry, and to barter truth, love, and honour for traffic in wool, beetroot-sugar, and potato spirits.²³

As the parson has ever gone hand in hand with the landlord, so has Clerical Socialism with Feudal Socialism.

Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a Socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the state? Has it not preached in the place of these, charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christian Socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heartburnings of the aristocrat.

b. Petty Bourgeois Socialism

The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, not the only class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The mediæval burghesses and the small peasant proprietors were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which are but little developed, industrially and commercially, these two classes still vegetate side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

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In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced, in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

In countries, like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, should use, in their criticism of the bourgeois regime, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working class. Thus arose petty bourgeois Socialism. Sismondi²¹ was the head of this school, not only in France but also in England.

This school of Socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labour; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations, the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

In its positive aims, however, this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange within the framework of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and utopian.

Its last words are: Corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

Ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispersed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of Socialism ended in a miserable fit of the blues.

c. German or "True" Socialism

The Socialist and Communist literature of France, a literature that originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this power, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie, in that country, had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers, would-be philosophers, and men of letters eagerly seized on this literature, only forgetting that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had not immigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions, this French literature lost all its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely literary aspect. Thus, to the German philosophers of the 18th century, the demands of the first French Revolution were nothing more than the demands of "Practical Reason" in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the laws of pure will, of will as it was bound to be, of true human will generally.

The work of the German *literati* consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view.

This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated, namely by translation.

It is well known how the monks wrote silly lives of Catholic saints *over* the manuscripts on which the classical works of ancient heathendom had been written. The German *literati* reversed this process with the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money, they wrote "alienation of humanity," and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois state, they wrote, "dethronement of the category of the general," and so forth.

The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms they dubbed "Philosophy of Action," "True Socialism,"

See footnotes on p. 19.

"German Science of Socialism," "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism," and so on.

The French Socialist and Communist literature was thus completely emasculated. And, since it ceased in the hands of the German to express the struggle of one class with the other, he felt conscious of having overcome "French one-sidedness" and of representing, not true requirements, but the requirements of truth; not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of human nature, of man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical phantasy.

This German Socialism, which took its school-boy task so seriously and solemnly, and extolled its poor stock-in-trade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gradually lost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the German and especially of the Prussian bourgeoisie against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words, the liberal movement, became more earnest.

By this, the long-wished-for opportunity was offered to "True" Socialism of confronting the political movement with the Socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by this bourgeois movement. German Socialism forgot, in the nick of time, that the French criticism, whose silly echo it was, presupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its corresponding economic conditions of existence, and the political constitution adapted thereto, the very things whose attainment was the object of the pending struggle in Germany.

To the absolute governments, with their following of parsons, professors, country squires and officials, it served as a welcome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie.

It was a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets, with which these same governments, just at that time, dosed the risings of the German working class.

While this "True" Socialism thus served the governments as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of the German Philistines. In Germany the petty bourgeois class, a relic of the 16th century, and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things.

To preserve this class, is to preserve the existing state of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens it with certain destruction—on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat. "True" Socialism appeared to kill these two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic.

The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental robe in which the German Socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths," all skin and bone, served to increase wonderfully the sale of their goods amongst such a public.

And on its part, German Socialism recognised, more and more, its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petty bourgeois Philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty Philistine to be the typical man. To every villainous meanness of this model man it gave a hidden, higher, socialistic interpretation, the exact contrary of his real character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of Communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called Socialist and Communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this foul and enervating literature.

2. CONSERVATIVE OR BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM

A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organisers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole-and-corner

reformers of every imaginable kind. This form of Socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

We may cite Proudhon's *Philosophy of Poverty* as an example of this form.

The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois Socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.

A second and more practical, but less systematic, form of this Socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class, by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence, in economic relations, could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence, this form of Socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be effected only be a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labour, but, at the best, lessen the cost, and simplify the administrative work of bourgeois government.

Bourgeois Socialism attains adequate expression, when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech.

Free trade: For the benefit of the working class. Protective duties: For the benefit of the working class. Prison reform: For the benefit of the working class. These are the last words and the only seriously meant words of bourgeois Socialism.

It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois are bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class.

3. CRITICAL-UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat, such as the writings of Babeuf²⁵ and others.

The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends—made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown—necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form.

The Socialist and Communist systems properly so called, those of St. Simon,²⁶ Fourier, Owen and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie (see Section 1. Bourgeois and Proletarians).

The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as such Socialists find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social science, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions.

Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive actions; historically created conditions of emancipation to phantastic ones; and the gradual, spontaneous class organisation of the proletariat to an organisation of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history, resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans.

In the formation of their plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the

See footnotes on p. 19.

interests of the working class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, causes Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavour, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social gospel.

Such phantastic pictures of future society, painted at a time when the proletariat is still in a very undeveloped state and has but a phantastic conception of its own position, correspond with the first instinctive yearnings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

But these Socialist and Communist writings contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them—such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country; abolition of the family, of private gain and of the wage-systems; the proclamation of social harmony; the conversion of the functions of the state into a mere superintendence of production—all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognised in their earliest, indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely utopian character.

The significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this phantastic standing apart from the contest, these phantastic attacks on it, lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore, although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They, therefore, endeavour, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realisation of their social utopias, of founding isolated *phalanstères*, of establishing "Home Colonies," or setting up a "Little Icaria"²⁷—pocket editions of the New Jerusalem—and to realise all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois. By degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary conservative Socialists depicted above, differing from these only by more systematic pedantry, and by their fanatical and superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of their social science.

They, therefore, violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can only result from blind unbelief in the new gospel.

The Owenites in England, and the Fourierists in France, respectively, oppose the Chartists²⁸ and the *Réformistes*.

IV. POSITION OF THE COMMUNISTS IN RELATION TO THE VARIOUS EXISTING OPPOSITION PARTIES

Section II has made clear the relations of the Communists to the existing working class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian Reformers in America.²⁹

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. In France the Communist ally themselves with the Social-Democrats,³⁰ against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution.

See footnotes on p. 19.

In Switzerland they support the Radicals, without losing sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements, partly of Democratic Socialists, in the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois.

In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which formented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846.

In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolutely monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie.

But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.

The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilisation and with a much more developed proletariat than what existed in England in the 17th and in France in the 18th century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.

In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each case, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

NOTES

(All unsigned notes are those made by Engels to the English edition of 1888; all others were prepared by the editor and are so marked. Where it was found necessary to enlarge upon Engels' notes, the additions appear in brackets.)

1. King Louis Philippe was deposed and a republic proclaimed as result of the revolution in Paris, February 22-24, 1848.—*Ed.*

2. The rising of the Parisian workers, June 23-27, 1848. The insurrection was suppressed by General Cavaignac with great slaughter.—*Ed.*

3. Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865).—French publicist and political economist; leading exponent of petty-bourgeois Socialism.—*Ed.*

4. Lassalle [Ferdinand Lassalle, 1825-1864] always acknowledged himself to us personally to be a disciple of Marx and, as such, stood on the ground of the *Manifesto*. But in his public agitation, 1862-64, he did not go beyond demanding co-operative workshops supported by state credit.

5. The Russian version published at Geneva in 1882 was made by Plekhanov, not by Vera Zasulich. Bakunin's translation appeared in 1870.—*Ed.*

6. The followers of Robert Owen (1771-1858), leading English utopian Socialist. He envisioned a collective economic and social life organised in small communist communes, where property would be owned in common.—*Ed.*

7. The followers of Francois Charles Fourier (1772-1837), leading French utopian Socialist, who urged a system of colonies on a socialist plan. His criticism of bourgeois society was recognised as basic both by Marx and Engels.—*Ed.*

8. Etienne Cabet (1788-1856).—A French utopian, exiled to England for his participation in the July Revolution of 1830. In his book, *Voyage en Icarie*, he pictures life in a Communist society.—*Ed.*

9. Wilhelm Weitling (1808-1871).—A German utopian Socialist who took part in the revolutionary movement of 1848 and exerted great influence among the German workers. He came to America where he carried on socialist agitation among German workers.—*Ed.*

10. *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, by Friedrich Engels, translated by Florence K. Wischniewsky, who later assumed her maiden name of Florence Kelley and was a well-known social worker in America.—*Ed.*

11. Metternich (1773-1859).—Chancellor of the Austrian empire and acknowledged leader of the European reaction. Guizot (1787-1874) was the French intellectual protagonist of high finance and of the industrial bourgeoisie and the irreconcilable foe of the proletariat. The French Radicals, Marrast (1802-1852), Carnot (1801-1888), and Marie (1795-1870) waged polemic warfare against the Socialists and Communists.—*Ed.*

12. By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour; by proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live.

13. That is, all *written* history. In 1837, the pre-history of society, the social organisation existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then Haxthausen [August

Footnotes continued on p. 20.

von, 1792-1866] discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer [Georg Ludwig von] proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and, by and by, village communities were found to be, or to have been, the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organisation of this primitive communistic society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's [Lewis H., 1818-1881] crowning discovery of the true nature of the *gens* and its relation to the *tribe*. With the dissolution of these primeval communities, society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

14. Guild-master, that is a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head of a guild.

15. Chartered burghers were freemen who had been admitted to the privileges of a chartered borough thus possessing full political rights.—*Ed.*

16. Craft guilds, made up of exclusive and privileged groups of artisans were, during the feudal period, granted monopoly rights to markets by municipal authorities. The guilds imposed minute regulations on their members controlling such matters as working hours, wages, prices, tools and the hiring of workers.—*Ed.*

17. "Commune" was the name taken in France by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters local self-government and political rights as the "Third Estate." Generally speaking, for the economic development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country, for its political development, France.

18. The 10-Hour Bill, for which the English workers had been fighting for 30 years, was made a law in 1847.—*Ed.*

19. In July, 1830, the Parisians rose in revolt against Charles X. The elder branch of the Bourbon family was driven out, and Louis Philippe, of the younger or Orleans branch, became "King of the French."—*Ed.*

20. Not the English Restoration, 1660 to 1689, but the French Restoration, 1814 to 1830.

21. The French legitimists favoured the claims of the elder branch of the Bourbon family, as against the Orleansists, the younger branch.—*Ed.*

22. "Young England" included a group of philanthropic Tories and youthful sprigs of the British and Irish aristocracy, who strongly opposed industrial capitalism and wished to restore feudalism.—*Ed.*

23. This applies chiefly to Germany where the landed aristocracy and squirearchy have large portions of their estates cultivated for their own account by stewards, and are, moreover, extensive beetroot-sugar manufacturers and distillers of potato spirits. The wealthier British aristocrats are, as yet, rather above that; but they, too, know how to make up for declining rents by lending their names to floaters of more or less shady joint-stock companies.

24. Jean Charles Leonard (Simonde) Sismondi (1773-1842).—French historian and economist.—*Ed.*

25. Francois Noel Babeuf (1764-1797).—A radical republican (Jacobin) in the Great French Revolution who was guillotined for plotting a revolution aiming at the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the creation of a Communist state.—*Ed.*

26. Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon (1760-1825).—French utopian Socialist who saw the labour question as the prime social question of the future and proposed as a solution the organisation of production by "association."—*Ed.*

27. *Phalanstères* were socialist colonies on the plan of Charles Fourier; Icaria was the name given by Cabet to his Utopia and, later on, to his American Communist colony.

28. Chartism lasted as a more or less organised radical political movement of the British workers from 1837 to 1848. The People's Charter, for which the Chartists fought, demanded an immediate improvement in the workers' conditions as well as legislative reforms.—*Ed.*

29. Reference is made to the leaders of "Young America" who, during the struggle of the New York farmers against high rents, demanded the nationalisation of the land and limitation of farms to 160 acres. After a few paltry reforms had been obtained in the field of agrarian legislation, the movement petered out.—*Ed.*

30. The party then represented in Parliament by Ledru-Rollin, in literature by Louis Blanc [1811-1882], in the daily press by the *Réforme*. The name of Social-Democracy signifies, with these its inventors, a section of the Democratic or Republican Party more or less tinged with Socialism.

EXHIBIT No. 2

[Source: The Communist, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America. December, 1933, Vol. XII, No. 12, pages 1169-1178]

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO—A PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT¹

By O. Kuusinen

The *Communist Manifesto* is the great charter of the international Communist movement.

Eighty-five years ago the *Communist Manifesto* enunciated for the first time in the form of a complete theoretical and practical program, the Marxian world outlook—dialectic materialism, the teaching on the class struggle, on the worldwide historical role of the proletariat and of its Communist vanguard. It pointed the way to the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and the transition from capitalism to a Communist society. It charted the basic programmatic demands and the main lines of strategy and tactics of the Communist Party.

¹ Translated from *The Bolshevik* (Politico-Economic Fortnightly Organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Issue No. 6 of March 31st, 1933.

This was a mighty revolutionary call to struggle, which has lost none of its compelling revolutionary force even today. Millions of workers of all countries derived from this *Manifesto* the very force which awakened in them the revolutionary class consciousness. New millions will read it and study it in order that they may unite, pursuant to its call, for revolutionary class struggle. History from the time of the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto* has brilliantly confirmed the firm theses of Marx. And even now the *Manifesto* stands immutably, like an unfailing beacon, as a living, and in its main lines actual, program of the international Communist movement. *Its historical sequel is the program of the Communist International.*

THE BIRTH OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Wherein lies the inexhaustible revolutionary strength of the *Communist Manifesto*?

We quote from the *Manifesto* itself:

"The theories of the Communists are not in any way based upon ideas or principles discovered or established by this or that universal reformer.

"They serve merely to express in general terms the concrete circumstances of an actually existing class struggle, of a historical movement that is going on under our very eyes. The abolition of pre-existent property relations is not a process exclusively characteristic of Communism."

We quote further:

"It is customary to speak of ideas which revolutionize a whole society. This is only another way of saying that the elements of a new society have formed within the old one; that the break-up of the old ideas has kept pace with the break-up of the old social relations."

These words reveal the secret of the birth and vitality of the *Communist Manifesto* itself. The teaching of Marx, already revealed in the *Manifesto* in its main lines, was itself a product of the antagonistic productive relations of capitalist society; was a realization of the position of the proletariat and its historic mission and "a general expression of actual relations within the existing class struggle".

The flaming words of each and every line of the *Communist Manifesto* clearly indicate that the system of ideas contained in the *Manifesto* was born in the fire of revolutionary struggle. It was growing up, in the first place, in the incandescent atmosphere of the European revolutionary class battles of the forties of last century and, in the second place, directly out of the ideological and practical struggle which Marx and Engels led in the years 1843-1847.

In their ideological struggle Marx and Engels based themselves on the best that the nineteenth century had created. As Lenin and Engels pointed out, the three sources and component parts of Marxism were: Classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism along with the French revolutionary teachings in general.

The greatest exponents of these three ideological currents were Hegel, Ricardo and the great Utopians. In his own realm each of them built up a complete theoretical system, which was not capable of further development along the lines of its original basic principles. Meanwhile Marx actually continued, completed and merged into one solid system these ideological currents. That was possible only by means of a critical recreation of their underlying principles. Marx carried further Hegel's dialectics, first having turned it upside down, that is formulating the dialectic development of material reality in place of the eternal self-propulsion of a mystical "idea." Marx carried further Adam Smith's and Ricardo's theory of value, revealing at the same time the fetishism of economic categories, and thus bringing them down from the realm of "eternal laws of nature", as they were pictured by the bourgeois economists, to a mere expression of social production relations, which are historically conditioned and transitory. In the same manner Marx carried further the socialism of St. Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen, first taking it down from the sphere of utopian ideas and "brain product" projects of a new society, to the solid ground of historic reality as an expression and program of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Thus were demolished the "eternal ideas" of all these three basic domains of ideology, behind which were incarcerated as behind bars, the living elements of a new world outlook.

Along with this struggle it was necessary to carry on *another* ideological struggle in all the three domains. There was a "criticism of criticism", *i. e.*,

in the first place a criticism of the left Hegelians, who were the critics of Hegel, such as Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner, etc., and also a criticism of the major shortcomings of Feuerbachian materialism; in the second place it was a criticism of the petty bourgeois critics of classic political economy, of the economic theories of Proudhon, Sismondi, and others; and in the third place it was a criticism of the petty socialist critics of the great Utopians, the English and the German ("true") socialists.

Only now are we in a position to restore the full picture of that fierce ideological struggle, which Marx and Engels waged during the decisive period of the formation of the Marxian system. This became possible after such precious manuscripts as the *Philosophical Economic Essays* by Marx and the full edition of the *German Ideology* by Marx and Engels, hitherto concealed by the leaders of the German Social-Democracy, became public property once again.

What were the results of the ideological struggle of Marx and Engels?

The Marxian critique of philosophy and of historiography gave rise to *dialectical materialism* and particularly to the materialist conception of the history of mankind.

The critique of political economy gave rise to the *Marxian theory of surplus value* and to all the ensuing laws of the development of contradictions within capitalism and of its resulting breakdown. All these laws are treated systematically and in detail in *Capital*.

The critique of Utopian socialism gave rise to *Marxian Communism*, which firmly links up the scientific conception of the dialectic transition from capitalism to socialism and Communism with the class struggle and with the consequent revolutionary practice of "changing the face of the world". From Utopian socialism there emerged Marxian Communism, which changes science into revolutionary politics, and that politics into science.

Lenin, who understood the theory of Marx more deeply than anyone else, emphasized with particular vigor that that theory combines strict scientific properties of the highest type (it being the culmination of social science) with revolutionary properties; that their synthesis is not accidental; that it is not a result of the author's combining in his personality the qualities of a scientist and a revolutionary; but that this synthesis is contained within the theory innately and indivisibly.

In concise form the *Communist Manifesto* dwells upon many vast domains of the teachings of Marx. First of all the *Manifesto* affords a brilliantly clear understanding of the materialistic conception of history. The entire history of mankind from the inception of class society till the appearance of the socialist society unfolds before the reader from a uniform scientific point of view, as a history of the struggle of classes which develops on the basis of changing modes of production and of inner contradictions inherent in the production relations which are based on exploitation.

Two important component parts of the Marxian teachings find little expression in the *Communist Manifesto*.

First—his philosophical theory of cognition (gnoseology). Of course, the materialistic-philosophical conception of the sources and principles of knowledge forms the very base of all the theses of the *Manifesto*, but that conception is not treated in the *Manifesto* in a direct manner. It is formulated in part in the earlier philosophical works of Marx and Engels (*The Holy Family*, *The German Ideology*) partly in the later works of Engels (*Anti-Duehring*, *The Dialectics of Nature*, and *Ludwig Feuerbach*) and also in Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

Second—the mature form of the Marxian theory of *surplus value* is not yet contained in the *Communist Manifesto*. However, the most important postulates which he used in subsequently developing his theory of surplus value are already to be found in there. They are:

1. That the capitalist system is a system of wage slavery; the workers "are the slaves of the bourgeois class", "who can exist only as long as they find work, and who can find work only as long as their labor increases capital".

2. ". . . These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce . . ." is stated in the *Communist Manifesto*. According to a later formulation of Marx, workers sell their labor power as a commodity, but it also means that they sell "their own skin". For the commodity labor power exists only "in the person of the laborer", "only as the faculty of a living individual" (*Capital*).

3. According to the *Communist Manifesto* "the cost of production of a worker amounts to little more than the cost of the means of subsistence he requires for his upkeep and for the propagation of his race".

4. The situation of the workers under capitalism is becoming increasingly worse, as the productivity of their labor increases; this worsening manifests itself partly in a lowered wage or a lengthened working day, partly in an increased intensification of labor, oppression at work, etc.

Marx, it is true, still employs in the *Communist Manifesto* the old and incorrect term, "the price of labor" (in place of, "value and price of labor power") not at all, however, in the bourgeois meaning, according to which the term implies that the worker receives full payment (is fully compensated) for the labor he performs. No, according to the *Communist Manifesto*, the workers selling themselves piecemeal, get in the form of wages much less than the sum total of values which their labor creates. The growth of capital is accomplished in no other way than by *exploitation*. But the *Manifesto* does not contain the clear explanation, subsequently developed by Marx, of this exploitation, by way of distinction between "necessary labor" and "surplus labor" (or "unpaid labor"), which creates surplus value. Only these theoretically highly important definitions made possible a clear and consistent analysis of the capitalist process of production, but they changed in no way the basic conception formulated in the *Communist Manifesto*. On the contrary, that conception was only strengthened and deepened in all its essential parts.

Afterwards, in a number of other basic questions, Marx fundamentally completed and developed the theses expounded in the *Communist Manifesto*, particularly the problem of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. Aside from that, the remarks contained in Section IV of the *Communist Manifesto* about the position of the Communists in relation to the various existing opposition parties, as it was pointed out by Marx and Engels themselves already in 1872, are, of course, historically antiquated in their concrete form, although "fundamentally they are correct to this day".

The subsequent development of the ideas proclaimed for the first time in the *Communist Manifesto* and the evolution of Marxism into *Marxism-Leninism* cannot be understood without taking into consideration the basic character of the new epoch in particular and especially the greatest triumph of these ideals: their *accomplishment* in practice, the building of socialism on one-sixth of the face of the earth.

A new edition of the *Communist Manifesto* entitles the reader to expect at least a most elementary characterization of the main phases of this development and of the actual realization of Marxism in our own time. Therefore, we will discuss the matter briefly in the following lines, starting with the basic postulates of the *Communist Manifesto* and, alongside with it, subjecting to a critical analysis the main principles of social-democracy.

THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALISM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE OF BOLSHIEVISM AGAINST THE OPPORTUNISM OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The *Communist Manifesto* states that "the bourgeoisie has centralized the means of production and has concentrated property in few hands". However, this capitalist centralization and concentration, as well as the "constant changes of modes of production" were destined to attain truly gigantic proportions. Subsequently Marx gave in his main work a thorough analysis of the accumulation of capital and of the general law governing the same.

But neither Marx nor Engels lived to the time of the last phase of capitalism, during which the concentration of production and the centralization of capital assumed the form of cartels and of trustification of entire major branches of production; when the sway of free competition and of industrial capital turned into the *domination of the monopolistic finance capital*, which domination, however, is unable to eliminate free competition.

In the past, according to the *Communist Manifesto*, "the cheap prices of commodities were the heavy artillery with which the bourgeoisie battered down all Chinese walls". At present, however, *monopoly prices* are becoming the heavy artillery of the large scale bourgeoisie in its fight for surplus value the world over.

In the past "the need of a constantly expanding market for its products drove the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe". At present the decisive role in this chase is relegated to finance capital. There has begun the division of the world among the international trusts into spheres of influence.

While in the past the bourgeoisie of the most developed countries already exploited many a "barbarian nation", pushing them on at the same time along the path of "so-called civilization", now, however, the entire territory of the globe is

divided up among the great powers and the practice of pitiless exploitation and enslavement of colonial and semi-colonial peoples has assumed the form of a system. There has been launched a fierce struggle for the redivision of the already divided world.

This very division of the whole world, which ended on the threshold of the new century, is, along with the stormy development of monopolistic capital, a turning point to a new epoch—the *epoch of imperialism*.

As a whole, capitalism, which developed until then along an ascending line of progress, began to show signs of decay. Lenin defined this last phase of capitalism as the phase of *decaying and dying capitalism*: not, however, in the sense that capitalism is dying off automatically but in the sense of “a transition of capitalism into socialism”. “Monopoly, growing out of capitalism, already represents the dying of capitalism—the beginning of its transition into socialism. In the first place—the gigantic *socialization* of labor by imperialism . . . denotes the very same thing. In the second place—imperialism intensifies the contradictions of capitalism to the highest degree and carries them to a limit beyond which revolution begins”. (Stalin)

But the Second International did not see the matter in this light. It embarked in theory, as well as in practice, on the path of opportunistic adaptation to the conditions and requirements of decaying capitalism, of imperialism.

Marx and Engels waged a constant struggle against opportunism, which already began to raise its head during their lifetime not only among the socialists of the Anglo-Saxon countries, but even among the leaders of the German Social-Democracy. The latter were “farsighted” enough to conceal from the public (up till 1932!) the letters of Marx and Engels, in which their opportunistic tendencies were subjected to criticism.²

Engels, full of indignation at the opportunism of the German Social-Democracy, wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht the following, as early as 1885:

“Is it possible that the chapter [in the *Communist Manifesto*—K.] on German or true socialism is destined to become the burning question again now after 40 years?”

And that is exactly what happened. To the extent that the development of a privileged *aristocracy of labor* in the epoch of imperialism tended to create a considerable social base for opportunism, to that extent the process of social democracy turning bourgeois continued in full swing.

Then began the reckless revision of Marxism, and of the basic theses of the *Communist Manifesto* in particular.

“The theory of pauperization is not true”, was the cry of the social-democrats identifying the position of the broad masses of proletarians with that of its privileged strata. The *Communist Manifesto* is wrong when it states that the worker is only “an appendage of the machine”, who is “daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overseer, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself”. No, the worker of today is rather a free partner of the industrialist. It is not true that “the worker has nothing to lose but his chains”, for the contemporary worker may even acquire a few shares of stock, etc.

The imperialist bourgeoisie was interested in concocting petty-bourgeois illusions to befuddle the workers and the social-democratic criers from the top of the labor aristocracy were zealously carrying out the order. At first a frontal attack against the Marxian theory was launched by the Bernsteinians and by other revisionists; then Kautsky and other “opponents of revisionism” continued the attack in roundabout hidden ways by means of distorting, weakening and emasculating Marxism in the name of its “orthodox interpretation”.

The aristocracy of labor, bribed and corrupted by the imperialistic bourgeoisie, was interested, not in preparing for the revolution, but in the prosperity of capitalist production.

That is why the social-democratic theoreticians got busy first of all to undermine the Marxian theory of the collapse of capitalism, and in particular the basic thesis, as stated in the *Communist Manifesto* about “the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the

²Two volumes of these letters, hitherto concealed by the social-democratic leaders, are now published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute.

property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule".

The revolutionary theory of the unavoidable sharpening of the basic contradiction of capitalism was transformed into its direct antithesis, into an *apology* for capitalism and for every step of the bourgeoisie, as long as it could be interpreted as promoting the development of productive forces.

To impede the development of productive forces is, according to social-democratic sophists, a reactionary step from the Marxian point of view, therefore, the labor movement must refrain from any form of struggle which would be likely to hamper the capitalistic industrial development. The fact that production in certain industries is still capable of development within the framework of capitalism, is supposed to prove according to Marx, that the time for socialism is still far off, etc. There was systematically spread the fatalistic viewpoint, that the development of productive forces will bring about socialism of itself some time in the distant future, not, of course, as a result of the breakdown of capitalism, and of a violent revolution, but as a result of a gradual and peaceful "growing into" socialism.

Thus was Marxism turned into labor liberalism under cover of pseudo-Marxian phraseology. The upper crust of the Second International remained socialist in words, bourgeois in deeds.

The practice of social-democracy was adapting itself even more fully and more rapidly than its theory to the requirements of the imperialistic bourgeoisie. The dominant political line of class collaboration of the pre-war social-democracy in the leading capitalist countries manifested itself in the duldest parliamentary cretinism and trade-union reformism (mainly in negotiations with employers regarding wage scales). Parliament was to them the center of the universe. Legal parliamentary democracy—their road to bliss. Parliamentary diplomacy—their wisdom and virtue.

Everything said in the *Communist Manifesto* about the "conservative or bourgeois socialism" and most of what is said there about the "German or 'true' socialism"—all that strikes squarely in the face of the leading spirits of the Second International, particularly during the period immediately preceding the World War.

A consistent struggle against this opportunism and bourgeois socialism became now the burning issue for all true Marxists within the international labor movement and in every individual country. The task of solving this problem was undertaken by Lenin—by Bolshevism. The struggle of Bolshevism against Menshevism and against the Second International was from its very beginning a struggle for the restoration of the true revolutionary Marxism both in theory and in practice. It was a constant battle against various and sundry falsifiers of Marxism. At the same time it signified a further development of Marxism in accordance with the conditions of the new epoch.

While the ringleaders of the Second International were covering up the *contradictions* of imperialism, Lenin was exposing those contradictions. He proved the inevitable sharpening of the three basic contradictions of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism, namely: (a) between capital and labor, (b) between a handful of exploiting nations and an overwhelming majority of exploited populations of colonial and dependent countries, (c) between various imperialist powers and financial groups.

While the ringleaders of the Second International were busy painting the perspective of a uniform evolution of capitalism, Lenin demonstrated the acceleration of its *uneven development* in the epoch of imperialism.

This uneven development is not an increase of differences in the level of development of various capitalist countries. No, this inequality tends to diminish on the basis of such an equalization, as was shown by Comrade Stalin, and the intensification of the action of such an unevenness of development in the period of imperialism is quite possible. This unevenness does not consist in "some countries overtaking others and then surpassing them economically *in due course, in an evolutionary way, so to say*" as was the rule in the period of pre-monopoly capital. No,

"... the law of the unevenness of development in the period of imperialism denotes a spasmodic development of some countries with relation to others; a rapid displacement from the world markets of some countries by others; periodic redivisions of the *already divided world* by means of military clashes and military catastrophes; a deepening and sharpening of

conflicts in the camp of imperialism; a weakening of the front of the world capitalism with a consequent possibility of breaking through that front by proletarians of individual countries and the possibility of the victory of socialism in individual countries." (Stalin)

(To be continued)

EXHIBIT No. 3

[Source: The Communist, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America. February, 1934, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pages 193-206]

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO—A PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

(By O. Kuusinen)

(Continued from December issue)

The problem of the attitude to imperialism, with the steadily growing tenseness of the international situation, forced itself with ever greater persistence as the burning question of the day before every workers' party. Lenin gave a very clear diagnosis of the positions of the social classes in relation to this question:

"The proletariat is struggling for the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie, while the petty bourgeoisie is struggling for a reformistic 'perfection' of imperialism, for adapting itself to it, while being subservient to it."

The *right* social-democrats, such as Cunow, acted as open social-imperialists, but, of course, they too made use of pseudo-Marxian sophistry to justify their policy. "Cunow", writes Lenin, "argues clumsily and cynically: Imperialism is contemporary capitalism; but the development of capitalism is both inevitable and progressive; hence imperialism is progressive; hence, we must cringe before imperialism and glorify it."

Centrists, such as Kautsky, strove particularly to cover up the contradictions of imperialism. Imperialism, generally speaking, is not a new phase of capitalism, according to Kautsky, but an unreasonable policy of expansion on the part of industrial nations. Instead of this imperialistic policy the bourgeoisie could carry through with equal and even greater success a different and much wiser policy of expansion, "The tendencies of capital to expand," wrote Kautsky literally, "can be realized best of all not by the violent methods of imperialism, but by peaceful democracy."

And he was deceiving the workers with illusions of permanently peaceful "ultra-imperialism".

"*There will be no more crises!*", announced the professors of economics, themselves hirelings of the cartels; and the chorus of social-democratic theoreticians would joyously take up the refrain: "Yes, no more; the cartels are in a position to eliminate crises". And only the crises themselves were rudely destroying the harmony of the soloists and the chorus: the crisis of 1900 in Germany and in Russia; the crisis of 1903 in the United States; the crisis of 1907 again in the United States, and in some other countries.

Each crisis confirmed the theory of crises of Marx and Lenin. Each crisis was a reminder of what had been foretold in the *Communist Manifesto*:

"How does the bourgeoisie overcome these crises? On the one hand by the compulsory annihilation of a quantity of the productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets and the more thorough exploitation of old ones. With what results? The results are that the way is paved for more wide-spread and mere disastrous crises and that the capacity for averting such crises is lessened."

"There will be no more wars!", proclaimed the cabinet ministers who managed the affairs of the financial oligarchy; and a chorus of petty bourgeois Kautskyists would take up the tune: "Yes, no more! Finance capital together with the wise governments will somehow eliminate the war danger through the 'Peaceful Democracy' of a perfected imperialism."

But wars themselves were destroying without any ceremony this delightful harmony: the Spanish-American war of 1898; the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902; the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905; the Balkan wars of 1912-1913; and finally the imperialist *World War* of 1914-1918.

Each war loudly proclaimed that Kautsky's theory of harmony is nothing more than a delusion of the masses, that Lenin is perfectly correct in insisting that imperialism leads unavoidably to bandit wars for the purpose of a new redivision of colonies and of other spheres of exploitation, to violent clashes among the biggest imperialist powers for world hegemony; and that peace agreements between imperialist powers are merely respites between wars and preparations for new ones.

The struggle of Bolshevism against international Menshevism was concentrated primarily around three great problems of the international movement, which remain to this day in the center of daily struggles: 1. The question of the party. 2. The attitude towards imperialist war. 3. The dictatorship of the proletariat. In the solution of each of these problems Lenin was able to find much direct support in the *Communist Manifesto*.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The epoch of imperialism is an epoch of open clashes between classes, of direct preparations by the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and of proletarian revolutions. Such an epoch places the working class face to face with historic problems of great importance, with problems which it cannot solve without the leadership of a truly revolutionary Communist party.

The *Communist Manifesto* came to life in a period already fraught with revolutionary class struggles. Already at that time Marx and Engels understood the urgent need for a highly class-conscious party, in order that "the proletariat may be sufficiently strong to win during the decisive days". They wrote the *Communist Manifesto* as a theoretical and practical "party program". It was actually named *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (*Communist Manifesto* is merely an abbreviation).

At the same time Marx and Engels were busy organizing the Communist Party. For several years they were busy recruiting adherents in France, Belgium, Germany, and England, uniting them into party groups, educating and instructing them in accordance with the unfolding of events. In 1847, they reorganized the international "League of the Just", originally founded by German emigrés, into the "League of Communists", and took upon themselves the task of its political leadership.

The conscious Communists of that time constituted a small group, while major revolutionary battles were in the offing. Could the Communists then hope to be able to organize the working class in that short period and to rally them around their program to such an extent that the Communist Party should be able to supplant major proletarian mass organizations, such as the Chartist movement in England? No. The political development of the masses of workers was inadequate for such a task. Had the Communists taken such a course, they would have merely isolated themselves without having aided the development of the revolutionary movement.

Marx and Engels were absolutely against such a sectarian approach. Their line of action consisted of the following: To start by building a unified Communist Party, led by a single Central Committee, out of these Communist groups already organized by them in a few countries, and out of the local organizations of the "Union". The reorganized "League of Communists" was to become that Communist Party, which was to be an *international* party. Each country was to be divided into a certain number of districts and all districts of a given country were to be subordinated to its national center. This party, which under the prevailing conditions could everywhere maintain but an illegal existence, and which was as yet numerically very weak, was not to endeavor artificially to shape in accordance with academically worked out "special principles" those labor mass organizations which were being formed in different countries. This was the way Marx and Engels approached the problem in 1847: the "League of Communists" will not put itself in opposition to other working class parties, which may arise in various forms depending upon the concrete circumstances, but will rather direct them forward along the road of revolutionary class struggle through the work of its members within these parties.

This first bold attempt to build a Communist Party failed as a result of the defeat of the revolutionary movement of 1848-9 and of the ensuing reaction,

and was pushed to the background for a long time. With the founding of the First International (1864) the task was not to organize actual Communist parties, but rather "to unite into one great army all the fighting forces of Europe and America". This International, therefore, could not *base* itself upon the principles expounded in the *Manifesto*. It had "to adopt a program that would leave the door open to the English trade-unionists; to the French, Belgian, Italian, Spanish Proudhonists; and the German Lassalleans" (Engels). But during the period of the First International, as well as later, Marx and Engels were doing everything possible to educate the socialist parties of the various countries in the spirit of uncompromising class struggle as well as in the spirit of the Communist program. Thus, the First International was organizationally the great forerunner and prototype of the Communist International.

However, the objective conditions immediately after the collapse of the First International did not favor the building of Communist parties. On the contrary, there followed a prolonged period of more or less peaceful development, when the immediate task called for rather slow organizational and propaganda efforts. It is well known that during all these stages of the labor movement, Marx and Engels conducted a systematic struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences upon the labor movement, both against the so-called "conservative socialism" and anarchism. But the development of the Western European movement, particularly since the founding of the Second International, while growing broadly, was directed ever more one-sidedly along the path of social-democratic parliamentarism.

With the advent of the epoch of imperialism, problems quite different from parliamentary ones began pressing for solution. Large scale revolutionary struggles were looming once again, the same as at the end of the forties, hence again the possibility and necessity of a genuine *Communist Party*.

The new epoch placed before the proletariat new tasks, namely:

"The rebuilding of the entire Party work along new revolutionary lines; the education of the workers in the spirit of revolutionary struggle for power; preparation and consolidation of reserves; union with proletarians of neighboring countries; establishing of solid and enduring contacts with the movements for liberation in the colonies and dependent countries; etc., etc. To think that the forces of the old social-democratic parties, trained in the peaceful ways of parliamentarism, will be able to solve all these problems is to doom oneself to hopeless despair and to an unavoidable defeat." (Stalin)

The typical parties of the Second International, of the character of which we have already spoken, were poles apart from that type of party which would correspond to the revolutionary workers' party conceived by Marx.

In the first place, they were not the conscious *vanguard* of the working class. The *Communist Manifesto*, speaking of Communists, presents them as the actual vanguard of the proletariat:

"Thus, in actual practice, Communists form the most resolute and persistently progressive section of the working class parties of all lands whilst, as far as theory is concerned, being in advance of the general mass of the proletariat, they have come to understand the determinants of the proletarian movement and how to foresee its course and its general results."

But the social-democratic parties enjoyed neither of these two advantages. There were no lines of demarcation between the party and the class and frequently not even between the party and the mass movement of the petty bourgeoisie. In general, it was not even considered necessary to raise the question about these dividing lines, until Lenin raised that issue in the Russian movement.

The attitude of social-democratic parties to the masses at that time was one of "tailism". Even the left social-democrats were completely off the track in this respect with their theory of spontaneity, by failing to understand the leading role of the party. The entire structure of the *Communist Manifesto* cannot be reconciled with either tailism or sectarianism. Communists must not isolate themselves from the masses, neither must they reduce themselves to the level of the non-class-conscious masses; they must rather educate the masses and lift them to the level of the vanguard. They must not place themselves

in opposition to mass movements of the workers; on the contrary, they must participate in all these movements, they must fight in the front line and must guide the movement towards the historical aims of the working class.

“Communists fight on behalf of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but in the present movement they are also defending the future of the movement.”

Such is the setting of the *Communist Manifesto*.

In the second place, social-democratic parties were not the *organized* vanguard of the working class. Many of these parties were a conglomerate, based not on an individual membership, but on a collective one. Instead of a constant centralized leadership of the party organization by its higher and lower organs, there appeared in these parties, just as in a bourgeois state, a deep-seated duality; a rift between the bureaucracy and a passive membership. Their main political organization was not the party but its parliamentary fraction. Party discipline counted for nothing.

The “League of Communists”, after its reorganization by Marx and Engels, was a totally different type of party. In accordance with the statutes of the “League of Communists”, signed by Engels in the capacity of secretary, each member of the League had to subscribe to the following conditions: “faith in the tenets of Communism”; adherence to the rules and regulations of the “League”; admission by unanimous vote to a lower party unit; and, aside from that, “a revolutionary energy and zeal in propaganda work”. And it was underscored that, “He who ceases to conform to these conditions is to be expelled.” In general, on the one hand, these statutes are a prototype of the statutes of a present-day underground Communist Party, and, on the other hand, the prototype of the Statutes of the Communist International.

In the third place, a typical social-democratic party was not a *leading* organization with respect to *trade unions* and other proletarian mass organizations. Even where the trade unions were collectively affiliated with the party, they were considered independent of it. Neither the party nor the trade unions entertained any desire that the party members inside the trade unions should make an effort, under the direction of the party, to insure unity of political line in the decisions of the trade unions. On the contrary, there prevailed the conception of “independence” and “neutrality” of the non-partisan organizations, a conception—“breeding *independent* parliamentarians and activists of the press, *torn away* from the party; breeding narrow-minded professionals and petty-bourgeoisified co-operators” (Stalin).

The *Communist Manifesto* contains no directives that might be applied straight to the problem of the relationship between the party and the trade unions, which, as mass organizations, were as yet non-existent at that time. There was, however, a mass labor party in England, the Chartist movement, and Marx assumed then, that similar revolutionary movements of parties may appear in other countries, too. To such labor parties are applied the following words of the *Communist Manifesto*:

“The Communists do not form a separate party conflicting with other working-class parties.”

This, however, did not mean that in general the Communists must not form their own party. No, this phrase may be correctly understood taking in consideration the conditions under which the “League of Communists” was working, and of which we already spoke at the beginning of this article. This phrase means that, in individual countries, the Communists were not supposed to put their party *in opposition* to such revolutionary working-class parties as the Chartist movement, but to enter such mass organizations and to work in their ranks as “the most resolute section of the working-class parties, that section which pushes forward all others.”

In 1920 Lenin recommended similar tactics, though in different circumstances, to the English Communists with regard to the Labor Party of England, at the time when the latter did not yet forbid the Communists to conduct unrestrained agitational work in its ranks. It is, however, much more important that Lenin insisted from the very beginning of the imperialist epoch upon the work of Party members in the ranks of non-Party mass organizations along directives from Party organizations in order to bring about the realization of a political guidance by the Party of all other forms of organizations of the proletariat. Lenin taught that the Party is the highest form of class unity of proletarians.

In the fourth place, the social-democratic parties were not the means for attaining the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.

It is stated in the *Manifesto* that the "immediate objective" of a Communist, as well as of "all other proletarian parties" (*i. e.*, parties similar to the Chartist organization in England) is:

"Organization of the proletariat on a class basis; destruction of bourgeois supremacy; conquest of political power by the proletariat."

The epoch of imperialism made this basic problem a burning issue of the day. It was necessary to proceed immediately with the task of training the working class for struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the social-democratic parties had turned into a tool for the preservation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

"Hence the urgent need for a new party, a fighting party, a revolutionary party; a party sufficiently daring to lead the proletarians into struggle for power; a party experienced enough to orientate itself under the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation and flexible enough to avoid all and sundry pitfalls on the road to its goal." (Stalin)

Marx took into consideration the lessons of the Paris Commune in dealing with the problems of the Party. This found a clear expression in the resolution of the London Conference of delegates of the First International (September, 1871) where it was emphasized that it was necessary "to form the proletariat into a political party in order to insure the victory of the social revolution and of its highest goal—the abolition of classes". Here the idea is already given for the teachings of Lenin on the Party as a weapon in the hands of the proletariat for consolidating and broadening the dictatorship after having wrested power.

In the fifth place, the parties of the Second International of that period did not represent a *unity of will*. Their doors were wide open for all sorts of ideological quacks, priests and political careerists. The very name of the party ("Social-Democratic") was utilized for that purpose, a name first adopted in Germany despite Marx's strongest objections to it. The program of the party and the resolutions of congresses were looked upon as mere propaganda literature implying no obligations upon either the leadership or the membership of the party. The example afforded by the "League of Communists" was wholly forgotten. In line with the traditions of bourgeois liberalism, there prevailed in the ranks of the social-democratic party a free competition of the most diversified currents of thought, of groups, and of fractions. And they never even imagined that it ought to be otherwise until Lenin demanded something entirely different—a monolithic party, which "knows how to conduct its affairs and is not afraid of difficulties" (Stalin); which sets a firm line of action in accordance with the changes of the situation and then actually carries out that line; which fights everywhere as an entity for an identical platform; which is capable of mass struggles, is trained for such struggles and can, therefore, maintain an iron discipline within its ranks.

Was there a practical possibility of creating such a truly revolutionary Marxian party under the conditions of the labor movement of those (the pre-war) days? Yes, there was, but only along one road. Engels expressed it back in 1885, when he wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht about the social-democratic party of Germany:

"The petty-bourgeois element within the party is gaining the upper hand ever more and more. If this will continue, you may rest assured that there will be a *split* in the ranks of the party."

A split of the social-democracy—such is the road. There was actually no other way ahead under the conditions of those days. The *Bolsheviks*, under the leadership of Lenin, were not afraid to proceed along that road (in 1903). Without its struggle against Menshevism, the Party could not have been trained for the solution of the impending historical tasks. And that became possible only because Lenin put the question of that struggle *squarely* without retreating even before an imminent split.

In many countries there were left elements in the ranks of the social-democratic parties. Almost nowhere did they follow the example of the *Bolsheviks* during the pre-war days. Their struggles against opportunism were half-hearted. They themselves were partly infected with opportunism which blos-

somed out luxuriantly within the Second International. The German Lefts were also guilty of the same fault.

The Centrists were the main champions of unity within the old social-democratic parties, resolutely fighting against tendencies toward a split. Therein lies one of the greatest evils of centrism.

Even the lefts failed to understand that "*the party is strengthened by cleansing itself from opportunistic elements*" (Stalin). This premise is also one of the very basic features of the Leninist Party. The Centrists viewed the strengthening of the Party exclusively from the point of view of electoral chances. Nor were the lefts free from that one-sidedness.

We have formulated the problem of the Party in the above discussion from the viewpoint of Comrade Stalin's six basic points, which he formulated, in his lectures on the foundations of Leninism, as features peculiar to the Party of Lenin; and with respect to almost every one of these points we were able to establish the presence, both in the *Communist Manifesto* as well as in the "League of Communists", of definite roots of Lenin's teachings on the Party. Exactly because of its loyalty to the principles of Marxism did the party of Lenin, the C. P. S. U., become not merely a model for the revolutionary labor parties of all countries, but also the *leading vanguard of the international labor movement*.

The Bolsheviks are true internationalists. Theirs has always been the policy of true Communists, as expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*.

"On the one hand, in the various national struggles of the proletarians, they emphasize and champion the interests of the proletariat as a whole, those proletarian interests that are independent of nationality; and, on the other hand, in the various phases of evolution through which the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie passes, they always advocate the interests of the movement as a whole."

Russian Bolshevism, thanks to its correct tactics and organization, which were justified by the greatest successes and victories

"... became a world-wide Bolshevism; it brought forth the idea, the theory, the program and the tactics which distinguish it concretely and practically from social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. Bolshevism killed the old, rotten International of the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, of the Renaudels and the Longuets, of the Henderasons and the MacDonalds. . . . Bolshevism created the ideological and tactical bases of the Third International—the truly proletarian and Communist International, which takes into consideration both the conquests of the peaceful epoch and the experiences of the revolutionary epoch into which we are entering."

Lenin wrote those words a few months before the constituent congress of the Communist International. Ever since then the Communist International, under the guidance of the C.P.S.U., grew up into a sturdy world Party of the revolutionary proletariat. There is no country in the world without an organization of the Communist International. The Comintern has already been tried and tempered in countless fierce battles. To it belongs the future.

THE IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR TURNING IT INTO A PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

When the imperialist war broke out in August, 1914, all social-democratic parties betrayed socialism openly. The Second International suffered an ignominious crash. The majority of social-democratic leaders, parliamentarists, and newspapers went over openly to the side of their respective governments. "The Fatherland is in danger—all out to protect the Fatherland!"—such was the slogan of the Russian, German, French, English and other social-chauvinists. Such was the slogan in numerous fatherlands.

And what was proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto*?

"*The workers have no country. No one can take from them what they have not got.*"

The socialists have been repeating this truth from the *Communist Manifesto* thousands of times as their principle. And now? Today, when the social-democratic parties find themselves face to face with the acid test of history to determine whether or not they will practice what they preach, today—a complete betrayal.

Only one party—the party of Lenin—fully passed this historic test. In other countries only left-wing groups conducted struggles against their respective imperialist governments. The heroic struggle of Karl Liebknecht in Germany was particularly outstanding.

The Kautskyists in Germany, the Longuetists in France, the “Independents” in England, the Mensheviks—“internationalists”—in Russia, and other centrists were playing the role of pacifists. In words they were not for war, and, just like the right social-democrats, they were for universal peace. But in fact this meant only one thing: the maintenance of peace with one’s own government engaged in war and with the openly chauvinistic social-democrats.

It is important even in these days not to forget the particular *pacifistic sophistry of the wartime centrists* (because history is sure to repeat itself in one form or another). They were swearing and vowing, as Lenin said, that they are Marxists and Internationalists, that they are for exerting every possible “pressure” upon their governments for the cause of peace. They “condemned” the attack on Belgium by Germany, the war Russia was waging upon German soil, the tendencies for annexation of territory exhibited by this or that government, the “start” of the war by this or that government, but they would not hear or know of one thing: *the class character of the imperialist war.*

They knew perfectly well that according to the *Communist Manifesto*, the abolition of “exploitation of one nation by the other” is connected with the abolition of “exploitation of one individual by the other”; but they were loth to derive therefrom the conclusion that is given in the *Communist Manifesto*:

“In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another comes to an end, the exploitation of one nation by another will come to an end. “The ending of class oppositions within the nations will end the mutual hostility of the nations.”

The centrist sophists turned the question upside down: first, remove the hostility between nations and then it will be possible to start thinking what is to be done to remove class antagonisms.

Lenin explained to the workers that:

“. . . the character of a war (be it a revolutionary or a reactionary one) does not depend upon who was the aggressor nor upon the question of whose territory is occupied by the ‘enemy’, but it depends upon the *class of society which wages that war* and what policy is being promulgated by that war. If that war is a reactionary, imperialistic one, waged by two sets of imperialistic, oppressing, predatory and reactionary bourgeoisie then every bourgeoisie (even of a small country) is turned into a participant in this looting and it is my task, the task of a representative of the revolutionary proletariat, to prepare *the world proletarian revolution*, as the *only* salvation from the horrors of the world war.”

And that was the true internationalism with respect to the war.

The Leninist party did not forget in this case what was so strongly emphasized by Marx in the *Communist Manifesto*:

“The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.”

The Bolsheviks were not afraid to come out for the defeat of their own governments in the war. That is true of Karl Liebknecht. “*The main enemy is within one’s own country,*” such is the correct principle for action by a revolutionary workers’ party. “*Turning the imperialist war into a civil war,*” such is the correct slogan.

“Imperialism is the epoch of wars, but at the same time it is also *the epoch of proletarian revolutions,*” declared Lenin. The imperialist war showed that the world bourgeoisie in this epoch can only hasten its downfall even with its own monstrous crimes. Millions upon millions of men were sent by the imperialist bourgeoisie to the front to fight for its piratical policy, to fight, to shed their blood and to die. And what was the outcome? Was it merely senseless destruction, as the pacifists claim? No. Was it merely rich spoils and conquest for which the imperialists hoped? No. Only a few of the imperialists have amassed a booty of other peoples’ goods and lands. Russian-Czarism broke its neck, Austria-Hungary followed suit and German imperialism came out of the war very much crippled. Such results were of doubtful benefit for the

cause of the world bourgeoisie. Rather the contrary—it was an acceleration of the world proletarian revolution.

The war gathered all the contradictions of imperialism into one knot, writes Comrade Stalin, and “threw them unto the scales, thus hastening and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat. In other words, imperialism brought about a situation which made the revolution not only a practical necessity, but also created favorable conditions for a frontal attack upon the very strongholds of capitalism.”

A revolutionary situation was created on a European scale. The Bolsheviks drew from it the true Marxian conclusion: since we are faced with a revolutionary situation, we have to take up the question of revolution as a practical problem. And they did. They did not wait for the revolution to break out everywhere. Lenin said:

“To wait until the working class will accomplish the revolution on a world scale implies that we all congeal while waiting.

Russia was the focal point of imperialist contradictions.

“. . . not only because these contradictions were particularly apparent in Russia due to their particularly stupid and unbearable character; not only because Russia was the most important mainstay of Western imperialism, serving as the connecting link between the finance capital of the West and the colonies of the East, but also due to the fact that only in Russia there existed that particular and real power, which was able to solve the contradictions of capitalism in a revolutionary way.” (Stalin)

That power was the most revolutionary proletariat in the world, headed by the party of Lenin, and having at its disposal such an important ally as the revolutionary peasantry of Russia.

Objective conditions for a proletarian revolution were ripe and favorable in many other European countries at the end of the imperialist war. But the Centrist “also-Marxists” did not want a revolution against their governments. They were *afraid* of a revolution. That is *the crux* of the matter. And because of that did they embark upon inventing all sorts of “Marxist” sounding excuses to justify their evasion of the revolution.

The Bolsheviks, however, with an eye to the final objective, were husily preparing the proletariat of Russia for the revolution, and they led the proletariat to victory and to power.

The great October Revolution has given the working class a fatherland, for the first time in the history of mankind. It freed the workers and all the oppressed nations of the former Russian Empire. It started a new era in the world history—the era of *world proletarian revolution*.

Soon after that, proletarian revolutions broke out in a number of countries, where the proletariat seized power temporarily, but was unable to retain it. And why? Because the labor parties at the head of the revolution were not Bolshevik parties. This was the main reason for the defeat of the revolution in Finland, for instance, and, some time later, in Bavaria and Hungary. Another reason was that in 1918 the German bourgeoisie sent troops into Finland, into the Baltic countries and into the Ukraine in order to strangle the revolution. Not without reason did Karl Liebknecht and the Spartacides accuse the German Social-Democracy of betrayal. In full agreement with this accusation, Lenin wrote:

“This accusation expresses a *clear cognizance* of the fact that the German proletariat betrayed the Russian (and the international) revolution in strangling Finland, the Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia. But this accusation is directed first and foremost not against the *masses*, which are downtrodden everywhere, but against those *leaders*, who, like Scheidemann and Kautsky, failed in their duty of revolutionary agitation, revolutionary propaganda, and revolutionary work among the masses to counteract their backwardness; who, as a matter of fact, acted *contrary* to the revolutionary instincts and aspirations which are ever smoldering in the depths of the masses of an oppressed class.”

The revolution broke out in Germany in November, 1918. The German bourgeoisie admitted the social-democratic parties to power. And it knew what it was doing. The “Socialist” rulers—Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, Haase, and Company—saved their bourgeoisie. Very skillfully they deceived, disorganized, and broke up the revolutionary movement of the German working class. At

that time the Communist Party of Germany was only in the process of formation. In the same manner and in many other countries, the social-democracy was busy saving its bourgeoisie from ruin.

It is possible that those exploits of the social-democratic leaders are merely a record of days gone by? He is mistaken who thinks so. Is it possible that the social-democratic politicians have given up befogging the minds with their pacifist sophistry? Not at all. As recently as February, 1932, the Second International burst forth again into one of its typical appeals for peace. In what respect is this any worse than the Basel Manifesto of 1912. What is to hinder the Second International from declaring itself as an "instrument of peace" in case of war, true to its sharp practices?

Or did the social-democratic leaders perchance turn left? Oh, no! They were very much "left" in 1919-1920 when it was necessary to charm the masses with radical phrases. At that time the French Socialist Party, the German National Socialist Party, the English independents and others were even passing resolutions in favor of joining the Comintern! Many leaders of these parties, including Ramsay MacDonald, suddenly declared themselves adherents of the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat! In Germany, however, Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, Haase, and Company first played the role of "people's plenipotentiaries," elected by the councils of workers' and soldiers' deputies (in November 1918), and nine months later—that of the happy fathers of the Weimar Constitution. In the meantime Noske succeeded, in the course of six days, in shooting down workers on the streets of Berlin and in organizing the treacherous murder of the best leaders of the German proletariat—Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Do you realize now, you social-democratic workers, why Lenin demanded a change in the name of the Russian labor party, which up to 1917 also was called "social-democratic"? And why he uttered the words, which we, Communists, repeat to you today:

"It is high time to cast off the dirty shirt, it is time to put on clean clothes."

It is high time to throw the social-democratic party off your shoulders!

EXHIBIT No. 4

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, page 5356. Testimony of William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, September 29, 1939]

* * * * *

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Foster has already stated that he accepts the Program of the Communist International; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MATHEWS. And in your book you have quoted extensively from the Program of the Communist International; that is also correct, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

EXHIBIT No. 5

[Source: A pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1936]

PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TOGETHER WITH ITS CONSTITUTION

Workers Library Publishers: New York, 1936

The Program of the Communist International, together with the Constitution, was adopted at the forty-sixth session of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, September 1, 1928.

INTRODUCTION

The epoch of imperialism is the epoch of moribund capitalism. The World War of 1914-1918 and the general crisis of capitalism which it unleashed, being

the direct result of the sharp contradictions between the growth of the productive forces of world economy and the national state barriers, have shown and proved that the material prerequisites for socialism have already ripened in the womb of capitalist society, that the shell of capitalism has become an intolerable hindrance to the further development of mankind and that history has brought to the forefront the task of the revolutionary overthrow of the yoke of capitalism.

Imperialism subjects large masses of the proletariat of all countries—from the centers of capitalism might to the most remote corners of the colonial world—to the dictatorship of the finance-capitalist plutocracy. With elemental force, imperialism exposes and accentuates all the contradictions of capitalist society: it carries class oppression to the utmost limits, intensifies to an extraordinary degree the struggle between capitalist states, inevitably gives rise to world-wide imperialist wars that shake the whole prevailing system of relationships to the foundations and inexorably leads to the *world proletarian revolution*.

Binding the whole world in chains of finance-capital, forcing its yoke, by blood-letting, by the mailed fist and starvation, upon the proletariat of all countries, of all nations and races, sharpening to an immeasurable degree the exploitation, oppression and enslavement of the proletariat and confronting it with the immediate task of conquering power—imperialism creates the necessity for closely uniting the workers of all countries, irrespective of state boundaries and of differences of nationality, culture, language, race, sex or occupation, in a single international army of the proletariat. Thus, while imperialism develops and completes the process of creating the material prerequisites for socialism, it at the same time musters the army of its own grave-diggers, compelling the proletariat to organize into a *militant international workers' association*.

On the other hand, imperialism splits off the best provided for section of the working class from the main mass of the workers. Bribed and corrupted by imperialism, this upper stratum of the working class, which constitutes the leading element in the Social-Democratic parties, which has a stake in the imperialist plunder of the colonies and is loyal to "its own" bourgeoisie and "its own" imperialist state, has lined up in the decisive class battles with the class enemy of the proletariat. The split that occurred in the socialist movement in 1914 as a result of this treachery, and the subsequent treachery of the Social-Democratic parties, which in reality have become bourgeois labor parties, have demonstrated that the international proletariat will be able to fulfill its historical mission—to throw off the yoke of imperialism and establish the proletarian dictatorship—only by ruthless struggle against Social-Democracy. Hence, the organization of the forces of the international revolution becomes possible only on the platform of communism. In opposition to the opportunist Second International of Social-Democracy—which has become the agency of imperialism in the ranks of the working class—inevitably rises the *Third, Communist, International*, the international organization of the working class, which embodies the real unity of the revolutionary workers of the whole world.

The war of 1914–1918 gave rise to the first attempts to establish a new, revolutionary International, as a counterpoise to the Second, social-chauvinist International, and as a weapon of resistance to bellicose imperialism (Zimmerwald and Kienthal). The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia gave an impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in the centers of capitalism and in the colonies. In 1919, the Communist International was formed, and for the first time in world history the most advanced strata of the European and American proletariat were really united in the process of practical revolutionary struggle with the proletariat of China and India and with the Negro toilers of Africa and America.

As the united and centralized international Party of the proletariat, the Communist International is the only heir to the principles of the *First International*, carrying them forward upon the new, mass foundation of the revolutionary proletarian movement. The experience gathered from the first imperialist war, from the subsequent period of the revolutionary crisis of capitalism, from the series of revolutions in Europe and in the colonial countries; the experience gathered from the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and from the work of all the Sections of the Communist International as recorded in the decisions of its Congresses; finally, the fact that the struggle between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat is more and more assuming an international character—all this creates the

need for a program of the Communist International, a uniform and common program for all Sections of the Communist International. This program of the Communist International, as the supreme critical generalization of the whole body of historical experience of the international revolutionary proletarian movement, becomes the *program of struggle for the world proletarian dictatorship, the program of struggle for world communism.*

Uniting as it does, the revolutionary workers, who lead the millions of oppressed and exploited against the bourgeoisie and its "socialist" agents, the Communist International regards itself as the historical successor to the "Communist League" and the First International led by Marx, and as the inheritor of the best of the pre-war traditions of the Second International. The *First International* laid the ideological foundation for the international proletarian struggle for socialism. The *Second International*, in the best period of its existence, prepared the ground for the expansion of the labor movement among the masses. The *Third, Communist International*, in continuing the work of the First International, and in accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International, has resolutely lopped off the latter's opportunism, social-chauvinism, and bourgeois distortion of socialism and has commenced to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this manner the Communist International continues the glorious and heroic traditions of the international labor movement; of the English Chartists and the French insurrectionists of 1831; of the French and German working class revolutionaries of 1848; of the immortal fighters and martyrs of the Paris Commune; of the valiant soldiers of the German, Hungarian and Finnish revolutions; of the workers under the former tsarist despotism—the victorious bearers of the proletarian dictatorship; of the Chinese proletarians—the heroes of Canton and Shanghai.

Basing itself on the experience of the revolutionary labor movement on all continents and of all peoples, the Communist International, in its theoretical and practical work, stands wholly and unreservedly upon the ground of *revolutionary Marxism* and its further development, *Leninism*, which is nothing else but Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Advocating and propagating the *dialectical materialism* of Marx and Engels and employing it as the revolutionary method of the cognition of reality, with the view to the revolutionary transformation of this reality, the Communist International wages an active struggle against all forms of bourgeois philosophy and against all forms of theoretical and practical opportunism. Standing on the ground of consistent proletarian class struggle and subordinating the temporary, partial, group and national interests of the proletariat to its lasting, general, international interests, the Communist International mercilessly exposes all forms of the doctrine of "class peace" that the reformists have accepted from the bourgeoisie. Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletarians—the grave-diggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the *organizer of the international proletarian revolution.*

CHAPTER ONE

THE WORLD SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND INEVITABLE DOWNFALL

1. The General Laws of the Development of Capitalism and the Epoch of Industrial Capital

The characteristic features of capitalist society which arose on the basis of commodity production are the monopoly of the most important and vital means of production by the capitalist class and big landlords; the exploitation of the wage labor of the proletariat, which, being deprived of the means of production, is compelled to sell its labor power; the production of commodities for profit; and these, linked up with all the planless and anarchic character of the process of production as a whole; exploitation relationships and the economic domination of the bourgeoisie and their political expression in the organized capitalist state—the instrument for the suppression of the proletariat.

The history of capitalism has entirely confirmed the Marxian theory concerning the laws of development of capitalist society and the contradiction of this development which inevitably lead to the downfall of the whole capitalist system.

In its quest for profits the bourgeoisie was compelled to develop the productive forces on an ever-increasing scale and to strengthen and expand the domination of capitalist relationships of production. Thus, the development of capitalism constantly reproduces on a wider scale all the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system, primarily, the decisive contradiction between the social character of labor and private appropriation, between the growth of the productive forces and the property relations of capitalism. The predominance of private property in the means of production and the anarchy prevailing in the process of production have disturbed the equilibrium between the various branches of production; for a growing contradiction developed between the tendency towards unlimited expansion of production and the restricted consumption of the masses of the proletariat (general over-production), and this resulted in periodical devastating crises and mass unemployment among the proletariat. The predominance of private property also found expression in the competition that prevailed in each separate capitalist country as well as on the constantly expanding world market. This latter form of capitalist rivalry resulted in a number of wars, which are the inevitable accompaniment of capitalist development.

On the other hand, the technical and economic advantages of large-scale production have resulted in the squeezing out and destruction in the competitive struggle of the pre-capitalist economic forms and in the ever-increasing *concentration and centralization* of capital. In the sphere of industry this law of concentration and centralization of capital manifested itself primarily in the direct ruin of small enterprises and partly in their being reduced to the position of auxiliary units of large enterprises. In the domain of agriculture which, owing to the existence of the monopoly in land and absolute rent, must inevitably lag behind the general rate of development, this law not only found expression in the process of differentiation that took place among the peasantry and in the proletarianization of broad strata of the latter, but also and mainly in the open and concealed subordination of small peasant economy to the domination of big capital: small farming has been able to maintain a nominal independence only at the price of extreme intensification of labor and systematic under-consumption.

The ever-growing application of machinery, the constant improvements in technique and the resultant uninterrupted rise in the organic composition of capital, accompanied by still further division, increased productivity and intensity of labor, meant also increased employment of female and child labor, the formation of enormous industrial reserve armies which are constantly replenished by the proletarianized peasantry who are forced to leave their villages as well as by the ruined urban small and middle bourgeoisie. The collection of a handful of capitalist magnates at one pole of social relationships and of a gigantic mass of the proletariat at the other; the constantly increasing rate of exploitation of the working class, the reproduction on a wider scale of the deepest contradictions of capitalism and their consequences (crises, wars, etc.); the constant growth of social inequality, the rising discontent of the proletariat united and schooled by the mechanism of capitalist production itself—all this was inevitably undermining the foundations of capitalism, bringing nearer the day of its collapse.

Simultaneously, a profound change has taken place in the social and cultural life of capitalist society; the parasitical decadence of the rentier group of the bourgeoisie; the break-up of the family, which expresses the growing contradiction between the mass participation of women in social production and the forms of family and domestic life largely inherited from previous economic epochs; the growing shallowness and degeneracy of cultural and ideological life resulting from the minute specialization of labor, the monstrous forms of urban life and the restrictedness of rural life; the incapability of the bourgeoisie, notwithstanding the enormous achievements of the natural sciences, to create a synthetically scientific philosophy, and the growth of ideological, mystical and religious superstition, are all phenomena signaling the approach of the historical end of the capitalist system.

2. The Era of Finance Capital (Imperialism)

The period of *industrial capitalism* was, in the main, a period of "free competition"; a period of a relatively smooth evolution and expansion of capitalism throughout the whole world, when the as yet unoccupied colonies were being divided up and conquered by armed force; a period of continuous growth of the

inner contradictions of capitalism, the burden of which fell mainly upon the systematically plundered, crushed and oppressed colonial periphery.

Towards the beginning of the twentieth century, this period was replaced by the period of *imperialism*, during which capitalism developed spasmodically and conflictingly: free competition rapidly gave way to monopoly, the previously "available" colonial lands had already been divided up, and the struggle for a redistribution of colonies and spheres of influence inevitably began to assume primarily the form of a struggle by force of arms.

Thus, the entire scope and truly world-wide scale of the contradictions of capitalism become most glaringly revealed in the epoch of *imperialism* (finance capitalism), which, from the historical standpoint, signifies a new form of capitalism, a new system of relationship between the various parts of world capitalist economy and a change in the relationship between the principal classes of capitalist society.

This new historical period set in as a result of the operation of the principal dynamic laws of capitalist society. It grew out of the development of industrial capitalism, and is the historical continuation of the latter. It sharpened the manifestations of all the fundamental tendencies and laws of capitalist development, of all its fundamental contradictions and antagonisms. The law of the concentration and centralization of capital led to the formation of powerful combines (cartels, syndicates, trusts), to a new form of gigantic combinations of enterprises linked up into one system by the banks. The merging of industrial capital with banking capital, the absorption of big land ownership into the general system of capitalist organization, and the monopolistic character of this form of capitalism transformed the epoch of industrial capital into the epoch of finance capital. "Free competition" of the period of industrial capitalism, which replaced feudal monopoly and the monopoly of merchant capital, became itself transformed into *finance-capital monopoly*. At the same time, the capitalist monopolies which grow out of free competition do not eliminate competition, but exist side by side with and hover over it, and thus give rise to a series of exceptionally great and acute contradictions, frictions and conflicts.

The growing application of complex machinery, of chemical processes and of electric energy; the resulting higher organic composition of capital and, consequently, decline in the rate of profit, which only the biggest monopolistic combines are able to counteract for a time by their policy of high monopoly prices, still further stimulate the quest for colonial super-profits and the struggle for a new division of the world. Standardized mass production creates the demand for new foreign markets. The growing demand for raw materials and fuel intensifies the race for their sources. Lastly, the system of high protection, which hinders the export of merchandise and secures additional profit for exported capital, creates additional stimuli for the export of capital. Export of capital becomes, therefore, the decisive and specific form of economic contact between the various parts of world capitalist economy. The total effect of all this is that the monopolist ownership of colonial markets, of sources of raw materials, and of spheres of investment of capital extremely accentuates the general unevenness of capitalist development and sharpens the conflicts between the "great powers" of finance capital over the redistribution of the colonies and spheres of influence.

The growth of the productive forces of world economy thus leads to the further internationalism of economic life and simultaneously leads to a struggle for redistribution of the world, already divided up among the biggest finance capital states, to a change in and sharpening of the forms of this struggle, to superseding to an increasing degree the method of lower prices which the method of forcible pressure (boycott, high protection, tariff wars, wars proper, etc.). Consequently, the monopolistic form of capitalism is inevitably accompanied by imperialist wars, which, by the area they embrace and the destructiveness of their technique, have no parallel in world history.

3. *The Forces of Imperialism and the Forces of Revolution*

Expressing the tendency for unification of the various sections of the dominant class, the imperialist form of capitalism places the broad masses of the proletariat in opposition, not to a single employer, but, to an increasing degree, to the capitalist class as a whole and to the capitalist state. On the other hand, this form of capitalism breaks down the national barriers that have become too restricted for it, widens the scope of the capitalist state power of the dominant Great Power and brings it in opposition to the vast masses of the nationality oppressed peoples

in the so-called small nations and in the colonies. Finally, this form of capitalism brings the imperialist states most sharply in opposition to each other.

This being the case, state power, which is becoming the dictatorship of the finance-capitalist oligarchy and the expression of its concentrated might, acquires special significance for the bourgeoisie. The functions of this multi-national imperialist state grow in all directions. The development of state capitalist forms which facilitate the struggle in foreign markets (mobilization of industry for war purposes) as well as the struggle against the working class; the monstrous growth of militarism (armies, naval and air fleets, and the employment of chemistry and bacteriology); the increasing pressure of the imperialist state upon the working class (the growth of exploitation and direct suppression of the workers on the one hand and the systematic policy of bribing the bureaucratic reformist leadership on the other), all this expresses the enormous growth of the power of the state. Under these circumstances, every more or less important action of the proletariat becomes transformed into an action against the state power, *i. e.*, into political action.

Thus the development of capitalism, and particularly the imperialist epoch of its development, reproduces the fundamental contradictions of capitalism on an increasingly magnified scale. Competition among small capitalists ceases, only to make way for competition among big capitalists; where competition among big capitalists subsides, it flares up between gigantic combinations of capitalist magnates and their states; local and national crises become transformed into crises affecting a number of countries and, subsequently, into world crises; local wars give way to wars between coalitions of states and to world wars; the class struggles change from isolated actions of single groups of workers into nation-wide conflicts and subsequently, into an international struggle of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie. Finally, two main revolutionary forces are organizing against the organized might of finance capital—on the one hand, *the workers in the capitalist states*, on the other, the victims of the oppression of foreign capital, *the masses of the people in the colonies*, marching under the leadership and the hegemony of the international revolutionary proletarian movement.

However, this fundamental revolutionary tendency is temporarily paralyzed by the fact that certain sections of the European, North American and Japanese proletariat are bribed by the imperialist bourgeoisie, and by the treachery of the national bourgeoisie in the semi-colonial and colonial countries which is frightened by the revolutionary mass movement. The bourgeoisie of imperialist countries, which is able to secure additional surplus profits from the position it holds in the world market (more developed technique, export of capital to countries with a higher rate of profit, etc.), and from the proceeds of its plunder of the colonies and semi-colonies—was able to raise the wages of its "own" workers out of the surplus profits, thus giving these workers an interest in the development of "their" capitalism, in the plunder of the colonies and in being loyal to the imperialist state.

This systematic bribery was and is being widely practised in the most powerful imperialist countries and finds most striking expression in the ideology and practice of the labor aristocracy and the bureaucratic strata of the working class, *i. e.*, the Social-Democratic and trade union leaders, who proved to be the direct agencies of bourgeois influence among the proletariat and stalwart pillars of the capitalist system.

However, while it has stimulated the growth of the corrupt upper stratum of the working class, imperialism in the end destroys their influence upon the working class, because the growing contradictions of imperialism, the worsening of the conditions of the broad masses of the workers, the mass unemployment among the proletariat, the enormous cost of military conflicts and the burdens they entail, the fact that certain powers have lost their monopolistic position in the world market, the break-away of the colonies, etc., serve to undermine the basis of Social-Democracy among the masses. Similarly, the systematic bribery of the various sections of the bourgeoisie in the colonies and semi-colonies, their betrayal of the national-revolutionary movement and their rapprochement with the imperialist powers can paralyze the development of the revolutionary crisis only for a time. In the final analysis, this leads to the intensification of imperialist oppression, to the decline of the influence of the national bourgeoisie upon the masses of the people, to the sharpening of the revolutionary crisis, to the unleashing of the agrarian revolution of the broad masses of the peasantry and to the creation of conditions favorable for the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat in the colonies and dependencies in the popular mass struggle for independence and complete national liberation.

4. Imperialism and the Downfall of Capitalism

Imperialism has greatly developed the productive forces of world capitalism. It has completed the preparation of all the material prerequisites for the socialist organization of society. By its wars it has demonstrated that the productive forces of world economy, which have outgrown the restricted boundaries of imperialist states, demand the organization of economy on a world, or international, scale. Imperialism tries to remove this contradiction by hacking a road with fire and sword towards a single world state-capital trust, which is to organize the whole world economy. This sanguinary utopia is being extolled by the Social-Democratic ideologist as a peaceful method of a new, "organized", capitalism. In reality, this utopia encounters insurmountable objective obstacles of such magnitude that capitalism must inevitably fall beneath the weight of its own contradictions. The law of the uneven development of capitalism, accentuated in the epoch of imperialism, renders firm and durable international combinations of imperialist powers impossible. On the other hand, imperialist wars, which are developing into world wars, and by which the law of centralization of capitalism strives to reach its world limit—a single world trust—are accompanied by so much destruction and place such burdens upon the shoulders of the working class and of the millions of colonial proletarians and peasants, that capitalism must inevitably perish beneath the blows of the proletarian revolution long before this goal is reached.

Being the highest phase of capitalist development, developing the productive forces of world economy to enormous dimensions, refashioning the whole world after its own image, imperialism draws into the orbit of finance-capitalist exploitation all colonies, all races and all nations. At the same time, however, the monopolistic form of capital increasingly develops the elements of parasitical degeneration, decay and decline of capitalism. By destroying, to some extent, the driving force of competition, by conducting a policy of monopoly prices, and having undivided mastery of the market, monopoly capital tends to retard the further development of the forces of production. In squeezing enormous sums of surplus profits out of the millions of colonial workers and peasants and in accumulating colossal incomes from this exploitation, imperialism is creating a type of decaying and parasitically degenerate rentier-states as well as whole strata of parasites who live by clipping coupons. While completing the process of creating the material prerequisites for socialism (the concentration of means of production, the enormous socialization of labor, the growth of labor organizations), the epoch of imperialism intensifies the antagonisms among the Great Powers and gives rise to wars which cause the break-up of unified world economy. Imperialism is therefore *moribund and decaying capitalism*. It is the final stage of development of the capitalist system. *It is the threshold of world social revolution.*

Thus, international proletarian revolution emerges out of the conditions of development of capitalism generally, and out of its imperialist phase in particular. The capitalist system as a whole is approaching its final collapse. The dictatorship of finance capital is perishing to give way to *the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

CHAPTER TWO

THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE FIRST PHASE OF WORLD REVOLUTION

1. The World War and the Progress of the Revolutionary Crisis

The imperialist struggle among the largest capitalist states for the redistribution of the globe led to the first imperialist world war (1914-1918). This war shook the whole system of world capitalism and marked the beginning of the period of its *general crisis*. It bent to its service the entire national economy of the belligerent countries, thus creating the mailed fist of state capitalism; it increased unproductive expenditures to enormous dimensions, destroyed enormous quantities of the means of production and human labor power, ruined large masses of the population and imposed incalculable burdens upon the industrial workers, the peasants and the colonial peoples. It inevitably led to the intensification of the class struggle, which grows into open revolutionary mass action and *civil war*. The imperialist front was broken at its weakest link, in tsarist Russia. The *February* revolution of 1917 overthrew the domina-

tion of the autocracy of the big land-owning class. The *October* revolution overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie. This victorious proletarian revolution expropriated the expropriators, took the means of production from the landlords and the capitalists, and for the first time in human history set up and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in an enormous country, brought into being a new, Soviet type of state and initiated the international proletarian revolution.

The powerful shock to which the whole of world capitalism was subjected, the sharpening of the class struggle and the direct influence of the October proletarian revolution gave rise to a series of revolutions and revolutionary actions on the continent of Europe as well as in the colonial and semi-colonial countries: January, 1918, the proletarian revolution in Finland; August, 1918, the so-called "rice-riots" in Japan; November, 1918, the revolutions in Austria and Germany, which overthrew the semi-feudal monarchies; March, 1919, the proletarian revolution in Hungary and the uprising in Korea; April, 1919, the Soviet government in Bavaria; January, 1920, the bourgeois-national revolution in Turkey; September, 1920, the seizure of the factories by the workers in Italy; March, 1921, the rising of the advanced workers of Germany; September, 1923, the uprising in Bulgaria; autumn, 1923, the revolutionary crisis in Germany; December, 1924, the uprising in Estonia; April, 1925, the uprising in Morocco; August, 1925, uprising in Syria; May, 1926, the general strike in England; July, 1927, the proletarian uprising in Vienna. These events, as well as events like the uprising in Indonesia, the deep ferment in India, the great Chinese revolution which shook the whole Asiatic continent, are links in one and the same international revolutionary chain, constituent parts of the profound general crisis of capitalism. This international revolutionary process embraced the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as national wars of liberation and colonial uprisings against imperialism which are inseparably linked with the agrarian mass movement of millions of peasants. Thus, an enormous mass of humanity was swept into the revolutionary torrent. World history entered a new phase of development—a phase of prolonged general crisis of the capitalist system. In this process, the unity of world economy found expression in the international character of the revolution, while the uneven development of its separate parts was expressed in the absence of simultaneity in the outbreak of revolution in the different countries.

The first attempts at revolutionary overthrow, which sprang from the acute crisis of capitalism (1918–1921), ended in the victory and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. and in the defeat of the proletariat in a number of other countries. These defeats were primarily due to the treacherous tactics of the Social-Democratic and reformist trade union leaders, but they were also due to the fact that the majority of the working class had not yet accepted the lead of the Communists and that in a number of important countries Communist Parties had not yet come into existence at all. As a result of these defeats, which created the opportunity for intensifying the exploitation of the mass of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, and for severely depressing their standard of living, the bourgeoisie was able to achieve a partial stabilization of capitalist relations.

2. *The Revolutionary Crisis and Counter-Revolutionary Social-Democracy*

During the progress of the international revolution, the leading cadres of the Social-Democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions on the one hand, and the militant capitalist organizations of the fascist type on the other, acquired special significance as a powerful counter-revolutionary force actively fighting against the revolution and actively supporting the partial stabilization of capitalism.

The war crisis of 1914–1918 was accompanied by the disgraceful *collapse of the Social-Democratic Second International*. Acting in complete violation of the thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* written by Marx and Engels that the proletariat has no fatherland under capitalism, and in complete violation of the anti-war resolutions passed by the Stuttgart and Basle Congresses, the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties in the various countries, with a few exceptions, voted for the war credits, came out definitely in defense of the imperialist "fatherland" (i. e., the state organizations of the imperialist bourgeoisie) and instead of combatting the imperialist war, became its loyal soldiers, bards and propagandists (social-patriotism, which grew into social-imperialism). In the subsequent period, Social-Democracy supported the predatory treaties (Brest-

Litovsk, Versailles); it actively aligned itself with the militarists in the bloody suppression of proletarian uprisings (Noske); it conducted armed warfare against the first proletarian republic (Soviet Russia); it despicably betrayed the victorious proletariat (Hungary); it joined the imperialist League of Nations (Albert Thomas, Paul Boncour, Vandervelde); it openly supported the imperialist slave-owners against the colonial slaves (the British Labor Party); it actively supported the most reactionary executioners of the working class (Bulgaria, Poland); it took upon itself the initiative in securing the passage of imperialist "military laws" (France); it betrayed the general strike of the British proletariat; it helped and is still helping to strangle China and India (the MacDonald government); it acts as the propagandist for the imperialist League of Nations; it is capital's herald and organizer of the struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. (Kautsky, Hilferding).

In its systematic conduct of this counter-revolutionary policy, Social-Democracy operates on two flanks: the *Right* wing of Social-Democracy, avowedly counter-revolutionary, is essential for negotiating and maintaining direct contact with the bourgeoisie; the *Left* wing is essential for the subtle deception of the workers. While playing with pacifist and at times even with revolutionary phrases, "Left wing" Social-Democracy in practice acts against the workers, particularly in acute and critical situations (the British I. L. P. and the "Left" leaders of the General Council during the general strike in 1926; Otto Bauer and Co., at the time of the Vienna uprising), and is, therefore, the most dangerous faction in the Social-Democratic parties. While serving the interests of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class and being wholly in favor of class cooperation and coalition with the bourgeoisie, Social-Democracy, at certain periods, is compelled to play the part of an opposition party and even to act as if it were defending the class interests of the proletariat in its economic struggles, in order thereby to win the confidence of a section of the working class and thus be in a position the more shamefully to betray the lasting interests of the working class, particularly in the midst of decisive class battles.

The principal function of Social-Democracy at the present time is to disrupt the essential fighting unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism. In splitting and disrupting the united front of the proletarian struggle against capital, Social-Democracy serves as the mainstay of imperialism in the working class. International Social-Democracy of all shades, the Second International and its trade union branch, the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions, have thus become the last reserve of bourgeois society, its most reliable pillar of support.

3. *The Crisis of Capitalism and Fascism*

Along with Social-Democracy, with whose aid the bourgeoisie suppresses the workers or lulls their class vigilance, fascism comes into the scene.

The epoch of imperialism, the sharpening of the class struggle and the growth of the elements of civil war—particularly after the imperialist war—led to the bankruptcy of parliamentarism. Hence, the adoption of "new" methods and forms of administration (for example, the system of inner cabinets, the formation of oligarchical groups acting behind the scenes, the deterioration and falsification of the function of the "popular representative" institutions, the restriction and annulment of "democratic liberties," etc.). Under certain special historical conditions, the progress of this bourgeois, reactionary offensive assumes the form of fascism. These conditions are: instability of capitalist relationships; the existence of a considerable declassed social element, the pauperization of broad strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia; discontent among the rural petty bourgeoisie and, finally, the constant menace of mass proletarian action. In order to stabilize and perpetuate its rule, the bourgeoisie is compelled to an increasing degree to abandon the parliamentary system in favor of the fascist system, which is independent of inter-party arrangements and combinations. The fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship, ideologically masked by the "national idea" and representation of "occupations" (in reality, representation of the various groups of the ruling class). It is a system that resorts to a peculiar form of social demagogy (anti-Semitism, occasional sorties against usurers' capital and gestures of impatience with the parliamentary "talking shop") in order to utilize the discontent of the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and other strata of society, and to corruption—the creation of a compact and well-paid hierarchy of fascist units, a party apparatus and a bureaucracy. At the same time,

fascism strives to permeate the working class by recruiting the most backward strata of workers to its ranks by playing upon their discontent, by taking advantage of the inaction of Social-Democracy, etc. The principal aim of fascism is to destroy the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, *i. e.*, the Communist sections of the proletariat and their leading forces. The combination of social demagogy, corruption and active white terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggressiveness in the sphere of foreign politics, are the characteristic features of fascism. In periods of acute crisis for the bourgeoisie, fascism resorts to anti-capitalist phraseology, but after it has established itself at the helm of state, it casts aside its anti-capitalist rattle and discloses itself as the terrorist dictatorship of big capital.

The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of fascism or to the method of coalition with Social-Democracy according to the changes in the political situation; while Social-Democracy itself often plays a fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism.

In the process of development Social-Democracy manifests fascist tendencies which, however, does not prevent it, in other political situations, from posing as an opposition party against the bourgeois government. The fascist method and the method of coalition with Social-Democracy are not the methods employed in "normal" capitalist conditions; they are symptoms of the general capitalist crisis, and are employed by the bourgeoisie in order to stem the advance of the revolution.

4. The Contradictions of Capitalist Stabilization and the Inevitability of the Revolutionary Collapse of Capitalism

Experience throughout the post-war historical period has shown that the stabilization achieved by the repression of the working class and the systematic depression of its standard of living can be only a partial, transient, and decaying stabilization.

The spasmodic and feverish development of technique bordering in some countries on a new technical revolution, the accelerated process of concentration and centralization of capital, the formation of giant trusts and of "national" and "international" monopolies, the merging of trusts with the state power and the growth of world capitalist economy cannot, however, eliminate the general crisis of the capitalist system. The break-up of world economy into a capitalist and a socialist sector, the shrinking of markets and the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies intensify all the contradictions of capitalism, which is developing on a new, post-war basis. This very technical progress and rationalization of industry, the reverse side of which is the closing down and liquidation of numerous enterprises, the restriction of production, and the ruthless and destructive exploitation of labor power, lead to chronic unemployment on a scale never before experienced. The absolute deterioration of the condition of the working class becomes a fact even in certain highly developed capitalist countries. The growing competition between imperialist countries, the constant menace of war and the growing intensity of class conflicts prepare the ground for a new and higher stage of development of the general crisis of capitalism and of the world proletarian revolution.

As a result of the first round of imperialist wars (the World War of 1914-1918) and of the October victory of the working class in the former Russian tsarist empire, world economy has been split into two fundamentally hostile camps; the camp of the imperialist states and the camp of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. The difference in class structure and in the class character of the government in the two camps, the fundamental differences in the aims each pursues in internal, foreign, economic, and cultural policy, the fundamentally different courses of their development, bring the capitalist world into sharp conflict with the state of the victorious proletariat. Within the framework of a formerly uniform world economy, two antagonistic systems are now contesting against each other: the system of capitalism and the system of socialism. The class struggle, which hitherto was conducted in forms determined by the fact that the proletariat was not in possession of state power, is now being conducted on an enormous and really world scale; the working class of the world has now its own state—the one and only fatherland of the international proletariat. The existence of the Soviet Union and the influence it exercises upon the toiling and oppressed masses all over the world is in itself a most striking expression of the profound crisis of the world capitalist system and of the expansion and intensification of the class struggle to a degree hitherto without parallel in history.

The capitalist world, powerless to eliminate its inherent contradictions, strives to establish international associations (the League of Nations) the main purpose of which is to retard the irresistible growth of the revolutionary crisis and to strangle the union of proletarian republics by war or blockade. At the same time, all the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and of the oppressed colonial masses are rallying around the U. S. S. R. The world coalition of *Capital*, unstable, internally corroded, but armed to the teeth, is confronted by a single world coalition of *labor*. Thus, as a result of the first round of imperialist wars a new, fundamental antagonism has arisen of world historical scope and significance—the antagonism between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist world.

Meanwhile, the inherent antagonisms within the capitalist sector of world economy itself have become intensified. The shifting of the economic center of the world to the United States of America and the fact of the "Dollar Republic" having become a world exploiter have caused the relations between United States and European capitalism, particularly British capitalism, to become strained. The conflict between Great Britain—the most powerful of the old, conservative imperialist states—and the United States—the greatest of the young imperialist states, which has already won world hegemony for itself—is becoming the pivot of the world conflicts among the finance capitalist states. Germany, though plundered by the Versailles peace, is now economically recovered; she is resuming the path of imperialist politics, and once again she stands out as a serious competitor in the world market. The Pacific is becoming involved in a tangle of contradictions which center mainly around the antagonism between America and Japan. Along with these main antagonisms, the conflict of interests among the unstable and constantly changing groupings of powers is increasing, while the minor powers serve as the auxiliary instruments in the hands of the imperialist giants and their coalitions.

The growth of the productive capacity of the industrial apparatus of world capitalism, at a time when the European home markets have shrunk as a result of the war, and in face of the Soviet Union's dropping out of the system of purely capitalist intercourse and of the close monopoly of the most important sources of raw material and fuel, leads to ever-widening conflicts between the capitalist states. The "peaceful" struggle for oil, rubber, cotton, coal and metals and for a redistribution of markets and spheres for the export of capital is inexorably leading to *another world war*, the destructiveness of which will increase in proportion to the progress achieved in the furiously developing technique of war.

Simultaneously, the antagonisms between the *imperialist home countries and the colonial and semi-colonial countries are growing*. The relative weakening of European imperialism as a result of the war, the development of capitalism in the colonies, the influence of the Soviet revolution, and the centrifugal tendencies within the premier maritime and colonial empire—Great Britain (Canada, Australia, South Africa), have stimulated rebellions in the colonies and semi-colonies. The great Chinese revolution, which roused hundreds of millions of the Chinese people to action, caused an enormous breach in the imperialist system. The unceasing revolutionary ferment among hundreds of millions of Indian workers and peasants is threatening to break the domination of the world citadel of imperialism, Great Britain. The growth of tendencies directed against the powerful imperialism of the United States in the Latin-American countries threatens to undermine the expansion of North American Capital. Thus, the revolutionary process in the colonies, which is drawing into the struggle against imperialism the overwhelming majority of the world's population that is subjected to the rule of the finance-capital oligarchy of a few "great powers" of imperialism, also expresses the profound general crisis of capitalism. Even in Europe itself, where imperialism has put a number of small nations under its heel, the national question is a factor that intensifies the inherent contradictions of capitalism.

Finally, the revolutionary crisis is inexorably maturing in the very centers of imperialism: the capitalist offensive against the working class, the attack upon the workers' standard of living, upon their organizations and their political rights, and the growth of white terror, rouse increasing resistance on the part of the broad masses of the proletariat and intensify the class struggle between the working class and trustified capital. The great battles fought between labor and capital, the accelerated swing of the masses to the Left, the growth in the influence and authority of the Communist Parties; the enormous growth of sympathy of the broad masses of workers for the land of the proletarian dictatorship—all this is a clear symptom of the maturing of a new revolutionary upsurge in the centers of imperialism.

Thus, the system of world imperialism, and with it the partial stabilization of capitalism, is being corroded from various causes; by the antagonisms and conflicts between the imperialist states; by the rising of the vast masses in the colonial countries; by the action of the revolutionary proletariat in the imperialist home countries; finally, by the leading force in the world revolutionary movement—the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. The international revolution is developing.

Against this revolution, imperialism is gathering its forces. Expeditions against the colonies, a new world war, a campaign against the U. S. S. R. are matters which now figure prominently in the politics of imperialism. This must lead to the release of all the forces of international revolution and to the inevitable doom of capitalism.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL—WORLD COMMUNISM

The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race.

Communist society will abolish the class division of society, *i. e.*, simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy of production, it will abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man. Society will no longer consist of antagonistic classes in conflict with each other, but will represent a united commonwealth of labor. For the first time in its history mankind will take its fate into its own hands. Instead of destroying innumerable human lives and incalculable wealth in struggles between classes and nations, mankind will devote all its energy to the struggle against the forces of nature, to the development and strengthening of its own collective might.

After abolishing private ownership in the means of production and converting them into social property, the world system of communism will replace the elemental forces of the world market, of competition and the blind process of social production, by consciously organized and planned production for the purpose of satisfying rapidly growing social needs. With the abolition of competition and anarchy in production, the devastating crises and still more devastating wars will disappear. Instead of colossal waste of productive forces and spasmodic development of society there will be planned utilization of all material resources and painless economic development on the basis of the unlimited, harmonious and rapid development of the productive forces.

The abolition of private property and the disappearance of classes will do away with the exploitation of man by man. Work will cease to be toiling for the benefit of a class enemy. Instead of being merely a means of livelihood it will become a necessity of life. Want and economic inequality, the misery of enslaved classes, and a wretched standard of life generally will disappear; the hierarchy created in the division of labor system will be abolished together with the antagonism between mental and manual labor, and the last vestige of the social inequality of sexes will be removed. At the same time, the organs of class domination, and the state in the first place, will disappear also. The state, being the embodiment of class domination, will wither away insofar as classes disappear, and with it all measures of coercion will expire.

With the disappearance of classes the monopoly of education in every form will be abolished. Culture will become the acquirement of all and the class ideologies of the past will give place to scientific materialist philosophy. Under such circumstances, the domination of man over man, in any form, becomes impossible, and a great field will be opened for the social selection and the harmonious development of all the talents inherent in humanity.

In communist society no social restrictions will be imposed upon the growth of the forces of production. Private ownership in the means of production, the selfish lust for profits, the artificial retention of the masses in a state of ignorance, poverty—which retards technical progress in capitalist society—and unproductive expenditures will have no place in a communist society. The most expedient utilization of the forces of nature and of the natural conditions of production in the various parts of the world; the removal of the antagonism between town and country that under capitalism results from the low technical level of agriculture and its systematic lagging behind industry; the closest possible cooperation between science and technics, the utmost encouragement of

research work and the practical application of its results on the widest possible social scale, planned organization of scientific work; the application of the most perfect methods of statistical accounting and planned regulation of economy; the rapidly growing social needs, which is the most powerful internal driving force of the whole system—all these will secure the maximum productivity of social labor, which in turn will release human energy for the powerful development of science and art.

The development of the productive forces of world communist society will make it possible to raise the well-being of the whole of humanity and to reduce to a minimum the time devoted to material production and, consequently, will enable culture to flourish as never before in history. This new culture of a humanity that is united for the first time in history, and has abolished all state boundaries, will, unlike capitalist culture, be based upon clear and transparent human relationships. Hence, it will bury forever all mysticism, religion, prejudice and superstition and will give a powerful impetus to the development of all-conquering scientific knowledge.

This higher stage of communism, the stage in which communist society has already developed on its own foundation, in which an enormous growth of social productive forces has accompanied the manifold development of man, in which humanity has already inscribed on its banner: "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs!"—presupposes, as a preliminary historical condition, a lower stage of development, the stage of socialism. At this lower stage, communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birthmarks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The productive forces of socialism are not yet sufficiently developed to assure a distribution of the products of labor according to needs; these are distributed according to the amount of labor expended. Division of labor, *i. e.*, the system whereby certain groups perform certain labor functions, and especially the distinction between mental and manual labor, still exists. Although classes are abolished, traces of the old class division of society, and, consequently, remnants of the proletarian state power, coercion, laws, still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality, which have not yet managed to die out altogether, still remain. The antagonism between town and country has not yet been entirely removed. But none of these survivals of former society is protected or defended by any social force. Being the product of a definite level of development of productive forces, they will disappear as rapidly as mankind, freed from the fetters of the capitalist system, subjugates the forces of nature, re-educates itself in the spirit of communism, and passes from socialism to complete communism.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. *The Transition Period and the Conquest of Power by the Proletariat*

Between capitalist society and communist society a period of revolutionary transformation intervenes, during which the one changes into the other. Correspondingly, there is also an intervening period of political transition, in which the essential state form is the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and the maturing of socialist revolutions, *i. e.*, of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, insofar as they undermine the domination of imperialism, constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in "peaceful" relationship as well as in armed conflict; a period of formation of a Union of Soviet Republics; a period of wars of imperialist states against Soviet states; a period in which the ties between the Soviet states and colonial peoples become more and more closely established, etc.

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. This unevenness is still more pronounced and acute in the epoch of imperialism. Hence, it follows that the international proletarian revolution cannot be conceived as a single event occurring simultaneously all over the world; at first

socialism may be victorious in a few, or even in one single capitalist country. Every such proletarian victory, however, broadens the basis of the world revolution and, consequently, still further intensifies the general crisis of capitalism. Thus, the capitalist system as a whole reaches the point of its final collapse: the dictatorship of finance capital perishes and gives place to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois revolutions brought about the political liberation of a system of productive relationships that had already established itself and become economically dominant, and transferred political power from the hands of one class of exploiters to the hands of another. Proletarian revolution, however, signifies the forcible invasion of the proletariat into the domain of property relationships of bourgeois society, the expropriation of the expropriating classes, and the transference of power to a class that aims at the radical reconstruction of the economic foundations of society and the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. The political domination of the feudal barons was broken all over the world as the result of a series of separate bourgeois revolutions that extended over a period of centuries. The international proletarian revolution, however, although it will not be a single simultaneous act, but one extending over a whole epoch, nevertheless—thanks to the closer ties that now exist between the countries of the world—will accomplish its mission in a much shorter period of time. Only after the proletariat has achieved victory and consolidated its power all over the world will a prolonged period of intensive construction of world socialist economy set in.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is a necessary condition precedent to the growth of socialist forms of economy and to the cultural growth of the proletariat, which transforms its own nature, perfects itself for the leadership of society in all spheres of life, draws into this process of transformation all other classes and thus prepares the ground for the abolition of classes altogether.

In the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and later for the transformation of the social system, as against the alliance of capitalists and landlords, an alliance of workers and peasants is formed, under the intellectual and political hegemony of the former, an alliance which serves as the basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The characteristic feature of the transition period as a whole, is the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the organization of socialist construction, the mass training of men and women in the spirit of socialism and the gradual disappearance of classes. Only to the extent that these great historical tasks are fulfilled will society of the transition period become transformed into communist society.

Thus, the dictatorship of the world proletariat is an essential and vital condition precedent to the transition of world capitalist economy to socialist economy. This world dictatorship can be established only when the victory of socialism has been achieved in certain countries or groups of countries, when the newly established proletarian republics enter into a federative union with the already existing proletarian republics, when the number of such federations has grown and extended also to the colonies which have emancipated themselves from the yoke of imperialism; when these federations of republics have finally grown into a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics uniting the whole of mankind under the hegemony of the international proletariat organized as a state.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence, the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.), and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters.

2. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Its Soviet Form

As has been shown by the experience of the October revolution of 1917 and by the Hungarian revolution, which immeasurably enlarged the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, the most suitable form of the proletarian state is the

Soviet state—a new type of State, which differs in principle from the bourgeois state, not only in its class content, but also in its internal structure. This is precisely the type of State which, emerging as it does directly out of the broadest possible mass movement of the toilers, secures the maximum of mass activity and is, consequently, the surest guarantee of final victory.

The Soviet form of state, being the highest form of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, is the very opposite of bourgeois democracy, which is bourgeois dictatorship in a masked form. The Soviet state is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of a single class—the proletariat. Unlike bourgeois democracy, proletarian democracy openly admits its class character and aims avowedly at the suppression of the exploiters in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. It deprives its class enemies of political rights and, under special historical conditions, may grant the proletariat a number of temporary advantages over the diffused petty-bourgeois peasantry in order to strengthen its role of leader. While disarming and suppressing its class enemies, the proletarian state at the same time regards this deprivation of political rights and partial restriction of liberty as temporary measures in the struggle against the attempts on the part of the exploiters to defend or restore their privileges. It inscribes on its banner the motto: the proletariat holds power not for the purpose of perpetuating it, not for the purpose of protecting narrow craft and professional interests, but for the purpose of uniting the backward and scattered rural proletariat, the semi-proletariat and the toiling peasants still more closely with the most progressive strata of the workers, for the purpose of gradually and systematically overcoming class divisions altogether. Being an all-embracing form of the unity and organization of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat, the Soviets, in actual fact, draw the broad masses of the proletariat, the peasants and all toilers into the struggle for socialism, into the work of building up socialism, and into the practical administration of the state: in the whole of their work they rely upon the working-class organizations and practice the principles of broad democracy among the toilers to a far greater extent and immeasurably closer to the masses than any other form of government. The right of electing and recalling delegates, the combination of the executive with the legislative power, the electoral system based on a production and not on a residential qualification (election by workshops, factories, etc.)—all this secures for the working class and for the broad masses of the toilers who march under its hegemony systematic, continuous and active participation in all public affairs—economic, social, political, military and cultural—and marks the sharp difference that exists between the bourgeois-parliamentary republic and the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy, with its formal equality of all citizens before the law, is in reality based on a glaring material and economic inequality of classes. By leaving inviolable, defending and strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist and landlord classes in the vital means of production, bourgeois democracy, as far as the exploited classes and especially the proletariat is concerned, converts this formal equality before the law and these democratic rights and liberties, which in practice are systematically curtailed, into a juridical fiction and, consequently, into a means for deceiving and enslaving the masses. Being the expression of the political domination of the bourgeoisie, so-called democracy is therefore capitalist democracy. By depriving the exploiting classes of the means of production, by placing the monopoly of these means of production in the hands of the proletariat as the dominant class in society, the Soviet state first foremost guarantees to the working class and to the toilers generally the material conditions for the exercise of their rights by providing them with premises, public buildings, printing plants, traveling facilities, etc.

In the domain of general political rights the Soviet state, while depriving the exploiters and the enemies of the people of political rights, completely abolishes for the first time all inequality of citizenship, which under systems of exploitation is based on distinctions of sex, religion and nationality; in this sphere it establishes an equality that is not to be found in any bourgeois country. In this respect, also, the dictatorship of the proletariat steadily lays down the material basis upon which this equality may be truly exercised by introducing measures for the emancipation of women, the industrialization of former colonies, etc.

Soviet democracy, therefore, is proletarian democracy, democracy of the toiling masses, democracy directed against the exploiters.

The Soviet state completely disarms the bourgeoisie and concentrates all arms in the hands of the proletariat; it is the *armed proletarian state*. The armed

forces under the Soviet state are organized on a class basis, which corresponds to the general structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and guarantees the role of leadership to the industrial proletariat. This organization, while maintaining revolutionary discipline, ensures to the warriors of the Red Army and Navy close and constant contacts with the masses of the toilers, participation in the administration of the country and in the work of building up socialism.

3. *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Expropriation of the Expropriators*

The victorious proletariat utilizes the conquest of power as a lever of economic revolution, *i. e.*, of the revolutionary transformation of the property relations of capitalism into relationships of the socialist mode of production. The starting point of this great economic revolution is the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, *i. e.*, the conversion of the *monopolistic property of the bourgeoisie into the property of the proletarian state.*

In this sphere the Communist International advances the following fundamental tasks of the proletarian dictatorship:

1. *Industry, Transport and Communication Services:*

a. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large private capitalist undertakings (factories, plants, mines, electric power stations) and the transference of all state and municipal enterprises to the Soviet.

b. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of private capitalist railway, waterway, automobile and air transport services (commercial and passenger air fleet) and the transference of all state and municipal transport services to the Soviets.

c. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of private capitalist communication services (telegraphs, telephones and wireless) and the transference of state and municipal communication services to the Soviets.

d. The organization of workers' management of industry. The establishment of state organs for the management of industry with provision for the close participation of the trade unions in this work of management. Appropriate functions to be guaranteed for the factory and plant committees.

e. Industrial activity to be directed towards the satisfaction of the needs of the broad masses of the toilers. The reorganization of the branches of industry that formerly served the needs of the ruling class (luxury trades, etc.). The strengthening of the branches of industry that will facilitate the development of agriculture, with the object of strengthening the ties between industry and peasant economy, of facilitating the development of State farms, and of accelerating the rate of development of national economy as a whole.

B. *Agriculture:*

a. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large landed estates in town and country (private, church, monastery and other lands) and the transference of State and municipal landed property including forests, minerals, lakes, rivers, etc., to the Soviets with subsequent nationalization of the whole of the land.

b. The confiscation of all property utilized in production belonging to large landed estates, such as buildings, machinery and other inventory, cattle, enterprises for the manufacture of agricultural products (large flour mills, cheese plants, dairy farms, fruit and vegetable drying plants, etc.).

c. The transfer of large estates, particularly model estates and those of considerable economic importance, to the management of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Soviet farm organizations.

d. Part of the land confiscated from the landlords and others, particularly where the land was cultivated by the peasants on a tenant basis and served as a means of holding the peasantry in economic bondage, to be transferred to the use of the peasantry (to the poor and partly also the middle peasantry). The amount of land to be so transferred to be determined by economic expediency as well as by the degree of necessity to neutralize the peasantry and to win them over the side of the proletariat; this amount must necessarily vary according to the different circumstances.

e. Prohibition of buying and selling of land, as a means of preserving the land for the peasantry and preventing its passing into the hands of capitalists, land speculators, etc. Violations of this law to be energetically combatted.

f. To combat usury. All transactions entailing terms of bondage to be annulled. All debts of the exploited strata of the peasantry to be annulled. The poorest stratum of the peasantry to be relieved from taxation, etc.

g. Comprehensive state measures for developing the productive forces of agriculture, the development of rural electrification; the manufacture of tractors, the production of artificial fertilizers; the production of pure quality seeds and raising thoroughbred stock on Soviet farms; the extensive organization of agricultural credits for land reclamation, etc.

h. Financial and other support for agricultural co-operatives and for all forms of collective production in the rural districts (co-operative societies, communes, etc.). Systematic propaganda in favor of peasant co-operation (selling, credit and supply co-operative societies) to be based on the mass activity of the peasants themselves; propaganda in favor of the transition to large-scale agricultural production which—owing to the indubitable technical and economic advantages of large-scale production—provide the greatest immediate economic gain and also a method of transition to socialism most accessible to the broad masses of the toiling peasants.

C. Trade and Credit:

A. The proletarian nationalization of private banks (the entire gold reserve, all securities, deposits, etc., to be transferred to the proletarian state); the proletarian state to take over state, municipal, etc., banks.

B. The centralization of banking: all nationalized big banks to be subordinated to the central state bank.

C. The nationalization of wholesale trade and large retail trading enterprises (warehouses, elevators, stores, stocks of goods, etc.), and their transfer to the organs of the Soviet state.

D. Every encouragement to be given to consumers' co-operatives as representing an integral part of the distributing apparatus, while maintaining uniformity in their system of work and securing the active participation of the masses themselves in their work.

E. Monopoly of foreign trade.

F. The repudiation of state debts to foreign and home capitalists.

D. Conditions of Life, Labor, etc.:

A. Reduction of the working day to seven hours, and to six hours in industries particularly harmful to the health of the workers. Further reduction of the working day and transition to a five-day week in countries with developed productive forces. The regulation of the working day to correspond to the increase of the productivity of labor.

B. Prohibition, as a rule, of night work and employment in harmful trades for all females. Prohibition of child labor. Prohibition of overtime.

C. Special reduction of the work-day for the youth (a maximum six-hour day for young persons up to 18 years of age). Socialistic reorganization of the labor of young persons so as to combine employment in industry with general and political education.

D. Social insurance in all forms (sickness, old age, accident, unemployment, etc.) at state expense (and at the expense of the owners of private enterprises where they still exist), insurance affairs to be managed by the insured themselves.

E. Comprehensive measures of hygiene; the organization of free medical service. To combat social diseases (alcoholism, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, etc.).

F. Complete equality between men and women before the law and in social life; a radical reform of marital and family laws; recognition of maternity as a social function; protection of mothers and infants. Initiation of social care and upbringing of infants and children (creches, kindergartens, children's homes, etc.).

The establishment of institutions that will gradually relieve the burden of house drudgery (public kitchens and laundries); and systematic cultural struggle against the ideology and traditions of female bondage.

E. Housing:

A. The confiscation of big housing property.

B. The transfer of confiscated houses to the administration of the local Soviets.

C. The bourgeois residential districts to be settled by workers.

D. Palaces and large private and public buildings to be placed at the disposal of labor organizations.

E. The carrying out of an extensive program of housing construction.

F. National and Colonial Questions:

A. The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination, that is, self-determination inclusive of the right to state separation.

B. The voluntary unification and centralization of the military and economic forces of all nations liberated from capitalism—for the purpose of fighting against imperialism and for building up socialist economy.

C. Wide and determined struggle against the imposition of any kind of limitation and restriction upon any nationality, nation or race. Complete equality for all nations and races.

D. The Soviet state to guarantee and support with all the resources at its command the national cultures of nations liberated from capitalism while carrying out a consistent proletarian policy in the development of the content of such cultures.

E. Every assistance to be rendered to the economic, political and cultural growth of the formerly oppressed "territories", "dominions" and "colonies", with the object of transferring them to socialist lines, so that a durable basis may be laid for complete national equality.

F. To combat all remnants of chauvinism, national hatred, race prejudices and other ideological products of feudal and capitalist barbarism.

G. Means of Ideological Influence:

A. The nationalization of printing plants.

B. The monopoly of newspaper and book-publishing.

C. The nationalization of big cinema enterprises, theatres, etc.

D. The utilization of the nationalized means of "intellectual production" for the most extensive political and general education of the toilers and for the building up of a new socialist culture on a proletarian class basis.

4. The Basis for the Economic Policy of the Proletarian Dictatorship

In carrying out all these tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the following postulates must be borne in mind:

A. The complete abolition of private property in land, and the nationalization of the land, cannot be brought about immediately in the more developed capitalist countries, where the principle of private property is deep-rooted among broad strata of the peasantry. In such countries, the nationalization of all the land can only be brought about gradually, by means of a series of transitional measures.

B. Nationalization of production should not, as a rule, be applied to small and middle-sized enterprises (peasants, small artisans, handicraft, small and medium shops, small manufacturers, etc.). First, because the proletariat must draw a strict distinction between the property of the small commodity producer working for himself, who can and must be gradually brought into the groove of socialist construction, and the property of the capitalist exploiter, the liquidation of which is an indispensable prerequisite for socialist construction.

Second, because the proletariat, after seizing power, may not have sufficient organizing forces at its disposal, particularly in the first phases of the dictatorship, for the purpose of destroying capitalism and at the same time to establish contacts with the smaller and medium individual units of production on a socialist basis. These small individual enterprises (primarily peasant enterprises) will be drawn into the general socialist organization of production and distribution only gradually, with the powerful and systematic aid the proletarian state will render to organize them in all the various forms of collective enterprises. Any attempt to break up their economic system violently and to compel them to adopt collective methods by force would only lead to harmful results.

C. Owing to the prevalence of a large number of small units of production (primarily peasant farms, farmers' enterprises, small artisans, small shopkeepers, etc.) in colonies, semi-colonies and economically backward countries, where the petty-bourgeois masses represent the overwhelming majority of the population, and even in the centers of the capitalist world economy (the United States of America, Germany, and to some degree also England), it is necessary, in the first stage of development, to preserve to some extent, *market forms of economic contacts*, the money system, etc. The variety of prevailing economic forms (ranging from socialist large scale industry to small peasant and artisan enterprises), which unavoidably come into conflict with each other; the variety of classes and class groups corresponding to this variety of economic forms, each having different stimuli for economic activity and conflicting class interests and finally, the prevalence in all spheres of economic life of habits and traditions inherited from bourgeois society, which cannot be removed all at once,—all this demands that the proletariat, in exercising its economic leadership,

shall properly combine, on the basis of market relationship, large-scale socialist industry with the small enterprises of the simple commodity producers, *i. e.*, it must combine them in such a way as to guarantee the leading role to socialist industry and at the same time bring about the greatest possible development of the mass of peasant enterprises. Hence, the greater the weight of scattered small peasant labor in the general economy of the country, the greater will be the scope of the market relations, the smaller will be the significance of direct, planned management, and the greater will be the degree to which the general economic plan will depend upon an estimation of the uncontrollable economic relations. On the other hand, the smaller the weight of petty husbandry and the greater the proportion of socialized labor, the more powerful the concentrated and socialized means of production, the smaller will be the scope of the market relations, the greater will be the importance of planned management as compared with the uncontrolled economic activities, and the more considerable and universal will be the application of planned management in the sphere of production and distribution.

Provided the proletarian dictatorship carries out a correct class policy, *i. e.*, provided proper account is taken of class-relationships, the technical and economic superiority of large-scale socialized production, the centralization of all the most important economic key positions (industry, transport, large-scale agricultural enterprises, banks, etc.) in the hands of the proletarian state, planned management of industry, and the power wielded by the state apparatus as a whole (the budget, taxes, administrative legislation and legislation generally), render it possible continuously and systematically to dislodge private capital as well as the new outcrops of capitalism which, on the basis of more or less free trading and of the market relations, emerge in town and country with the development of simple commodity production (big farmers, kulaks). At the same time, by organizing peasant farming on co-operative lines, and as a result of the growth of collective forms of economy, the great bulk of the peasant enterprises will be systematically drawn into the main channel of developing socialism. The outwardly capitalist forms and methods of economic activity that are bound up with market relations (money form of accounting, payment for labor in money, buying and selling, credit and banks, etc.), serve as levers for the socialist transformation insofar as they to an increasing degree serve the consistently socialist type of enterprises, *i. e.*, the socialist section of economy.

Thus, provided the state carries out a correct policy, the market relations under the proletarian dictatorship destroy themselves in the process of their own development by helping to dislodge private capital, by changing the character of peasant economy, by further centralization and concentration of the means of production in the hands of the proletarian state; by these means they help to *destroy market relations altogether*.

In the event of probable capitalist military intervention, and of prolonged counter-revolutionary wars against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the necessity may arise for a war-Communist economic policy (War Communism), which is nothing more nor less than the organization of rational consumption for the purpose of military defense, accompanied by a system of intensified pressure upon the capitalist groups (confiscation, requisitions, etc.), with the more or less complete liquidation of freedom of trade and market relations and a sharp interference with the individualistic, economic stimuli of the small producers, which results in a diminution of the productive forces of the country. This policy of War Communism, while it undermines the material basis of the strata of the population of the country that are hostile to the working class, secures a rational distribution of the available supplies and facilitates the military struggle of the proletarian dictatorship, which is the historical justification of this policy, it nevertheless cannot be regarded as the "normal" economic policy of the proletarian dictatorship.

5. Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Classes

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a *continuation of the class struggle under new conditions*. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn fight—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative,—against the forces and traditions of the old society, against external capitalist enemies, against the remnants of the exploiting classes within the country, against the upshoots of the new bourgeoisie that spring up on the basis of still existing commodity production.

After the civil war has been brought to an end the stubborn class struggle continues in new forms, primarily in the form of a struggle between the survivals of previous economic systems and fresh upshoots of them on the one hand, and socialist forms of economy on the other. The forms of the struggle undergo a change at various stages of socialist development, and in the first stages, the struggle, under certain conditions, may be extremely severe.

In the initial stage of the proletarian dictatorship, the policy of the proletariat towards other classes and social groups within the country is determined by the following postulates:

a. *The big bourgeoisie and the landowners*, a section of the officer corps, the higher command of the forces, and the higher bureaucracy—who remain loyal to the bourgeoisie and the landlords—are consistent enemies of the working class against whom ruthless war must be waged. The organizing skill of a certain section of these strata may be utilized, but as a rule, only after the dictatorship has been consolidated and all conspiracies and rebellions of exploiters have been decisively crushed.

b. In regard to the *technical intelligentsia*, which was brought up in the spirit of bourgeois traditions and the higher ranks of which were closely linked up with the commanding apparatus of capital, the proletariat, while ruthlessly suppressing every counter-revolutionary action on the part of hostile sections of the intelligentsia, must at the same time give consideration to the necessity of utilizing this skilled social force for the work of socialist construction; it must give every encouragement to the groups that are neutral, and especially to those that are friendly, towards the proletarian revolution. In widening the economic, technical and cultural perspective of socialist construction to its utmost social limits, the proletariat must systematically win over the technical intelligentsia to its side, subject it to its ideological influence and secure its close co-operation in the work of social reconstruction.

c. In regard to the *peasantry*, it is the task of the Communist Party, while placing its reliance in the agricultural proletariat, to win over all the exploited and toiling strata of the countryside. The victorious proletariat must draw strict distinctions between the various groups among the peasantry, weigh their relative importance, and render every support to the propertyless and semi-proletarian sections of the peasantry by transferring to them a part of the land taken from the big landowners, by helping them in their struggle against usurer's capital, etc. Moreover, the proletariat must neutralize the middle strata of the peasantry and mercilessly suppress the slightest opposition on the part of the village bourgeoisie who ally themselves with the landowners. As its dictatorship becomes consolidated and socialist construction develops, the proletariat must proceed from the policy of neutralization to a policy of durable alliance with the masses of middle peasantry, but must not adopt the viewpoint of sharing power in any form. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies that the industrial workers alone are capable of leading the entire mass of the toilers. On the other hand, while representing the rule of a single class, the dictatorship of the proletariat at the same time represents a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, as the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian sections of the toiling masses, or the majority of them. It represents an alliance for the complete overthrow of capital, for the complete suppression of the opposition of the bourgeoisie and its attempts at restoration, an alliance aiming at the complete building up and consolidation of socialism.

d. *The urban petty bourgeoisie*, which continuously wavers between extreme reaction and sympathy for the proletariat, must likewise be neutralized and, as far as possible, won over to the side of the proletariat. This can be achieved by leaving to them their small property and permitting a certain measure of free trade, by releasing them from the bondage of usurious credit and by the proletariat's helping them in all sorts of ways in the struggle against all and every form of capitalist oppression.

6. Mass Organizations in the System of Proletarian Dictatorship

In the process of fulfilling these tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, a radical change takes place in the *tasks and functions of the mass organizations*, particularly of the *labor organizations*. Under capitalism, the mass labor organizations, in which the broad masses of the proletariat were originally organized and trained, *i.e.*, the trade (industrial) unions, served as the principal weapons in the struggle against trustified capital and its state. Under

the proletarian dictatorship, they become transformed into the principal lever of the state; they become transformed into a school of communism, by means of which vast masses of the proletariat are drawn into the work of socialist management of production; they are transformed into organizations directly connected with all parts of the state apparatus, influencing all branches of its work, safeguarding the lasting as well as the day to day interests of the working class and fighting against bureaucratic distortions in the organs of the Soviet state. Thus, insofar as they promote from their ranks leaders in the work of construction, draw into this work of construction broad sections of the proletariat and particularly as they undertake the task of combating bureaucratic distortions which inevitably arise as a result of the operation of class influences alien to the proletariat and of the inadequate cultural development of the masses, the trade unions become the backbone of the proletarian economic and state organization as a whole.

Notwithstanding reformist utopias, *working class co-operative organizations* under capitalism are doomed to play a very minor role and in the general environment of the capitalist system not infrequently degenerate into mere appendages of capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, these organizations can and must become the most important units of the distributing apparatus.

Lastly, *peasant agricultural co-operative organizations* (selling, purchasing, credit and producing), under proper management and provided a systematic struggle is carried on against the capitalist elements, and that really broad masses of the toilers who follow the lead of the proletariat take a really active part in their work, can and must become one of the principal organizational means for linking up town and country. To the extent that they were able to maintain their existence at all under capitalism, co-operative peasant enterprises inevitably became transformed into capitalist enterprises, for they were dependent upon capitalist industry, capitalist banks and upon capitalist economic environment, and were led by reformists, the peasant bourgeoisie, and sometimes even by landlords. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, such enterprises develop amidst a different system of relationships, they depend upon proletarian industry, proletarian banks, etc. Thus, provided the proletariat carries out a proper policy, provided the class struggle is systematically conducted against the capitalist elements outside as well as inside the co-operative organizations, and provided socialist industry exercises its guidance over it, agricultural co-operation will become one of the principal levers for the socialist transformation and collectivization of the countryside. All this, however, does not exclude the possibility that in certain countries the consumers' societies, and particularly the agricultural co-operative societies led by the bourgeoisie and their Social-Democratic agents, at first be hotbeds of counter-revolutionary activity and sabotage against the work of economic construction of the workers' revolution.

In the course of this militant and constructive work, carried on through the medium of these multifarious proletarian organizations—which should serve as effective levers of the Soviet state and the link between it and the masses of all strata of the working class—the proletariat secures unity of will and action and exercises this unity through the medium of the Communist Party, which *plays the leading role* in the system of the proletarian dictatorship.

The *Party of the proletariat* relies directly on the trade unions and other organizations that embrace the masses of the workers, and through these, relies on the peasantry (Soviets, co-operative societies, Young Communist Leagues, etc.); by means of these levers it guides the whole Soviet system. The proletariat can fulfill its role as organizer of the new society only if the Soviet government is loyally supported by all the mass organizations, only if class unity is maintained, and only under the guidance of the Party.

7. *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Cultural Revolution*

The role of *organizer of the new human society* presupposes that the proletariat itself will become *culturally mature*, that it will transform its own nature, that it will continually promote from its ranks increasing numbers of men and women capable of mastering science, technics and administration in order to build up socialism and a new socialist culture.

Bourgeois revolution against feudalism presupposes that a new class has arisen in the midst of feudal society that is culturally more advanced than the ruling class and is already the dominant factor in economic life. The *proletarian*

revolution, however, develops under other conditions. Being economically exploited, politically oppressed and *culturally downtrodden under capitalism*, the working class transforms its own nature only in the course of the transition period, only after it has conquered state power, only by destroying the bourgeois monopoly of education and mastering all the sciences, and only after it has gained experience in great works of construction. The mass awakening of communist consciousness, the cause of socialism itself, calls for a *mass change of human nature*, which can be achieved only in the course of the practical movement, in revolution. Hence, revolution is not only necessary because there is no other way of overthrowing the ruling class, but also because, only in the process of revolution is the *overthrowing* class able to purge itself of the dross of the old society and become capable of creating a new society.

In destroying the capitalist monopoly of the means of production, the working class must also destroy the capitalist monopoly of education, that is, it must take possession of all of the schools, from the elementary schools to the universities. It is particularly important for the proletariat to train members of the working class as *experts* in the sphere of production (engineers, technicians, organizers, etc.), as well as in the sphere of military affairs, science, art, etc. Parallel with this work stands the task of raising the *general cultural level of the proletarian masses*, of improving their political education, of raising their general standard of knowledge and technical skill, of training them in the methods of public work and administration, and of combating the survivals of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices, etc.

Only to the extent that the proletariat promotes from its own ranks a body of advanced men and women capable of occupying these "key positions" of socialist construction and culture, only to the extent that this body grows, and draws increasing numbers of the working class into the process of revolutionary-cultural transformation and gradually obliterates the line that divides the proletariat into an "advanced" and a "backward" section will the guarantees be created for successful socialist construction and against bureaucratic decay and class degeneracy.

However, in the process of revolution the proletariat not only changes its own nature, but also the nature of *other classes*, primarily the numerous petty-bourgeois strata in town and country and especially the toiling sections of the peasantry. By drawing the wide masses into the process of cultural revolution and socialist construction, by uniting and communistically educating them with all the means at its disposal, by strongly combating all anti-proletarian and narrow craft ideologies, and by persistently and systematically overcoming the general and cultural backwardness of the rural districts, the working class, on the basis of the developing collective forms of economy, prepares the way for the *complete removal of class divisions in society*.

One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating *religion*—the opium of the people. The proletarian government must withdraw all state support from the church, which is the agency of the former ruling class; it must prevent all church interference in state-organized educational affairs, and ruthlessly suppress the counter-revolutionary activity of the ecclesiastical organizations. At the same time, the proletarian state, while granting liberty of worship and abolishing the privileged position of the formerly dominant religion, carries on anti-religious propaganda with all the means at its command and reconstructs the whole of its educational work on the basis of scientific materialism.

8. *The Struggle for the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Principal Types of Revolutions*

The international proletarian revolution represents a combination of processes which vary in time and character: purely proletarian revolutions; revolutions of a bourgeois-democratic type which grow into proletarian revolutions; wars for national liberation; colonial revolutions. *The world dictatorship of the proletariat* comes only as the *final result* of the revolutionary process.

The uneven development of capitalism, which became more accentuated in the period of imperialism, has given rise to a variety of types of capitalism, to different stages of ripeness of capitalism in different countries, and to a variety of specific conditions of the revolutionary process. These circumstances make it historically inevitable that *the proletariat will come to power by a variety of ways and degrees of rapidity*; that a number of countries must pass

through certain transition stages leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and must adopt varied forms of socialist construction.

The variety of conditions and ways by which the proletariat will achieve its dictatorship in the various countries may be divided schematically into three main types.

Countries of highly developed capitalism (United States of America, Germany, Great Britain, etc.), having powerful productive forces, highly centralized production, with small-scale production reduced to relative insignificance, and a long established bourgeois-democratic political system. In such countries the fundamental political demand of the program is direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the economic sphere, the most characteristic demands are: expropriation of the whole of large-scale industry; organization of a large number of state Soviet farms and, in contrast to this, a relatively small portion of the land be transferred to the peasantry; unregulated market relations to be given comparatively small scope; rapid rate of socialist development generally, and of collectivization of peasant farming in particular.

Countries with a medium development of capitalism (Spain, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, the Balkan countries, etc.), having numerous survivals of semi-feudal relationships in agriculture, possessing, to a certain extent, the material prerequisites for socialist construction, and in which the bourgeois-democratic reforms have not yet been completed. In some of these countries a process of more or less rapid development from bourgeois-democratic revolution to socialist revolution is possible. In others, there may be types of proletarian revolutions which will have a large number of bourgeois-democratic tasks to fulfill. Hence, in these countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat may not come about at once, but in the process of transition from the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry to the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat; where the revolution develops directly as a proletarian revolution it is presumed that the proletariat exercises leadership over a broad agrarian peasant movement. In general, the agrarian revolution plays a most important part in these countries, and in some cases a decisive role: in the process of expropriating large landed property a considerable portion of the confiscated land is placed at the disposal of the peasantry; the scope of market relations prevailing after the victory of the proletariat is considerable; the task of organizing the peasantry along cooperative lines and, later, of uniting them in cooperative production, occupies an important place among the tasks of socialist construction. The rate of this construction is relatively slow.

Colonial and semi-colonial countries (China, India, etc.), and *dependent countries* (Argentina, Brazil, etc.), having the rudiments of and in some cases considerably developed industry, but which in the majority of cases is inadequate for independent socialist construction; with medieval feudal relationship, or "Asiatic mode of production" relationships, prevailing in their economics and political super-structure; finally, their most important industrial, commercial and banking enterprises, the principal means of transport, the large landed estates (latifundia), plantations, etc., are concentrated in the hands of foreign imperialist groups. The principal tasks in such countries are, on the one hand, to fight against feudalism and the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and to develop systematically the peasant agrarian revolution; on the other hand, to fight against foreign imperialism and for national independence. As a rule, transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries will be possible only through a series of preparatory stages, at the outcome of a whole period of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution, while in the majority of cases, successful socialist construction will be possible only if direct support is obtained from the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established.

In still more backward countries (as in some parts of Africa) where there are no wage workers or very few, where the majority of the population still live in tribal conditions, where survivals of primitive, tribal forms still exist, where a national bourgeoisie is almost non-existent, where the primary role of foreign imperialism is that of military occupation and usurpation of land, the central task is to fight for national independence. Victorious national uprisings in these countries may open the way for their direct development towards socialism and their avoiding the stage of capitalism, provided real, powerful assistance is rendered to them by the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established.

Thus, in the epoch in which the proletariat in the most developed capitalist countries is confronted with the task of capturing power, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat is already established in the U.S.S.R. and is a factor of world

significance; the liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which were caused by the penetration of world capitalism, may lead to *their socialist development*—notwithstanding the immaturity of social relationships in these countries taken by themselves—*provided they receive the assistance and support of the proletarian dictatorship and of the international proletarian movement generally.*

9. *The Struggle for the World Proletarian Dictatorship and the Colonial Revolutions*

The special conditions of the revolutionary struggle prevailing in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the inevitably long period of struggle required for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry and for the transformation of this dictatorship into the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, finally, the decisive importance of the national aspects of the struggle, impose upon the Communist Parties of these countries a number of *special tasks*, which are preparatory stages to the general tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist International considers the following to be the most important of these special tasks:

- A. To overthrow the rule of foreign imperialism, of the feudal rulers and of the landlord bureaucracy.
- B. To establish the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry on a Soviet basis.
- C. Complete national independence and national unification.
- D. Annulment of state debts.
- E. Nationalization of the large-scale enterprises (industrial, transport, banking and others) owned by the imperialists.
- F. The confiscation of landlord, church and monastery lands. The nationalization of all the land.
- G. Introduction of the eight-hour day.
- H. The organization of revolutionary workers' and peasants' armies.

In the colonies and semi-colonies where the proletariat is the leader of and commands hegemony in the struggle, the consistent bourgeois-democratic revolution will grow into proletarian revolution—in proportion as the struggle develops and becomes more intense (sabotage by the bourgeoisie, confiscation of the enterprises belonging to the sabotaging section of the bourgeoisie, which inevitably extends to the nationalization of the whole of large-scale industry). In the colonies where there is no proletariat, the overthrow of the domination of the imperialists implies the establishment of the rule of people's (peasant) Soviets, the confiscation and transfer to the state of foreign enterprises and lands.

Colonial revolutions and movements for national liberation play an extremely important part in the struggle against imperialism and in the struggle for the conquest of power by the working class. Colonies and semi-colonies are also important in the transition period because they constitute the *world rural district* in relation to the industrial countries, which function, as it were, as the urban centers of the world. Consequently, the problem of organizing socialist world economy, of properly combining industry with agriculture is, to a large extent, the problem of the relation towards the former colonies of imperialism. *The establishment of a fraternal fighting alliance with the masses of the toilers in the colonies constitutes one of the principal tasks which the world industrial proletariat must fulfill as the leader in the struggle against imperialism.*

Thus, the world revolution in the course of its development, while rousing the workers in the imperialist countries for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, rouses also hundreds of millions of colonial workers and peasants for the struggle against foreign imperialism. In view of the existence of centers of socialism represented by Soviet Republics of growing economic power, the colonies which break away from imperialism economically gravitate towards and gradually combine with the industrial centers of world socialism. Thus, drawn into the channel of socialist construction, they skip the further stage of development of capitalism as a predominant system, and obtain opportunities for rapid economic and cultural progress. The Peasants' Soviets in the backward ex-colonies and the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets in the more developed ex-colonies group themselves politically around the centers of proletarian dictatorship, join the growing Federation of Soviet Republics, and thus enter the general system of the world proletarian dictatorship.

Socialism, as the new method of production, thus obtains world-wide scope of development.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE U. S. S. R. AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL REVOLUTION

1. The Building Up of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. and the Class Struggle

The principal manifestation of the profound crisis of the capitalist system is the division of world economy into capitalist countries on the one hand, and countries building up socialism on the other. Therefore, the internal consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., the success achieved in the work of socialist construction, the growth of the influence and authority of the U. S. S. R. among the masses of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies signify the continuation, strengthening and expansion of the *international socialist revolution*.

Possessing in the country the necessary and sufficient material prerequisites not only for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie but also for the establishment of complete socialism, the workers of the Soviet Republic, with the aid of the international proletariat, heroically repelled the attacks of the armed forces of the internal and foreign counter-revolution, consolidated their alliance with the bulk of the peasantry and achieved considerable success in the sphere of socialist construction.

The linking up of the proletarian socialist industry with the small peasant economy, thus stimulating the growth of the productive forces of agriculture and at the same time assuring the leading role to socialist industry; the collaboration of this industry with agriculture, instead of its catering, as was the case under capitalism, to the unproductive consumption of parasitic classes; production, not for capitalist profit, but for the satisfaction of the growing needs of the masses of the consumers; the growth of the needs of the masses, which in the final analysis greatly stimulates the entire productive process; and finally, the close concentration of the economic key positions under the command of the proletarian state, the growth of planned management and the more economic and expedient distribution of the means of production that goes with it—all this enables the proletariat to make rapid progress along the road of socialist construction.

In raising the level of the productive forces of the whole economy of the country, and in steering a straight course for the industrialization of the U. S. S. R.—the rapidity of which is dictated by the international and internal situation, the proletariat in the U. S. S. R., notwithstanding the systematic attempts on the part of the capitalist powers to organize an economic and financial boycott against the Soviet Republics, at the same time increases the relative share of the socialized (socialist) sector of national economy in the total means of production in the country, in the total output of industry and in the total trade turnover.

Thus, with the land nationalized, and with the increasing industrialization of the country, the state socialist industry, transport and banking are more and more guiding, by the means of the state trade and the rapidly growing cooperatives, the activities of the small and very small peasant enterprises.

In the sphere of agriculture especially, the level of the forces of production is being raised amidst the conditions that restrict the process of differentiation among the peasantry (nationalization of the land, and consequently, the prohibition of the sale and purchase of land; sharply graded progressive taxation; the financing of poor and middle peasants' cooperative societies and producers' organizations; laws regulating the hiring of labor; depriving the kulaks of certain political and public rights; organizing the rural poor in separate organizations, etc.). However, in so far as the productive forces of socialist industry have not yet grown sufficiently to provide a broad new technical base for agriculture and, consequently, to render possible the immediate and rapid unification of peasant enterprises into large social enterprises (collective farms), the kulak class, too, grows, establishing economic and, later, also political collaboration with the elements of the so-called "new bourgeoisie".

Being in command of the principal economic key positions in the country and systematically squeezing out the remnants of urban and private capital, which has greatly dwindled in the last few years of the New Economic Policy; restricting in every way the exploiting strata in the rural districts that arise out of the development of commodity and money relationships; supporting existing Soviet farms in the rural districts and establishing new ones; drawing the bulk of the peasant simple commodity producers into the general system of Soviet

economic organization and, consequently, into the work of socialist construction, through the medium of the rapidly growing cooperative movement, which—under the proletarian dictatorship and in view of the economic leadership of socialist industry—is identical with the development of socialism; passing from the process of restoration to the process of expanded reproduction of the entire productive and technical base of the country—the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. sets itself, and is already beginning to fulfill, the task of large-scale basic construction (production of means of production generally, development of heavy industry and especially of electrification) and, developing still further, selling, buying and credit cooperation, sets itself the task of organizing the peasantry in producing cooperatives on a mass scale and a collectivist basis, which calls for the powerful material assistance of the proletarian state.

Thus socialism—which is already the decisive economic force determining, in the main, the entire economic development of the U. S. S. R.—makes still further strides in its development and systematically overcomes the difficulties that arise from the petty-bourgeois character of the country and the periods of temporarily acute class antagonisms.

The task of re-equipping industry and of large-scale basic construction must give rise to serious difficulties in the path of socialist development which, in the last analysis, are to be attributed to the technical and economic backwardness of the country and to the ruin caused in the years of the imperialist and civil wars. Notwithstanding this, however, the standard of living of the working class and of the broad masses of the toilers is steadily rising and, simultaneously with the socialist rationalization and scientific organization of industry, the seven-hour day is gradually being introduced, which opens up still wider prospects for the improvement of the living and working conditions of the working class.

On the basis of the economic growth of the U. S. S. R. and of the steady increase in the relative importance of the socialist sector of its economy; never for a moment halting the struggle against the kulaks; relying upon the rural poor and maintaining a firm alliance with the bulk of the middle peasantry, the working class, united and led by the Communist Party which has been hardened in revolutionary battles, draws increasing masses, scores of millions of toilers into the work of socialist construction. The principal means employed towards this aim are: the development of broad mass organizations (the Party, as the guiding force; the trade unions, as the backbone of the entire system of the proletarian dictatorship; the Young Communist League; cooperative societies of all types; working women's and peasant women's organizations; the various so-called "voluntary societies"; worker and peasant correspondents' societies; sport, scientific, cultural and educational organizations); full encouragement of the initiative of the masses and the promotion of fresh strata of workers to high posts in all spheres of economy and administration. The steady attraction of the masses into the process of socialist construction, the constant renovation of the entire state, economic, trade union and Party apparatus with men and women fresh from the ranks of the proletariat, the systematic training, in the higher educational institutions and at special courses, of workers generally and young workers in particular as new, socialist experts in all branches of construction—all these together serve as one of the principal guarantees against the bureaucratic ossification and social degeneration of the stratum of the proletariat directly engaged in administration.

2. The Significance of the U. S. S. R. and Its International Revolutionary Duties

Having defeated Russian imperialism and liberated all the former colonies and oppressed nations of the tsarist empire, and systematically laying a firm foundation for their cultural and political development by industrializing their territories; having guaranteed the juridical position of the Autonomous Territories, Autonomous Republics and Federated Republics in the Constitution of the Union and having realized in full the right of nations to self-determination—the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. has thereby secured, not only formal, but also real equality for the different nationalities of the Union.

As the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism, the U. S. S. R. inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in

world history. In the U. S. S. R., the world proletariat for the first time has acquired a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the U. S. S. R. becomes a powerful center of attraction.

Thus, the U. S. S. R. is an extremely important factor in the general crisis of capitalism, not only because it has dropped out of the world capitalist system and has created a basis for a new socialist system of production, but also because it plays an exceptionally great revolutionary role generally; it is the international driving force of proletarian revolution that impels the proletariat of all countries to seize power; it is the living example proving that the working class is not only capable of destroying capitalism, but of building up socialism as well; it is the prototype of the fraternity of nationalities in all lands united in the world union of socialist republics and of the economic unity of the toilers of all countries in a single world socialist economic system that the world proletariat must establish when it has captured political power.

The simultaneous existence of two economic systems—the socialist system in the U. S. S. R., and the capitalist system in other countries—imposes on the proletarian state the task of warding off the blows showered upon it by the capitalist world (boycott, blockade, etc.). This also compels it to resort to economic maneuvering and to utilize the economic contacts with the capitalist countries (with the aid of the monopoly of foreign trade, which is one of the fundamental conditions for the successful building up of socialism, and also with the aid of credits, loans, concessions, etc.). The principal and fundamental line to be followed in this connection must be the line of establishing the widest possible contact with foreign countries—within limits determined by their usefulness to the U. S. S. R., *i. e.*, primarily for strengthening industry in the U. S. S. R., for laying the base for its own heavy industry and electrification and finally, for the development of its own socialist machine manufacturing industry. Only to the extent that the economic independence of the U. S. S. R. from the encircling capitalist world is secured can solid guarantees be obtained against the danger that socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. may be destroyed and that the U. S. S. R. may be transformed into an appendage of the world capitalist system.

On the other hand, notwithstanding their interest in the markets of the U. S. S. R., the capitalist states continually vacillate between their commercial interests and their fear of the growth of the U. S. S. R., which means the growth of the international revolution. However, the principal and fundamental tendency in the policy of the imperialist powers is to encircle the U. S. S. R. and to conduct counter-revolutionary war against her in order to strangle her and to establish a world bourgeois terrorist regime.

The systematic imperialist attempts politically to encircle the U. S. S. R. and the growing danger of an armed attack upon her, do not, however, prevent the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—a section of the Communist International and the leader of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R.—from fulfilling its international obligations and from rendering support to all the oppressed, to the labor movement in the capitalist countries, to the colonial movements against imperialism and to the struggle against national oppression in every form.

3. The Duties of the International Proletariat to the U. S. S. R.

In view of the fact that the U. S. S. R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and defend it against the attacks of the capitalist powers by all the means in its power.

“The world political situation has made the dictatorship of the proletariat an immediate issue, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, namely, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which must inevitably group around itself the Soviet movements of the advanced workers of all countries on the one hand, and all the national liberation movements of the colonial and oppressed nationalities on the other.” (*Lenin.*)

In the event of the imperialist states declaring war upon and attacking the U. S. S. R., the international proletariat must retaliate by organizing bold and determined mass action and struggling for the overthrow of the imperialist

governments with the slogan of: Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Alliance with the U. S. S. R.

In the colonies, and particularly the colonies of the imperialist country attacking the U. S. S. R., every effort must be made to take advantage of the diversion of the imperialist military forces to develop an anti-imperialist struggle and to organize revolutionary action for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and of winning complete independence.

The development of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and the growth of its international influence not only rouse the hatred of the capitalist states and the Social-Democratic agents against it, but also inspire the toilers all over the world with sympathy towards it and stimulate the readiness of the oppressed classes of all countries to fight with all the means in their power for the land of the proletarian dictatorship, in the event of an imperialist attack upon it.

Thus, the development of the contradictions within modern world economy, the development of the general capitalist crisis, and the imperialist military attack upon the Soviet Union inevitably lead to a mighty revolutionary outbreak which must overwhelm capitalism in a number of the so-called civilized countries, unless the victorious revolution in the colonies, broaden the base of the proletarian dictatorship to an enormous degree and thus, with tremendous strides, bring nearer the final world victory of socialism.

CHAPTER SIX

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. Ideologies Among the Working Class Inimical to Communism

In its fight against capitalism for the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary communism encounters numerous tendencies within the working class which to a greater or lesser degree express the ideological subordination of the proletariat to the imperialist bourgeoisie, or reflect the ideological influence exercised upon the proletariat by the petty bourgeoisie, which at times rebels against the shackles of finance capital, but is incapable of adopting sustained and scientifically planned strategy and tactics or of carrying on the struggle in an organized manner on the basis of the stern discipline that is characteristic of the proletariat.

The mighty social power of the imperialist state, with its auxiliary apparatus—schools, press, theater and church—is primarily reflected in the existence of *confessional and reformist* tendencies among the working class, which represent the main obstacles on the road towards the proletarian social revolution.

The *confessional*, religiously tinged, tendency among the working class finds expression in the confessional *trade unions*, which frequently are directly connected with corresponding bourgeois political organizations and are affiliated with one or other of the church organizations of the dominant class (Catholic trade unions, Young Men's Christian Association, Jewish Zionist organizations, etc.). All these tendencies, being the most striking product of the ideological captivity of certain strata of the proletariat, in most cases, bear a romantic-feudal tinge. By sanctifying all the abominations of the capitalist regime with the holy water of religion, and by terrorizing their flock with the spectre of punishment in the hereafter, the leaders of these organizations serve as the most *reactionary* agents of the class enemy in the camp of the proletariat.

A cynically commercial, and imperialistic secular form of subjecting the proletariat to the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie is represented by contemporary "*socialist*" reformism. Taking its main gospel from the tablets of imperialist politics, its model today is the deliberately anti-socialist and openly counter-revolutionary *American Federation of Labor*. The "ideological" dictatorship of the servile American trade union bureaucracy, which in its turn expresses the "ideological" dictatorship of the American dollar, has become, through the medium of British reformism and His Majesty's Socialists of the British Labor Party, the most important constituent in the theory and practice of international Social-Democracy and of the leaders of the Amsterdam International, while the leaders of German and Austrian Social-Democracy embellish these theories with Marxism phraseology in order to cover up their utter betrayal of Marxism. The principal enemy of revolutionary communism in the labor movement, "socialist" reformism, which has a broad organizational base

in the Social-Democratic Parties and through these in the reformist trade unions, stands out in its entire policy and theoretical outlook as a force directed *against the proletarian revolution*.

In the sphere of *foreign politics*, the Social-Democratic Parties actively supported the imperialist war on the pretext of "defending the fatherland". Imperialist expansion and "colonial policy" received their wholehearted support. Orientation towards the counter-revolutionary "holy alliance" of imperialist powers (the League of Nations), advocacy of "ultra-imperialism", mobilization of the masses under pseudo-pacifist slogans, and at the same time, active support of imperialism in its attacks upon the U. S. S. R. and in its preparations for war against the U. S. S. R.—are the main features of reformist foreign policy.

In the sphere of *home politics*, Social-Democracy has set itself the task of directly cooperating with and supporting the capitalist regime. Complete support for capitalist rationalization and stabilization, safeguarding of class peace, of "industrial peace"; the policy of linking up the labor organizations with the organizations of the employers and with the predatory imperialist state; the practice of so-called "industrial democracy" which in fact means complete subordination to trustified capital; homage to the imperialist state and particularly to its false democratic front; active participation in the building up of the organs of the imperialist state—police, army, gendarmerie, its class judiciary; the defense of the state against the encroachments of the revolutionary communist proletariat and the executioner's role Social-Democracy plays in time of revolutionary crisis—such is the line of reformist home policy. While pretending to conduct the industrial struggle, reformism considers its function in this field to be to conduct that struggle in such manner as to guard the capitalist class against any kind of shock, or at all events, to preserve the complete inviolability of the foundations of capitalist property.

In the sphere of *theory*, Social-Democracy has utterly and completely betrayed Marxism, having traversed the road from revisionism to complete liberal bourgeois reformism and avowed social-imperialism; it has substituted in place of the Marxian theory of the contradictions of capitalism, the bourgeois theory of its harmonious development; it has pigeonholed the theory of crises and of the pauperization of the proletariat; it has turned the flaming and redoubtable theory of class struggle into the mean advocacy of class peace; it has exchanged the theory of growing class antagonisms for the petty-bourgeois fairy-tale about the "democratization" of capital; in place of the theory of the inevitability of war under capitalism it has substituted the bourgeois deceit of pacifism and the lying propaganda of "ultra-imperialism"; it has exchanged the theory of the revolutionary downfall of capitalism for the counterfeit coinage of "sound" capitalism transforming itself peacefully into socialism; it has replaced revolution by evolution, the destruction of the bourgeois state by its active upbuilding, the theory of proletarian dictatorship by the theory of coalition with the bourgeoisie, the doctrine of international proletarian solidarity—by preaching defense of the imperialist fatherland; for Marxian dialectical materialism it has substituted the idealist philosophy and is now engaged in picking up the crumbs of religion that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie.

Within Social-Democratic reformism a number of tendencies stand out that are characteristic of the bourgeois degeneracy of Social-Democracy.

Constructive socialism (MacDonald & Co.)—the very name of which suggests the idea of struggle against the revolutionary proletariat and a favorable attitude towards the capitalist system—continues the liberal-philanthropic, anti-revolutionary and bourgeois traditions of Fabianism (Beatrice and Sydney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Lord Oliver, etc.). It repudiates, on principle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the use of violence in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but it favors violence in the struggle against the proletariat and the colonial peoples. Acting as apologist of the capitalist state, "constructive socialism" preaches state capitalism under the guise of socialism, denounces, in conjunction with the most vulgar ideologists of imperialism in both hemispheres, the theory of the class struggle as "prescientific" theory, and ostensibly advocates a moderate program of nationalization with compensation, taxation of land values, inheritance taxes and taxation of surplus profits as a means for abolishing capitalism. Being resolutely opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R., "Constructive Socialism", in complete alliance with the bourgeoisie—is an active enemy of the *communist* proletarian movement and of colonial revolutions.

A special variety of "Constructive Socialism" is "*Cooperatism*", or "*Cooperative Socialism*" (Charles Gide, Totomyantz & Co.), which also strongly repudi-

ates the class struggle and advocates the cooperative organization of consumers as a means of overcoming capitalism, but which in fact does all it can to help the stabilization of capitalism. Having at its command an extensive propagandist apparatus, in the shape of the mass consumers' cooperative organizations, which it employs for the purpose of systematically influencing the masses, "cooperativism" carries on a fierce struggle against the revolutionary labor movement, hampers it in the achievement of its aims and represents today one of the most potent factors in the camp of the reformist counter-revolution.

So-called "*Guild Socialism*" (Penty, Orage, Hobson and others) is an eclectic attempt to unite "revolutionary" syndicalism with bourgeois-liberal Fabianism, anarchist decentralization ("national industrial guilds") with state-capitalist centralization, and medieval guild and craft narrowness with modern capitalism. Starting out with the ostensible demand for the abolition of the "wage system" as an "immoral" institution which must be abolished by means of workers' control of industry, Guild Socialism completely ignores the most important question, *viz.*, the question of power. While striving to unite workers, intellectuals, and technicians into a federation of national industrial "guilds" and to convert these guilds by peaceful means ("control from within") into organs for the administration of industry within the framework of the bourgeois state, Guild Socialism actually defends the bourgeois state, obscures its class, imperialist and anti-proletarian character and allots to it the function of the non-class representative of the interests of the "consumers" as against the guild-organized "producers". By its advocacy of "functional democracy", *i. e.*, representation of classes in capitalist society, each class being presumed to have definite social and productive function, Guild Socialism paves the way for the fascist "Corporate State". By repudiating both parliamentarism and "direct action", the majority of the Guild Socialists doom the working class to inaction and passive subordination to the bourgeoisie. Thus, Guild Socialism represents a peculiar form of trade unionist utopian opportunism and, as such, cannot but play an anti-revolutionary role.

Lastly, *Austro-Marxism* represents a special variety of Social-Democratic reformism. Being a part of the "Left-wing" of Social-Democracy, Austro-Marxism represents a most subtle deception of the masses of the toilers. Prostituting the terminology of Marxism, while divorcing themselves entirely from the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism (the Kantism, Machism, etc., of the Austro-Marxists in the domain of philosophy), toying with religion, borrowing the theory of "functional democracy" from the British reformists, agreeing with the principle of "building up the Republic", *i. e.*, building up the bourgeois state, Austro-Marxism recommends "class cooperation" in periods of so-called "equilibrium of class forces", *i. e.*, precisely at the time when the revolutionary crisis is maturing. This theory is a justification of coalition with the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the proletarian revolution under the guise of defending "democracy" against the attacks of reaction. Objectively, and in practice, the violence which Austro-Marxism admits in cases of reactionary attack is converted into reactionary violence against the proletarian revolution. Hence, the "functional role" of Austro-Marxism is to deceive the workers already marching towards Communism, and therefore it is the most dangerous enemy of the proletariat, more dangerous than the avowed adherents of predatory social-imperialism.

All the above-mentioned tendencies, being constituent parts of "socialist" reformism, are agencies of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the working class itself. But Communism has to contend also against a number of petty-bourgeois tendencies, which reflect and express the vacillation of the unstable strata of society (the urban petty bourgeoisie, the lumpen-proletariat, the declared Bohemian intellectuals, the pauperized artisans, certain strata of the peasantry, etc. etc.). These tendencies, which are distinguished for their extreme political instability, often cover up a Right policy with Left phraseology or drop into adventurism, substitute "radical" political gesticulation for objective estimation of forces and often tumble from astounding heights of revolutionary bombast to profound depths of pessimism and downright capitulation before the enemy. Under certain conditions, particularly in periods of sharp changes in the political situation and of forced temporary retreat, these tendencies may become very dangerous disrupters of the proletarian ranks and, consequently, a drag upon the revolutionary proletarian movement.

Anarchism, the most prominent representatives of which (Kropotkin, Jean Grave and others) treacherously went over to the side of the imperialist

bourgeoisie in the war of 1914-1918, denies the necessity for wide, centralized and disciplined proletarian organizations and thus leaves the proletariat powerless before the powerful organizations of capital. By its advocacy of individual terror, it distracts the proletariat from the methods of mass organization and mass struggle. By repudiating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of "abstract" liberty, anarchism deprives the proletariat of its most important and sharpest weapon against the bourgeoisie, its armies, and all its organs of repression. Being remote from mass movement of any kind in the most important centers of proletarian struggle, anarchism is steadily being reduced to a sect which, by its tactics and actions, including its opposition to the dictatorship of the working class in the U. S. S. R., has objectively joined the united front of the anti-revolutionary forces.

"*Revolutionary syndicalism*, many ideologists of which in the extremely critical war period went over to the camp of the fascist type of "anti-parliamentary" counter-revolutionaries, or became peaceful reformists of the Social-Democratic type, by its repudiation of political struggle (particularly of revolutionary parliamentarism) and of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, by its advocacy of the craft decentralization of the labor movement generally and of the trade union movement in particular, by its repudiation of the need for a proletarian party, and of the necessity of insurrection, and by its exaggeration of the importance of the general strike (the "folded-arms tactics"), like anarchism, hinders the revolutionization of the masses of the workers wherever it has any influence. Its attacks upon the U. S. S. R., which logically follow from its repudiation of dictatorship of the proletariat in general, place it in this respect on a level with Social-Democracy.

All these tendencies take a common stand with *Social-Democracy*, the principal enemy of the proletarian revolution, on the fundamental political issue, *viz.*, *the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Hence, all of them come out more or less definitely in a united front with Social-Democracy against the U. S. S. R. On the other hand, Social-Democracy, which has utterly and completely betrayed Marxism, tends to rely more and more upon the ideology of the Fabians, of the Constructive Socialists and of the Guild Socialists. These tendencies are becoming transformed into the official liberal-reformist ideology of the bourgeois "socialism" of the Second International.

In the colonial countries and among the oppressed peoples and races generally, communism encounters the influence of peculiar tendencies in the labor movement which played a useful role in a definite phase of development, but which, in the new stage of development, are becoming transformed into a reactionary force.

Sun-Yat-Senism in China expressed the ideology of petty-bourgeois democratic "socialism." In the "Three Principles" (nationalism, democracy, socialism), the concept "people" obscured the concept "classes"; socialism was presented, not as a specific mode of production, to be realized by a specific class, *i. e.*, by the proletariat, but as a vague state of social well-being, the struggle against imperialism was not linked up with the perspective of the development of the class struggle in China. Therefore, while it played a very useful role in the first stage of the Chinese revolution, as a consequence of the further process of class differentiation that has taken place in the country and of the further progress of the revolution, Sun-Yat-Senism has now changed from being the ideological expression of the development of that revolution into fetters of its further development. The epigones of Sun-Yat-Senism, by emphasizing and exaggerating the very features of this ideology that have become objectively reactionary, have transformed it into the official ideology of the Kuomintang, which is now an openly counter-revolutionary force. The ideological growth of the masses of the Chinese proletariat and of the toiling peasantry must therefore be accompanied by determined decisive struggle against the Kuomintang deception and by opposition to the remnants of the Sun-Yat-Senist ideology.

Tendencies like *Gandhi-ism* in India, thoroughly imbued with religious conceptions, idealize the most backward and economically most reactionary forms of social life, see the solution of the social problem not in proletarian socialism, but in a reversion to these backward forms, preach passivity and repudiate the class struggle, and in the process of the development of the revolution become transformed into an openly reactionary force. Gandhi-ism is more and more becoming an ideology directed against mass revolution. It must be strongly combated by communism.

Garveyism, which formerly was the ideology of the Negro *small property owners and workers* in America, and which even now exercises some influence

over the Negro masses, like Gandhi-ism, has become a hindrance to the revolutionization of the Negro masses. Originally advocating social equality for Negroes, Garveyism subsequently developed into a peculiar form of Negro Zionism which, instead of fighting American imperialism, advanced the slogan: "Back to Africa!" This dangerous ideology, which bears not a single genuine democratic trait, and which toys with the aristocratic attributes of a non-existent "Negro kingdom", must be strongly resisted, for it is not a help but a hindrance to the mass Negro liberation struggle against American imperialism.

Standing out against all these tendencies is *proletarian communism*. The powerful ideology of the international revolutionary working class differs from all these tendencies, and primarily from Social-Democracy, in that in complete harmony with the teachings of Marx and Engels, it conducts a *theoretical and practical revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the struggle applies all forms of proletarian mass action.*

2. *The Fundamental Tasks of Communist Strategy and Tactics*

The successful struggle of the Communist International for the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact Communist Party, hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized, closely linked up with the masses.

The Party is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active, and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out thanks to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain unbreakable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves.

In order that it may fulfill its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself and accomplish the following fundamental *strategic* aims:

Extend its influence over the *majority of members of its own class*, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this the Communist Party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations (Soviets, trade unions, factory committees, cooperative societies, sport organizations, cultural organizations, etc.). It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to gain control of the *trade unions*, which are genuine mass working class organizations closely bound up with the every-day struggles of the working class. To work in reactionary trade unions and skillfully to gain control of them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organized workers, to change and "remove from their posts" the reformist leaders, represent important tasks in the preparatory period.

The achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes also that the proletariat has acquired hegemony over *wide sections of the toiling masses*. To accomplish this the Communist Party must extend its influence over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the intelligentsia and over the so-called "little man", *i. e.*, the petty-bourgeois strata generally. It is particularly important that work be carried on for the purpose of extending the Party's influence over the *peasantry*. The Communist Party must secure for itself the whole-hearted support of that stratum of the rural population that stands closest to the proletariat, *i. e.*, the agricultural laborers and the rural poor. To this end, the agricultural laborers must be organized in separate organizations; all possible support must be given them in their struggles against the rural bourgeoisie, and strenuous work must be carried on among the small parcel farmers and small peasants. In regard to the middle strata of the peasantry in developed capitalist countries, the Communist Parties must conduct a policy to secure their neutrality. The fulfillment of all these tasks by the proletariat—the champion of the interests of the whole people and the leader of the broad masses in their struggle against the oppression of finance capital—is an essential prerequisite for the victorious communist revolution.

The tasks of the revolutionary struggle in *colonies, semicolonies and dependencies* are extremely important strategic tasks of the Communist International from the standpoint of the world proletarian struggle. The colonial struggle presupposes that the broad masses of the working class and of the peasantry in the colonies be rallied around the banner of the revolution; but this cannot be achieved unless the closest cooperation is maintained between the proletariat in the oppressing countries and the toiling masses in the oppressed countries.

While organizing, under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship, the revolution against imperialism in the so-called civilized states, the Communist International supports every movement against imperialist oppression in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies (for example in Latin-America); it carries on propaganda against all forms of chauvinism and against the imperialist maltreatment of enslaved peoples and races, big and small (treatment of Negroes, "yellow labor", anti-Semitism, etc.), and supports their struggles against the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations. The Communist International especially combats the chauvinism among the dominant nations of the great powers, the chauvinism fostered by the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as by its Social-Democratic agency, the Second International, and constantly holds up in contrast to the practices of the imperialist bourgeoisie the practice of the Soviet Union, which has established relations of fraternity and equality among the nationalities inhabiting it.

The Communist Parties in the *imperialist countries* must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary liberation movement and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally. The duty of rendering active support to these movements rests primarily upon the workers in the countries upon which the oppressed nations are economically, financially or politically dependent. The Communist Parties must openly recognize the right of the colonies to separation and their right to carry on propaganda for this separation, *i. e.*, propaganda in favor of the independence of the colonies from the imperialist state; they must recognize their right of armed defense against imperialism (*i. e.*, the right of rebellion and revolutionary war) and must advocate and give active support to this defense by all the means in their power. The Communist Parties must adopt this line of policy in regard to all oppressed nations.

The Communist Parties in the *colonial and semi-colonial countries* must carry on a bold and consistent struggle against foreign imperialism and unflinchingly conduct propaganda in favor of friendship and unity with the proletariat in the imperialist countries. They must openly advance, conduct propaganda for and carry out the slogan of agrarian revolution; they must rouse the broad masses of the peasantry for the overthrow of the landlords and combat the reactionary and medieval influence of the clergy, of the missionaries and other similar elements.

In these countries, the principal task is to organize the workers and the peasantry *independently* (to establish class Communist Parties of the proletariat, trade unions, peasant leagues and committees and, in a revolutionary situation, Soviets, etc.), and to free them from the influence of the national bourgeoisie, with whom temporary agreements may be made only on the condition that they, the bourgeoisie, do not hamper the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants, and that they carry on a genuine struggle against imperialism.

In determining its line of tactics, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken up by the various intermediary strata in its country, etc. The Party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accordance with these circumstances, with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle.

When a revolutionary situation is developing, the Party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggle of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilize these minor every-day needs as a *starting point* from which to lead the working class to the *revolutionary struggle for power*.

In the event of a *revolutionary upsurge*, if the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment and the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat, if the masses are ready for action and for

sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois state. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.), and by organizing *mass action*, upon which all branches of the Party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of military science; it presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting operations and unbounded devotion and heroism on the part of the proletariat. An absolutely essential prerequisite for this form of action is the organization of the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form, embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (Councils of Workers' Deputies, Soldiers' Councils, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy.

In passing over to new and more radical slogans, the Parties must be guided by the fundamental role of the political tactics of Leninism, which call for ability to lead the masses to revolutionary positions in such a manner that the masses may, by their own experience, convince themselves of the correctness of the Party line. Failure to observe this rule must inevitably lead to isolation from the masses, to putschism, to the ideological degeneration of communism into "Leftist" dogmatism and to petty-bourgeois "revolutionary" adventurism. No less dangerous is the failure to take advantage of the culminating point in the development of the revolutionary situation, when the Party of the proletariat is called upon to conduct a bold and determined attack upon the enemy. To allow that opportunity to slip by and to fail to start rebellion at that point, means to allow the initiative to pass to the enemy and to doom the revolution to defeat.

When there is no revolutionary upsurge, the Communist Parties must advance *partial* slogans and demands that correspond to the every-day needs of the toilers, linking them up with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. The Communist Parties must not, however, at such a time, advance *transitional* slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations (for example, workers' control of industry, etc.). To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans that favor merging with the system of capitalist organization. Partial demands and slogans generally form an essential part of correct tactics; but certain transitional slogans go inseparably with a revolutionary situation. Repudiation of partial demands and transitional slogans "on principle", however, is incompatible with the tactical principle of communism, for in effect, such repudiation condemns the Party to inaction and isolates it from the masses. Throughout the *entire pre-revolutionary period* a most important basic part of the tactics of the Communist Parties is the *tactic of the united front*, as a means towards most successful struggle against capital, towards the class mobilization of the masses and the exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders.

The correct application of united front tactics and the fulfillment of the general task of winning over the masses presuppose in their turn systematic and persistent work in the *trade unions* and other mass proletarian organizations. It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organization. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade unions and in the factories for the steadfast and energetic defense of the interests of the workers, together with ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and to win the industrially organized workers over to the side of the Party.

Unlike the reformists, whose policy is to split the trade unions, the Communists defend *trade union unity* nationally and internationally on the basis of the class struggle, and render every support to and strengthen the work of the *Red International of Labor Unions*.

In universally championing the current everyday needs of the masses of the workers and of the toilers generally, in utilizing the bourgeois parliament as a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda, and subordinating the partial tasks to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Parties of the Communist International advance partial demands and slogans in the following main spheres:

In the sphere of *labor*, in the narrow meaning of the term, *i. e.*, questions concerned with the *industrial struggle* (the fight against the trustified capitalist

offensive, wage questions, the working day, compulsory arbitration, unemployment), which *grow* into questions of the general political struggle (big industrial conflicts, fight for the right to organize, right to strike, etc.): in the sphere of *politics* proper (taxation, high cost of living, fascism, persecution of revolutionary parties, White terror and current politics generally); and finally the sphere of *world* politics; *viz.*, attitude towards the U. S. S. R. and colonial revolutions, struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement, struggle against imperialism and the war danger, and systematic preparation for the fight against *imperialist war*.

In the sphere of the *peasant* problems, the partial demands are those appertaining to taxation, peasant mortgage indebtedness, struggle against usurer's capital, the land hunger of the peasant small holders, rent, the metayer (crop-sharing) system. Starting out from these partial needs, the Communist Party must sharpen the respective slogans and broaden them out into the slogans: confiscation of large estates, and workers' and peasants' government (the synonym for proletarian dictatorship in developed capitalist countries and for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in backward countries and in certain colonies).

Similarly, systematic work must be carried on among the proletarian and peasant *youth* (mainly through the Young Communist International and its Sections) and among *working women and peasant women*. This work must concern itself with the special conditions of life and struggle of the working and peasant women, and their demands must be linked up with the general demands and fighting slogans of the proletariat.

In the struggle against *colonial oppression*, the Communist Parties in the *colonies* must advance partial demands that correspond to the special circumstances prevailing in each country, such as: complete equality for all nations and races; abolition of all privileges for foreigners; the right to organize for workers and peasants; reduction of the working day; prohibition of child labor; prohibition of usury and of all transactions entailing bondage; reduction and abolition of rent; reduction of taxation; refusal to pay taxes, etc. All these partial slogans must be subordinate to the fundamental demands of the Communist Parties such as: complete political independence of the country and the expulsion of the imperialists, workers' and peasants' government, the land to the whole people, eight-hour day, etc. The Communist Parties in *imperialist countries*, while supporting the struggle proceeding in the colonies, must carry on a campaign in their own respective countries for the withdrawal of imperialist troops, conduct propaganda in the army and navy in defense of the oppressed countries fighting for their liberation, mobilize the masses to refuse to transport troops and munitions and, in connection with this, to organize strikes and other forms of mass protest, etc.

The Communist International must devote itself especially to systematic preparation for the struggle against the *danger of imperialist wars*. Ruthless exposure of social-chauvinism, of social-imperialism, and of pacifist phrasemongering intended to camouflage the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie; propaganda in favor of the principal slogans of the Communist International; everyday organizational work in connection with this, in the course of which work legal methods must unflinchingly be combined with illegal methods; organized work in the army and navy—such must be the activity of the Communist Parties in this connection. The fundamental slogans of the Communist International in this connection must be the following: Convert imperialist war into civil war; defeat "your own" imperialist government; defend the U.S.S.R. and the colonies by every possible means in the event of imperialist war against them. It is the bounden duty of all Sections of the Communist International, and of every one of its members, to carry on propaganda for these slogans, to expose the "socialistic" sophisms and the "socialist" camouflage of the League of Nations and constantly to keep to the front the experiences of the war of 1914-1918.

In order that revolutionary work and revolutionary action may be coordinated and in order that these activities may be guided most successfully, the international proletariat must be bound by *international class discipline*, for which, first of all, it is most important to have the strictest international discipline in the Communist ranks.

The international Communist discipline must find expression in the subordination of the partial and local interests of the movement to its general and lasting interests and in the strict fulfillment, by all members, of the decisions passed by the leading bodies of the Communist International.

Unlike the Social-Democratic, Second International, each section of which submits to the discipline of "its own" national bourgeoisie and of its "fatherland", the Sections of the Communist International submit to only one discipline, *viz.*, international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of all the world's workers for world proletarian dictatorship. Unlike the Second International, which splits the trade unions, fights against colonial peoples, and practices unity with the bourgeoisie, the Communist International is an organization that guards proletarian unity in all countries and the unity of the toilers of all races and all peoples in their struggle against the yoke of imperialism.

Despite the bloody terror of the bourgeoisie, the Communists fight with courage and devotion on all sectors of the international class front, in the firm conviction that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable and cannot be averted.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Workers of all countries, unite!"

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

I. Name and Objects

1. The Communist International—the International Workers' Association—is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the protagonist of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of communist society.

2. Each of the various Parties affiliated to the Communist International is called the Communist Party of ————— [name and country] (Section of the Communist International). In any given country there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and constituting its Section in that country.

3. Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and rules of the respective Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of the Party, actively work in it, abide by all the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay Party dues.

4. The basic unit of the Communist Party organization is the nucleus in the place of employment (factory, workshop, mine, office, store, farm, etc.) which unites all the Party members employed in the given enterprise.

5. The Communist International and its Sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: (a) election of all the leading committees of the Party, from the lowest to the highest (by general meetings of Party members, conferences, congresses and international congresses); (b) periodical reports by leading Party committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of the higher Party organs to be obligatory for the lower organs, strict Party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading Party centers.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the Party and by Party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent Party organs. After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various Sections, the decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the Party membership or of the local Party organizations are in disagreement with it.

In cases where a Party exists illegally, the higher Party committees may appoint the lower committees and co-opt members for their own committee, subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent higher Party committees.

6. In all non-Party workers' and peasants' mass organizations and in their leading committees (trade unions, co-operative societies, sport organizations, ex-servicemen's organizations, and at their congresses and conferences) and also on municipal elective bodies and in parliament, even if there are only two Party members in such organizations and bodies, Communist fractions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the Party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organizations and bodies.

7. The Communist fractions are subordinated to the competent Party bodies.

NOTE. A. Communist fractions in international organizations (Red International of Labor Unions, International Labor Defense, Workers International Relief, etc.), are subordinate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

B. The organizational structure of the Communist fractions and the manner in which their work is guided are determined by special instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International and from Central Committees of the respective Sections of the Comintern.

II. The World Congress of the Communist International

8. The supreme body of the Communist International is the World Congress of representatives of all Parties (Sections) and organizations affiliated to the Communist International.

The World Congress discusses and decides the programmatic, tactical and organizational questions connected with the activities of the Communist International and of its various Sections. Power to alter the Program and Constitution of the Communist International lies exclusively with the World Congress of the Communist International.

The World Congress shall be convened once every two years. The date of the Congress and the number of representatives from the various Sections to the Congress to be determined by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The number of decisive votes to be allocated to each Section at the World Congress shall be determined by the special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the respective Party and to the political importance of the respective country. Delegates to the Congress must have a free mandate; no imperative mandate can be recognized.

9. Special Congresses of the Communist International shall be convened on the demand of Parties which, at the preceding World Congress, had an aggregate of not less than one-half of the decisive votes.

10. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.), and the International Control Commission (I. C. C.).

11. The location of the headquarters of the Executive Committee is decided on by the World Congress.

III. The Executive Committee of the Communist International and Its Subsidiary Bodies

12. The leading body of the Communist International in the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee, which gives instructions to all the Sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

The E. C. C. I. publishes the Central Organ of the Communist International, in not less than four languages.

13. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are obligatory for all the Sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. The Sections have the right to appeal against decisions of the E. C. C. I. to the World Congress, but the decisions of the E. C. C. I. must be carried out pending the action of the World Congress.

14. The Central Committees of the various Sections of the Communist International are responsible to their respective Party Congresses and to the E. C. C. I. The latter has the right to annul or amend decisions of Party Congresses and of Central Committees of Parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them. (Cf. Par. 13.)

15. The E. C. C. I. has the right to expel from the Communist International, entire Sections, groups and individual members who violate the program and constitution of the Communist International or the decisions of the World

Congress or of the E. C. C. I. Persons and bodies expelled have the right to appeal to the World Congress.

16. The programs of the various Sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the E. C. C. I. In the event of the E. C. C. I. refusing to endorse a program, the Section concerned has the right to appeal to the World Congress of the Communist International.

17. The leading organs of the press of the various Sections of the Communist International must publish all the decisions and official documents of the E. C. C. I. These decisions must, as far as possible, be published also in the other organs of the Party press.

18. The E.C.C.I. has the right to accept affiliation to the Communist International of organizations and Parties sympathetic to Communism, such organizations to have a consultative voice.

19. The E.C.C.I. elects a Presidium responsible to the E.C.C.I., which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E.C.C.I. in the interval between the meetings of the latter.

20. The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium have the right to establish permanent bureaus (Western European, South American, Eastern and other Bureaus of the E.C.C.I.), for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various Sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work.

NOTE: The scope of the activities of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. shall be determined by the E.C.C.I. or by its Presidium. The Sections of the Communist International which come within the scope of activities of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. must be informed of the powers conferred on these bureaus.

21. The Sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. Sections may appeal against the instructions of the permanent bureaus to the E.C.C.I. or to its Presidium, but must continue to carry out such instructions pending the decision of the E.C.C.I. or of its Presidium.

22. The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various Sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the E.C.C.I. or from its Presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the E.C.C.I. have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the Sections to which they are sent. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. must carry out their commission in close contact with the Central Committee of the Section to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the Central Committee of the given Section, at Congresses and Conferences of that Section, if the line of the Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the E.C.C.I. Representatives of the E.C.C.I. are especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various Sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the E.C.C.I., to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

23. Meetings of the E.C.C.I. must take place not less than once every six months. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the E.C.C.I.

24. Meetings of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. must take place not less than once a fortnight. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the Presidium.

25. The Presidium elects the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to make decisions, and which also draws up proposals for the meetings of the E.C.C.I. and of its Presidium, and acts as their executive body.

26. The Presidium appoints the editorial committees of the periodical and other publications of the Communist International.

27. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. sets up a Department for Work among Women Toilers, permanent committees for guiding the work of definite groups of Sections of the Communist International and other departments for its work.

IV. The International Control Commission

28. The International Control Commission investigates matters affecting the unity of the Sections affiliated to the Communist International and also matters

connected with the Communist conduct of individual members of the various Sections.

For this purpose the I.C.C.,

A. Examines complaints against the actions of Central Committees of Communist Parties lodged by Party members who have been subjected to disciplinary measures for political differences;

B. Examines such analogous matters concerning members of central bodies of Communist Parties and of individual Party members as it deems necessary, or which are submitted to it by the deciding bodies of the E.C.C.I.;

C. Audits the accounts of the Communist International.

The International Control Commission must not intervene in the political differences or in organizational and administrative conflicts in the Communist Parties.

The headquarters of the I. C. C. are fixed by the I. C. C., in agreement with the E. C. C. I.

V. The Relationship Between the Sections of the Communist International and the E. C. C. I.

29. The Central Committees of Sections affiliated to the Communist International and the Central Committees of affiliated sympathizing organizations must send to the E. C. C. I. the Minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

30. Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of Central Committees of the various Sections is regarded as disruptive of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the Party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. Elected members of the Central leading bodies of the various Sections may resign before their time of office expires only with the consent of the E. C. C. I. Resignations accepted by Central Committees of Sections without the consent of the E. C. C. I. are invalid.

31. The Sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each other's conferences and congresses, and with the consent of the E. C. C. I., exchange leading comrades. This applies particularly to the Sections in imperialist countries and their colonies, and to the Sections in countries adjacent to each other.

32. Two or more Sections of the Communist International which (like the Sections in the Scandinavian countries and in the Balkans) are politically connected with each other by common conditions of struggle, may, with the consent of the E. C. C. I., form federations for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities, such federations to work under the guidance and control of the E. C. C. I.

33. The Sections of the Comintern must regularly pay affiliation dues to the E. C. C. I.; the amount of such dues to be determined by the E. C. C. I.

34. Congresses of the various Sections, ordinary and special, can be convened only with the consent of the E. C. C. I.

In the event of a Section failing to convene a Party Congress prior to the convening of a World Congress, that Section, before electing delegates to the World Congress, must convene a Party conference, or Plenum of its Central Committee, for the purpose of considering the questions that are to come before the World Congress.

35. The International League of Communist Youth (Communist Youth International) is a Section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the E. C. C. I.

36. The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The E. C. C. I. must render the Parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transition to illegal conditions.

37. Individual members of Sections of the Communist International may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the Central Committee of the Section of which they are members.

Communists changing their domicile must join the Section in the country of their new domicile. Communists leaving their country without the consent of the Central Committee of their Section must not be accepted into other Sections of the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 6

[Source: A booklet published by the Trade Union Educational League, 1113 W. Washington St., Chicago, Illinois: September, 1924]

LENIN—THE GREAT STRATEGIST OF THE CLASS WAR

(By A. Losovsky)

(Translation and Introduction by Alexander Bittelman)

Published by The Trade Union International League, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

INTRODUCTION

If I were asked to tell in a few words what is the most pronounced feature of this pamphlet by A. Losovsky on "Lenin; the Great Strategist of the Class-War," I should say this: It is a desire to extract from the experiences of Lenin's life as many lessons as is humanly possible for the advancement of the class struggle and for the promotion of the proletarian victory throuth the world.

A. Losovsky has been prompted to write on Lenin, it seems to me, not merely by a desire to perpetuate Lenin's memory. No. Lenin's name will live in the world as long as toiling masses struggle against exploitation, and as long as oppressed nations and persecuted races tread the path of revolt against their masters in a fight for freedom and human equality. The motive that produced this little book is much more immediate, direct and practical than a mere wish to perpetuate the memory of a great leader. It is an earnest attempt to make Lenin in his death as nearly useful to the working class as he was in his life, and a study of this pamphlet will show that its author has acquitted himself of his task with more than ordinary excellence.

What is it that we are primarily interested in about Lenin? We, I mean those that are part and parcel of the labor movement and of the proletarian class struggle and that are fighting for the dawn of a new day. What do we want to know about Lenin and for what purpose?

Lenin was the founder of a great party, the Communist Party of Russia. He was the leader of the first successful proletarian revolution. He was for over six years the head of the first Workers' and Peasants' Government in the world. He was also the founder and recognized leader of the Communist International. For us, working class militants in the cause of labor, there is a world to learn from the experiences of Lenin as to how to educate, organize and arouse the masses to action against their capitalist exploiters. What we all want to know is, how did Lenin do it? What theories did he hold? What tactics did he pursue? What means did he employ? In short, *what is the essence of Leninism?*

* * * * *

Leninism is the theory and practice of working class struggle. It is the accumulated experience of the battling armies of the proletariat against capitalism reflected by the mind of a genius. It is the century-old hatred of the oppressed against the oppressors embodied in a man of iron will and a great, beautiful heart. It is the proletarian urge to power expressed, formulated and led by the greatest leader the working class ever had.

To understand thoroughly Lenin and Leninism one needs to be familiar with Russia, its history, the martyrdom of hundreds and thousands of Russian revolutionaries, and the long, bitter years of oppression suffered by the toiling masses of Russia. Lenin is inseparable from the class struggle of the Russian masses.

But his greatness and the importance of his work have gone far beyond the boundaries of his native land. At this moment there is not another name in the whole world which means so much for millions upon millions of human beings. It is as if the deepest longings and most intimate dreams of the oppressed in every corner of the globe, in "civilized" Europe as well as in backward Africa, as much in America, as in Asia, have gone forward into the endless spaces of the universe and have found their point of concentration, their unifying genius in the life and teachings of Lenin.

Was there ever a human being more truly international, more a leader of the people of all countries and all nations, than Lenin?

Take his attitude toward the late imperialist war. How did he look upon it? How did he react towards it?

He loved the Russian masses with all the great powers of his human soul. Is anyone in doubt about that? If one's understanding of the most deeply buried feelings of the masses is any test of one's love for them, then who in Russia's history has surpassed Lenin in such understanding? And if one's sympathy for the sufferings of the masses, sympathy of the purest kind, of a most intense and burning nature, is any sign of one's love and devotion to the masses, then who in the life of Russia is greater in this respect than Lenin?

And yet Lenin was one of the most consistent opponents of the idea of the workers defending "their" fatherland. He was unalterably opposed to the Russian masses shedding their blood for the greatness of Russia. Why? Because to him "Russia" was not an abstraction, but a real living thing. Because his great realistic mind was able to pierce through the glittering superficialities of patriotism and fatherland, and to reach out after the substance of things. And in doing so he finally reached the truth that if the name Russia stands for the tens of millions of its toiling masses, if the greatness of Russia is the same as the well-being, peace and security of the workers and peasants, then the true way of serving the greatness of Russia was to combat the late war and to destroy those forces which were instrumental in bringing the war about.

This was the Lenin-way of being patriotic and loyal to one's nation and country.

As these lines are being written, new war clouds are becoming visible on the Far-Eastern horizon. The capitalists of Japan are preparing to resist the encroachment of the capitalists of America in the division of imperialist spoils in China. The capitalists of America are preparing to impose their will by the force of arms. What does it mean? It means that we are drifting with progressively greater speed into a war with Japan. In fact, we are already engaged in war.

Look at what we are now doing in China. All the manoeuvres of our bankers and officials in China in support of one warring general against another, all the movements of our warships in the Chinese waters, are nothing else than war against the capitalists of Japan for more power and influence over China for the capitalists of America.

Again the air will be filled with "patriotism," love of country, loyalty to the fatherland, etc. Again the workers of the United States will be called upon by their masters to come to the defense of the honor, greatness and even freedom of America. The capitalist press of the country, these giant factories for the production of sham and camouflage to dope the working masses, will again start out on a systematic campaign to befog and befuddle the minds of the masses into the belief that "their" country is in danger of being attacked by a foreign enemy.

And when this begins to happen we shall be badly in need of some antidote to the poisonous influences of war propaganda. And what better means is there for such purpose than the wholesome, nourishing and sustaining food of Leninism?

When in trouble, go back to Lenin. When in doubt, consult Lenin. This should become the maxim of every worker and poor farmer in the United States. For there is no surer guide to what the oppressed masses must do to protect themselves against the conspiracies of the capitalists than the teachings and directions of Leninism.

Is it war that you are called upon to sacrifice your life for? If it is, here is what Lenin will tell you. First, inquire, ask questions. Who is it that calls you to war? For what purpose? In defense of whose interests?

And when you find, as you are bound to, that the war is championed by the capitalists, that you are called upon to defend the profits and power of your bosses and exploiters, that it is a war of imperialist robbery and plunder, you will say what Lenin said: Not a cent and not a man for the aggrandizement of our class-enemies! Instead of waging war for capitalism, we shall start war *against* capitalism, for the overthrow of the power of our bosses and for the establishment of our own rule.

And, then, you might ask some more questions. You might want to know how best to fight your economic battles, how to resist wage cuts, open shops drives, unemployment. You will find, for instance, that one of your main problems in the coming months will be how best to strengthen your unions, to rejuvenate them with a new spirit of militancy and hopefulness. What must you do? What *can* you do?

Turn to Lenin, he'll tell you. He has built a party and led a movement which already conquered for the toiling masses one sixth of the earth's surface.

He ought to know how you do those things. Ask him and he'll tell you.

Then, if you go deep enough into the problems of the working class, you will strike the problem of all problems, the question of how you can do away with capitalism altogether. And you will want to know the best way, the surest road, the shortest cut to your final goal. And again we say, ask Lenin, study Leninism.

As with all knowledge that is really worth having, there is no royal or short road to the study of Leninism. Many books have been and will be written on Lenin and on Leninism, which is merely another name for the great art and science of the Social Revolution. Those working class militants, who are truly ambitious to serve their class against capitalism, will no doubt find the time and energy required for a thorough study of Leninism. And as a beginning or introduction to such a course of study we know of no better work than this pamphlet by A. Losovsky.

Losovsky's pamphlet should be carefully read and studied by every trade-union militant who is active in the labor movement. For there are few better ways of assimilating the experiences of great—one is tempted to say the greatest—revolutionary leader and turning these experiences to good account is one's own immediate work, than by studying the life work of Lenin. And for this one would want no more efficient and kindlier guide than this little book.

When you are thru with the reading of it, you grasp, perhaps for the first time, the true stature of the Russian giant. His marvelous knowledge of economics and the social sciences generally, his great analytical mind, his almost superhuman sense for detecting the deep, quiet processes that are constantly taking place within the broad masses, his flexibility of mind, his burning hatred of capitalist oppression and his iron determination to fight the bloody thing to a finish—all these qualities of Lenin take living shape under the pen of Lozovsky, who has succeeded in presenting us with a most illuminating picture of the great Strategian of the Class Struggle.

We cannot all become Lenins, it is true, but many a workingman and working-woman can succeed in approximating the great leader to one degree or another if sufficient effort is lent in that direction in a conscious and determined way.

Our class is badly in need of leaders—loyal, capable and efficient fighters in the proletarian struggle for power. Never in the history of society has an oppressed class struggling for freedom confronted an enemy as clever, tricky, resourceful, unscrupulous and brutal as is the ruling class of today, the capitalists. This fact imposes a duty upon every working class militant to study and learn the art and science of social revolution, to familiarize himself with the tactics and methods of Leninism which have been proved to be the only way to the overthrow of capitalism and the complete liberation of the working class.

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

Chicago, September, 1924.

A LEADER NOT A HERO

There are epochs in human history when single individuals incorporate the experiences and historical tasks of whole classes. History develops by curves and as the class struggle develops in intensity these individuals appear in the foreground and assume their greatest importance at a time when the social antagonisms reach their highest point.

Human history knows of many examples of gifted statesmen, thinkers, politicians and diplomats. But all of them up till now have been representatives of the feudal and capitalist classes. Only in the 19th century when the proletariat came to feel itself as a class do we find the reflection of its interests in the genius, Marx. Lenin is the direct successor of Marx.

When we consider closely Lenin's role in the labor movement of the last decades the first question that appears is, whether we Marxians ought not to revise our theory regarding the role of single individuals in history. For is it not a fact that Lenin has been a living illustration of the theory of the heroes and the masses and did he not, by the activities of his life, disprove the correctness of the materialist conception of history? We must consider this problem at the very outset in order to relieve ourselves of any false idealistic conceptions that we might entertain. The truth is that the real greatness of

the genius of the most outstanding strategian of the class struggle can be correctly appreciated only from the point of view of the class whose leader he was.

The Marxians who enter the study of Lenin's role in history are under no necessity of abandoning their theory of the relation between heroes and masses. Quite the contrary. Only on the basis of the materialist conception of history, only thru a sober analysis of the forces in the class struggle, can we correctly appreciate the role which Lenin, the greatest thinker and revolutionist, has played in the international labor movement and in the international revolution.

MARXISM IN PRACTICE

Lenin was a Marxian dialectician. There are many people that know Marx very well but are incapable of deriving the political lessons and conclusions implied in theory. In this respect Lenin was totally different. He has taken the Marxian theory and methods and applied them in the practice of life. And with the help of his acute analytical mind he interpreted events in their dialectical development. Lenin was one of the foremost experts in the economic and philosophical theories of Marx. But as already said, he was not primarily a theoretician, but a practical Marxian and a political dialectician. The Hegelian dialectics which Marx had developed to its highest point were completely mastered by Lenin. He never reasoned abstractly. He despised pure rationalizing. He hated the free sway of "pure reasoning." He fought against philosophic charlatanism and always proved in action that the truth is concrete.

Just as Marx was manoeuvring with the general factors of economic life, so was Lenin manoeuvring with the concrete forces of the class struggle. In the colorful kaleidoseope of social relations and from the complexities of the everyday events of modern life he always managed to hit upon the fundamental and most important tendencies. He was never deceived by appearances. He was a man called upon to tread new paths. Always pursuing his own way, capable by means of his dialectics not only to explain but constantly to drive history forward, Lenin was a dialectician in politics and a Marxist in action. That is, he knew exactly how to make history in as masterly a fashion as Marx explained it.

IDENTITY WITH A CLASS

Lenin joined the labor movement at its very dawn. The first spontaneous outbreaks of the class struggle in the '80s reverberated thru Russia with a resounding echo. The advancing Marxian movement thrust itself upon the beginnings of the industrial development of Russia, drawing into its ranks many elements of the radical intelligentsia. The first generation of revolutionary intellectuals (Plechanov, Vera Sassulitsch, and Deutsch) founded the group of "Liberation of Labor" which is the predecessor of the Russian Social-Democratic Party and of the Russian Communist Party. Lenin belonged to the second generation of Marxians. Together with many others he joined the labor movement, but while the others were merely passers-by, utilizing it for their own purpose, Lenin remained and led the movement until his very end.

Lenin understood from the very outset the power of the new class. In his very first writings he discusses this matter and says: "The working class is the bearer of the revolution." The working class stands in the foreground and everything which hampers its development, which demoralizes its ranks, which stands in the way of its historical development, must be destroyed and removed. To say at that period that the working class was the bearer of the revolution meant to determine its historic role as against the conceptions of the old socialist school of the "Narodniki."

Lenin completely identified himself with the working class and became its spokesman. He knew as nobody else did how to keep away from the working class and from the then-developing working class party all alien elements. At present it is easier, of course, to see which of those elements were really alien to the labor movement. But to have known this 25 or 30 years ago was much more difficult. At that time there were no material advantages to be derived by people accepting the Marxian theory. On the contrary, they had to bring sacrifices, suffer persecutions, etc. Nevertheless some of these Marxians were nothing more than hangers-on to the labor movement. Chief among those was Peter Struve, formerly a Social-Democrat and later on a leader of the left-wing of the liberal movement, still later a member of the Constitutional Democratic

Party, and at present a monarchist. One required a sharp theoretical mind, and an extraordinary instinct, to detect in the Marxian phraseology of the first work of Peter Struve the real weak spots.

Lenin possessed the ability to guard the working class theoretically and practically against the intrusion of alien elements. He also knew how to relieve the labor movement of those of them who succeeded in getting into it. Lenin knew the working class, he had faith in it, he grasped its historical importance and therefore understood how to maintain the integrity of the labor movement.

BUILDING THE RUSSIAN PARTY

The working class will win, but only in the event that it succeeds in creating a strongly united organization which is ideologically homogeneous. The working class cannot be victorious without uniting the best, the most class conscious and revolutionary elements. Hence the role of the party as the guiding-force of the revolution. The party is not identical with the working class, but is its natural leader. The party leads the masses only inasmuch as it is organically united with the working class reacting to its everyday life. Without a party the working class cannot make a single step. Without a party the revolution is an empty phrase.

Theoretically this truth was recognized even by Lenin's predecessors, but it was he alone who understood how to translate into practice these theoretical propositions. The history of the Russian Social-Democracy and of the Russian Communist Party is organically bound up with the activities of Lenin. He was the organizer of the party, the educator of a whole generation of party workers and leaders, beginning with the time of underground groups up till the moment when the working class assumed power in the largest country in the world. It was because he understood that the working class cannot live without a party that he devoted his greatest attention to the building up of such a party.

It would be difficult to find another man in the history of parties whose life and activity was so intimately interwoven with the party as was Lenin's with the Russian Communist Party. He was its theoretician, its man of action, agitator, propagandist, organizer and leader. He was soldier and general, teacher and pupil, but never did he get the idea that: "The party, this is I," as his opponents used to reproach him. He realized that the power and greatness of the party depends upon its organic connection with the masses, its collaboration with the creative and progressive elements of the working class.

One can state without exaggeration that the Russian Communist Party was the creation of his spirit, the work of his hands. Such a party could be created by one who is perfectly clear as to what are the mutual relations between the party and the class. Lenin's slogan was: "The party above all." Why? Because the Party is the vanguard of the working class, and as such must know not only how to march forward but, if need be, to go against the spontaneous movements among the workers and at decisive moments powerfully to assume the offensive. The party is the organized consciousness of the class, a fact which distinguishes it from the unorganized elemental movements of the workers.

SELF-CRITICISM AND FRANKNESS

Lenin knew exactly the strong and weak sides of the labor movement. And for this reason he reacted so exceptionally critically to every theory built upon the backwardness and weaknesses of the working class. He possessed a sixth sense, the sense of anti-reformism. He smelled reformism from a distance. It was very difficult indeed in 1903 to have determined on the basis of differences of opinion regarding the first paragraph of the party constitution, who were the proletarian Girondists and who were the Jacobins. Nevertheless, Lenin determined this very definitely after the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party. Thru the formulation of the famous paragraph one, he came to the creation of the Girondist wing of the Party. Since then he continuously criticized the right wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Party whose reformism became apparent to everyone only in 1905.

Thruout the first revolution, in the period preceding the late war, and particularly after the war, this anti-reformist sense of Lenin manifests itself in all his activities. He was deceived neither by revolutionary phrases nor by well-sounding resolutions. He exposed to the daylight the reformist theoreticians and men of action, despite all their attempts to conceal their real nature.

He was primarily a man of experience and practical deeds, and it was in this sphere of life that he caused the defeat of the strategians of reformism. More than one half of his writings were devoted to the demoralizing activities of reformism, specifically to the Russian Mensheviks. Just as an archeologist determines the species of a pre-historic animal by the examination of a single bone, so Lenin was able to determine the reformist nature of his opponents by a single phrase in one or another of their articles.

THE ENEMY OF REFORMISM

Lenin would reach out after the substance of reformism, no matter under what masks it would make its appearance, and without any effort on his part would tear off the covering. In the attempt that was made before the first revolution to revise Marx, to connect him with Kant and similar philosophers, Lenin immediately recognized the intention to reject the revolution and a tendency to surrender Marxism to the ideology of the bourgeoisie. Lenin never considered reformism as an inner tendency in the working class. He considered reformism rather as a class enemy, operating within the labor movement and therefore more dangerous to it than the outside enemies.

Because of this attitude of Lenin's, he has been charged with sectarianism and intolerance. But he continued to pursue his line of action with the greatest tenacity for details, proving that reformism is one of the greatest enemies of the labor movement, and that our theoretical struggle with the Mensheviks will eventually bring us to the sharpest conflicts with them. The Russian revolution has proved Lenin correct, thereby showing his extraordinary far-sightedness and sound instinct. In recent years reformism became the most powerful weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Due to reformism, the working class movement has suffered a series of defeats enabling the capitalist system to continue a while in existence.

REVOLUTION AND ACTUALITY

Lenin conceived of the revolution as of something that was moving right upon us, and not as something lying in the far-off distance. Because of this he never tired of insisting that we must prepare ourselves daily for the revolution, even politically and technically. The political preparations consisted in training the masses for action thru everyday struggle. Lenin used to say: "The most important thing is to bring the masses in motion, thereby enabling them to accumulate experiences within a short period of time." The revolution confronts us directly with the problem of armed insurrection. And to speak of this without proper technical preparations, is merely to mouth empty phrases. He who wants the revolution must systematically prepare for it the broad masses, who will, in the process of preparation, create the necessary organs of the struggle.

The Mensheviks were fond of ridiculing the idea of technical preparations for an armed insurrection. According to their conception the center of gravity would lie in the sphere of propaganda, of arming the minds of the workers. To this Lenin's reply was: "He who refuses technically to prepare for the insurrection ultimately rejects the insurrection itself, and transforms the program of the revolution into an empty phrase."

Although Lenin knew quite well that revolutions are not made to order, that the success of a revolution demands certain deep-going historical changes, nevertheless he insisted that the problem of the revolution is not only political but also the technical organization of the revolutionary class. A party which does not prepare for the revolution must be considered a discussion club rather than the leader of a revolutionary class. No matter how difficult this problem is, yet all the progressive forces of the working class must be organized in order to solve this problem. Thus we see that for Lenin the revolution was always a concrete problem of the day which at times comes close to us and again moves back into the distance, depending upon the situation and the correlation of forces, but always remains the acute problem of the labor movement.

PROLETARIAN STATESMANSHIP

Lenin was a foremost statesman. What does this mean? According to his own definition a statesman is one who understands how to manoeuvre with millions of people, who is capable of estimating correctly the mutual relations

of social classes, who can detect the weak spots in his enemy's armor and who knows how to make effective the strongest side of his own class.

In this respect Lenin possessed extraordinary gifts. He knew above all how to determine the line of demarcation between classes and to create a concrete and practical program of action calculated to bring together the working class with its temporary ally, the peasantry. He based his judgment of political conditions, not on superficial appearances, not upon the so-called public opinion, but upon the deep processes that are taking place within the working class. His mind always pierced thru to the very vitals of a situation. He studied the make-up of social life in order to find for himself a starting point, and then he continued to base his activities on the dynamics of the class struggle.

These traits of Lenin's character made him the most dangerous to, and at the same time the most hated by, the class enemies of the proletariat, whom he always managed to hit at the softest spot. He was a *realer politiker* (of course, realistic not in the reformist sense, for whom realism means adaptation to the bourgeoisie) in the sense that he based his revolutionary activities on the correlation of forces in the class struggle. The reformists of all countries declared Lenin to be a Utopian, an "irrational" statesman, because he always busied himself with the problem of revolution, and themselves they consider realists because they advocate the idea of gradually transforming bourgeois society along the lines of evolution. But these "great realists" became tools in the hands of the bourgeois politicians after the war, while Lenin the "irrational statesman" became the most dangerous opponent of the bourgeoisie and the leader of millions of toilers who have risen against their masters.

Immediately after the October revolution Lenin was charged by all petty bourgeois socialists with being an adventurer. But this "adventurer" proved by his deeds which side the real power was on. The "realists" among the Social-Revolutionists and Mensheviks have simply missed the importance of the great change that has taken place in human life. They have even failed to notice that the masses have turned their backs on them. Lenin was the greatest statesman of our age. He has proven this standing at the helm of the greatest state in the world, by the exceptional flexibility of the Russian Communist Party, whose leader and creator he was.

CRITICAL AND REALISTIC

A sober estimate of his own and his enemies' forces was always the starting point for Lenin's political activity. Only he can be termed a real statesman who is able fearlessly to look reality in the face, who coolly estimates the forces of the opposing class, who is not dealing in mere phrases and who is able mercilessly to expose and criticize the weak sides of his own class and his own organization. Also in this respect Lenin possessed an exceptionally strong sense for reality. He never succumbed to the hypnosis of fantastic figures and pompous proclamation.

When he came to Russia in 1917, the time when the Social-Revolutionists held full sway, Lenin remarked; "The power they hold is only imaginary. The Party of the Socialist Revolutionists is an empty shell." Although at that time millions upon millions of workers were following the lead of the party of the Chernovs and Kerenskys, yet he immediately perceived the instability of the influence of the Socialist Revolutionists.

Basing his opinion on the real situation, Lenin spoke in favor of the Brest-Litovsk treaty against the wish of the "public opinion" (at that time the liberal and reformist press was still in existence) and at first even against the leadership of the Russian Communist Party. Upon what did Lenin base his tactics? Upon those deep processes which have been developing within the broad masses. While these latter had been protesting against the peace treaty, the soldiers were leaving the front *en masse*. Lenin has defined the situation by a very laconic but significant expression: "The peasants have voted in favor of peace with their legs because they have been leaving the front." No amount of phraseology in favor of a revolutionary war could convince him to the contrary. He was asking his opponents: "Have you got at least one regiment, have you the support of any armed power, which could be put up against the fleeing, demoralized peasant masses? We cannot fight. We need a breathing space. No matter how short, it will be of advantage to us." History has proven that he was right.

Lenin's prognosis that by means of this breathing space we would be able to create a new army, inspired with a new spirit, and able to take the offensive

again, has been proven to be correct. "One must know also how to evade a fight," he used to exclaim, arguing in favor of signing the Brest-Litovsk treaty. "It is better to retreat in a semi-orderly fashion than to subject the army to complete dissolution. A leader is he who knows how to protect his army from breaking up, and who adopts all necessary measures to preserve his army for future battles." Today this looks to us like A. B. C. wisdom. In order to understand the real extent of Lenin's genius one must remember the tragic situation of Soviet Russia in 1918, and the terrific difficulties which Lenin had to overcome in order to convince his own Party that his estimate of the situation and of the relation of forces was the correct one.

THE GREAT ALLIANCE BETWEEN WORKERS AND PEASANTS

Lenin's sense for reality has manifested itself also in the fact that long before the revolution he was able to estimate correctly the significance of the peasantry. Most of the Marxians had a very poor conception of the role of the peasants in the approaching revolution. From the fact that agriculture was subservient to city industry and that small-scale production was gradually disappearing, many Marxians drew the conclusion that the peasants will not play in the revolution any active part at all or else will play a reactionary part.

As far back as 1905, Lenin already perceived the insufficiency of the agrarian program of the Social-Democratic Party. Immediately upon the beginning of the wide revolutionary movement among the peasants in 1905, he formulated the demand for the nationalization of the land. Lenin's slogan at that time was: "The dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." He saw the necessity for an alliance of these two classes in order to remove the power of the large land-owners. As the February revolution was developing, making clear the extent of the change that was to come, and as he realized that Russia would not satisfy itself with a bourgeois democracy, he commenced propounding in a practical fashion the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry which was to be incorporated in the Russian Soviet State.

As an expert in the agrarian problems, and as one well versed in the applied phases of political economy, Lenin had been well aware of the fact that the peasantry cannot play any independent role. But for this very reason, he said, it is our duty to win the peasantry over to the side of the proletariat. He had been writing and saying: "The peasantry will support either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The peasantry stands to gain from the proletariat much more than from the bourgeoisie. Particularly if we pursue such a policy as to disabuse the peasantry of its prejudices against the dictatorship of the proletariat." Hence his slogan: "An alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry," and the policy of winning the masses of the villages for the support of the political and economic policies of the working class.

LEARNING FROM EVENTS

How did Lenin succeed in arriving at such a realistic conception of the role of the peasantry in the revolution? It was due to his ability to estimate correctly the social forces in modern society. He knew how to learn from events. The peasant uprisings of 1902-03, which had assumed very large proportions before the revolution of 1905, the role played by the army in suppressing the first revolution, the role played by the same army during the second revolution, the revolt of the peasants, the vacillating attitude of the peasantry towards the Soviet Power during the first year after the October revolution—all these facts served Lenin as material for his decisions on tactics with regard to the peasantry. He was a realistic statesman in the best sense of the word. A defeat would never cause him to fold his hands in passivity, but on the contrary would just arouse his energy and obstinacy, in a desire to study and arrive at the causes which had led to defeat. He used to say: "We are defeated. We must learn the causes of our defeat, we must throw light upon every wrong step that we have made, so that we become more practical and more far-sighted."

A WORLD OUTLOOK

Lenin never limited himself to the study of the labor movement of Russia alone but studied with the same vigor all social conflicts in Europe during which the working class suffered defeat. The great French Revolution, the conspiracy of Babeuf, the Chartist movement, the June days in Paris, the Paris Commune, the great economic strikes during the end of the 19th and the beginning of the

20th century—all these served as the basis for determining the causes of the weakness of the working class movement. Furthermore he studied with the same care the mechanism of modern society and the forces at the disposal of our enemy classes. As the result of his study of capitalist society, its form and methods of organization, the unity of the bourgeois classes as against the disunity of the working masses, he had found the prime reason for our defeats, for the victories of the bourgeoisie, and had arrived at a correct appreciation of the methods of struggle of the working class.

TRUE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

As with the agrarian problem, so also with the national problem, Lenin has given us a new conception of its significance. The international Social-Democracy attempted the solution of this problem in a purely rationalistic manner. The Social-Democracy protested formally against the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie. It became apparent, however, right at the beginning of the last war, that international reformism is putting the so-called national interests above the class interests, and is accepting the point of view of the bourgeoisie in the matter of colonial policy. Long before the revolution Lenin had been studying the national problem. During the war he had been writing against the Great Russian chauvinists, exposing the false position of even many of the left-wing elements of the labor movement.

When Lenin came to power he commenced to put into effect his own policies. In doing so, it must be admitted, he found resistance even in the ranks of his own party. Lenin had fought with particular energy against the attempt to carry on a nationalistic and Russifying policy under the cover of internationalism. It is known that Lenin was the spiritual father of the international policies of Soviet Russia. But it is not so well known that he had been following with particular attention Soviet Russia's Eastern policies. From the workers of those countries which hold in subjection other nations, he used to demand not only platonic sympathies for the oppressed, but practical political and technical measures of support to the revolutionary masses which are struggling against the yoke of imperialism.

For Lenin the demand for "self-determination of nations up to the point of separation" was no mere demagogic phrase, but a real law of practical policy. If we follow the line of policy pursued by Soviet Russia since its existence we find that this was the actual policy of Lenin put into effect. He was never satisfied with general principles alone. He carried out his ideas in all details.

Lenin took part in the debate on the national question which took place in December of 1922. He wrote: "I have already mentioned in my writings on the national question that there is no use in considering this problem abstractly. It is necessary to distinguish between the nationalism of a people which oppresses, and the nationalism of a people which is itself oppressed, that is, between the nationalism of big nations and the nationalism of small nations. We, as representatives of a big nation, are almost always guilty of endless wrongs against the small nations. And furthermore, unconsciously for ourselves, we perpetrate outrages and give offense. The internationalism of the so-called big nations, of one who is oppressing others, must consist not only in formally accepting the principle of equality of nations, but also in creating conditions for the abolition of the wrong doings of the great nation. He who does not understand this will not be able to assume a correct proletarian position on this question. He will assume substantially the point of view of the petty bourgeoisie, being liable at any moment to follow the lead of the bourgeoisie. What is it that is of importance to the proletariat? It is not only important but absolutely essential that the proletariat possess great confidence in itself. How can this be secured? To establish the principle of formal equality will not suffice. Only thru our deeds, thru the actual concessions that we make to other nationalities, which will wipe out their memories of former oppression by the old ruling classes, can we establish the necessary self-confidence. I believe that a Bolshevik or a Communist needs no further explanations. A true proletarian policy would demand of us in this sphere of activity, to be particularly careful and conciliatory, and in this given instance it would be much better to yield too much than too little to the national minorities. The interests of proletarian solidarity, and consequently of the proletarian class struggle, demand that we consider the national question not merely in a formal way. We must take into consideration the difference of conception and ideas between the great nation and the small nation. Nothing is so detrimental to the development and consolidation of proletarian

solidarity as a sense of national injustice. Nothing calls forth such bitter reactions from the national minorities as the sense of being oppressed by our own proletarian comrades."

This quotation shows the whole genius and simplicity of Lenin's deep understanding of the psychology of the oppressed peoples. Now, has Lenin's national policy brought any positive results? If there is any doubt on that score it can be obliterated by merely inquiring of the oppressed peoples of the East. The oppressed peoples of the entire East have a very correct understanding of the deeply international and revolutionary proletarian character of Lenin's national policy.

THE GIFT OF ORIENTATION

Lenin possessed the exceptional ability of orientation and Marxian farsightedness. As a realist in class politics he quickly perceived the nature of bourgeois democracy. But it was in this field that great efforts had to be made to free oneself from historic traditions. For was not Lenin the founder of the Social-Democracy which had inscribed on its banner that the way to socialism lies thru democracy? Yet in spite of all this he was successful in destroying all fetishes of democracy. He succeeded in this because of the revolution which in its development had to overcome these democratic obstacles. He did not shrink even from dissolving the Constituent Assembly, which had been a sacred thing in the minds of many generations of Russian intellectuals. Political democracy was never able to blind his eyes to the social and economic problems of the revolution. As against bourgeois democracy he placed the democracy of the proletariat.

International reformism saw in this act of Lenin's his heaviest sin, while in reality it was one of his greatest contributions to the proletarian class struggle. The civil war in Russia had exposed the fractions and parties, which had been fighting under the banner of democracy and the Constituent Assembly as real counter-revolutionists. The last years of struggle in the West have proved very convincingly that the democratic cooperation between the Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie is nothing more than betrayal of the working class.

THE PROLETARIAN STATE AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Lenin had a perfect conception of the nature of democracy and of the State. He restated the Marxian position regarding the nature of the State and its role in the class struggle. As against the bourgeois democratic State, he placed the Soviet State as the concrete form of the proletarian dictatorship. And he also defined the position of the Soviet State in the development of the social revolution. Every State, including the Soviet State, is the weapon of a definite class. The State as such is an organ of oppression of one class by the other. In this definition is contained the idea of the transitory nature of the State from a historic point of view. By the abolition of classes and the class struggle, the State will disappear, but as a result of many years of historical development and not as a result of one single act, as in the conception of the Anarchists. To bring about the situation where there are no classes in society, is possible only by means of a firm dictatorship of the working class, because it is only by means of such a dictatorship that we can break the resistance of the classes that are opposed to the proletariat. Lenin also knew that the establishment of the proletarian power is impossible without a violent revolution, and that the maintenance of this proletarian power would be impossible without a merciless suppression of the exploiting classes.

But the State is not an abstract category. The proletariat creates the State in a form which is most advantageous to itself. Such a form is the Soviet System of State, for it best unites the workers for management of the economic and political affairs of the country. Consequently the Soviet system is the best form of the proletarian dictatorship, and the Soviets are the best adapted fighting organs of the working class.

How does the working class realize its dictatorship? Naturally, thru the Soviets. And how do the Soviets realize their dictatorship? Thru special organs created by themselves. The opponents of Communism criticized Lenin for the fact that he placed the sign of equation between the dictatorship of the class and the dictatorship of the Party. They said: "The dictatorship of the class is one thing, while the dictatorship of the Party is an entirely different proposition." To this Lenin replied: "The working class must realize its

dictatorship thru its vanguard, and since the Communist Party of Russia is the vanguard of the working class it is quite natural that this Party exercises the power of the proletariat rule." This theory Lenin had put into effect. And it is not an abstract theory, but a living reality. In the gigantic workshop called Soviet Russia were forged the new historic forms of working class power, and new methods of struggle for its liberation. Lenin always went ahead, clearing the path, casting aside all prejudices and throwing a mighty searchlight of Marxism upon the complex problems of the social and economic struggles.

POWER OF CONCENTRATION

As a foremost strategist Lenin understood how to direct the attention of the masses to itself, how to concentrate the fighting energies of the masses, directing them to some central point. He knew the secret of formulating slogans in a simple and universally understood manner. He also knew as nobody else did how to organize the masses and lead them into struggle, always in accordance with the fundamental principle of strategy which is, that the offensive is the best defensive. Lenin never permitted the initiative to slip out of his hands. He knew that the moment the enemy seizes the initiative our battle is lost. He was always striving towards determining results, even if they were small. He pursued our class enemies to the point of their complete destruction. He knew neither sentimentalism nor vacillation, which was the result, not of his "blood-thirstiness" as our class enemies would have us believe, but of his deep understanding of the mechanism of the social struggle.

When the class struggle reaches a sharpened stage, indecision is much more costly to the working class than the utmost relentlessness towards the enemy. In moments of decision the least failure to adopt energetic measures results in the working class paying with thousands of lives. Such indecision enables the enemy to collect its forces and to assume the offensive. In the whole of Lenin's activities the following passes like a redthread: Initiative, determination, ruthlessness, the pursuit of the enemy until he is destroyed, quick action and the concentration of the proletarian forces at the weakest spot of the enemy's front.

At the same time Lenin understood how to diagnose the weak spots in the armor of his own class. He would fight and exclude from the midst of the proletariat many elements and whole social groups that were steering against the course of the proletarian movement. He had a very fine sense of perception for all the quiet processes that are going on within the masses, he sensed very quickly all the subterranean forces within the proletariat, and he always understood how to differentiate between the sound and unsound tendencies within the working class. We must not forget that the working class finds itself within the capitalist order of society, and that as a result of this, capitalism is exerting a great influence over the proletarian masses. Reformism, for instance, is the ideology of the bourgeoisie transplanted on working class soil. Lenin was in possession of an iron will to fight. He never permitted himself to be intimidated by defeats. He always intrenched himself in the positions to which the working class would be compelled to retreat and from there again assume the offensive.

AN ORGANIZER OF MASSES

Lenin was not only a foremost Marxian, a statesman and strategist of extraordinary foresightedness, he was also one of the greatest organizers and leaders of the masses. He knew how to unite around himself large masses of human beings, to draw them into a mass movement, and to lead them into struggles. He always stood at the central point of the class struggle. He was charged with energy, with faith, with absolute conviction, transmitting all this not only to those who stood close to him but also to hundreds of thousands and to millions. The international reformists speak of Lenin as the destroyer of socialism, a sectarian, an intolerant spirit, and so forth. Yes, we will admit that Lenin was the destroyer of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. He couldn't tolerate reformism. He was a sectarian because he refused to deal with the betrayers of the labor movement.

The work of Lenin's life speaks for itself. This "spirit of destruction" stood at the head of a mighty country. This "sectarian" has been the founder and leader of the greatest political party in the world. This "spirit of intolerance" left after him more love and loyalty than anyone else in the course of thousands of years. Lenin's organizing abilities have found their expression in 30 years of work, beginning with the creation of illegal political groups up to the

point when he assumed the leadership of Soviet Russia. For him there was no struggle possible, no victory possible, without organization. Organization work was part and parcel of his life's activities. He had built his organization from the bottom up, he created a school of organization that is being followed by a generation which, from his theory and particularly from his action, will draw inspiration for years and years to come.

THE EMBODIMENT OF THE PROLETARIAN WILL TO POWER?

One of Lenin's most notable characteristics was his will power. He knew nothing but the revolution, and had been pursuing this end with all his energy. So-called public opinion had no influence over him. He never paid any attention to "what the other fellow will say. He always felt the pulsation of the working class, because he was so closely connected with it. He also knew how to swim against the current, how to overcome obstacles, whenever this was demanded by the revolution. Let us recollect how he passed to Russia thru Germany at the beginning of the revolution without paying the least attention to the insinuations of the capitalist and reformist press the world over. He possessed the ability to concentrate his will power and to strike the enemy at the weakest spot. While he was very patient with his friends he never knew or showed any tolerance to the betrayers of the working class. When a friend of yesterday would become the enemy of today Lenin would pursue the same tactics of uncompromising hostility. His tactics were always elastic, which enabled him to utilize even the slightest mistake of his opponent in order to drive a wedge into the ranks of the enemy. He never shunned responsibility, especially in decisive moments of struggle. He always knew what he wanted. The most characteristic feature of the political and moral physiognomy of Lenin, this gigantic concentration of the will of the proletariat, were his extraordinary will power and his all-inclusive spirit.

FORMAL LOGIC VERSUS REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

If one were to approach the estimation of Lenin's activities from the point of view of formal logic, one would find quite a number of contradictions. In the one hand, if one analyzes his activity from the point of view of the objective conditions with which Lenin was dealing, and also considers dialectically the developments themselves, then all contradictions will disappear. *He pursued the tactics of quick changes in orientation.* His agrarian program between 1901 and 1903 had been based upon the principle of the division of land among the peasants, and in October of 1917 he carried thru the socialization of land.

Like all Social-Democrats Lenin started out as one favoring the defense of the fatherland. However, when the last war broke out, he immediately adopted the attitude of uncompromising hostility to the theory and practice of national defense. He declared that not even the defeat of Russia would matter for the working class. At that time the Marxian literature had just begun to discuss the problem of national and imperialist war. Lenin began devoting his attention to this problem and came to the conclusion that it is our duty to transform the imperialist war into a civil war.

From the Provisional Government of Russia he demanded the immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and after the October Revolution he dispersed this very same Assembly. In the beginning Lenin was in favor of military Communism, but in 1921 he introduced the New Economic Policy. Following the socialization of the land in 1917, he favored in 1918 the formation of special committees composed of the poorest peasants, in order to split the peasantry thereby deciding the fate of the civil war in the villages. Starting out as an adherent of the idea of revolutionary war, he yet rejected this idea in 1918, and signed the Brest Litovsk peace treaty. And in 1920, he again favored the revolutionary war, this time against Poland. A deadly enemy of reformism, opposed to all dealings with the reformists, yet when conditions changed he declared in favor of the united front as a means of combating reformism altho it involved dealing with the reformists. Altho he favored a direct struggle against all parties of the Second International, yet at a certain stage in the development of the class struggle in England he favored the idea of supporting the British Labor Party and its coming into power. We could relate many more illustrations of the same kind.

In view of all this, would not the activity of Lenin appear to be full of contradictions? Closet philosophers, adherents of the so-called rationalistic and logical formulae, could never adjust themselves to the "illogical" thinking of

Lenin. But this proves only that these people have forgotten the whole Hegelian rule that the truth is concrete. Lenin's quick changes of orientation were not caused by abstract reasons, but by changes of realities. He was no conservator of dead formulae and lifeless slogans. Lenin's mobility in politics and tactics was always in accord with the daily changes in the mutual relation of forces between classes.

If we were to collect all that has been written on Lenin by his opponents, we should get one great historical rebus. According to some of his opponents, Lenin was a typical conspirator, a Blanquist, a Jacobin. According to others, Lenin was one of the greatest opportunists, a careerist, one who was determined upon getting into power, irrespective of the price. All these descriptions are meaningless because they are based upon single instances of Lenin's activities, torn out from their connections with the whole, qualified according to the personal sentiments of one or the other of his enemies, and stamped accordingly.

Lenin was a dialectician in politics. That is, he knew how to attack, when necessary to retreat, always according to plan, to change directions, and when the situation became favorable again, to reassume the offensive, never for a second losing sight of his final aims. During the thirty years of his activities Lenin showed how changes of orientation could be effected without the Party or the class whom he represented breaking their necks, but on the contrary strengthening their fighting ability and organization. From this point of view his entire political work has been a classical example of revolutionary class strategy.

WAR AND REVOLUTION

From the very beginning Lenin had a clear conception of the international nature of the class struggle. Long before the war he already felt himself a stranger at the international socialist parades where the phrase reigned supreme and where no action was to be seen. As a result of his appearance at international congresses (Stuttgart, Copenhagen) there was formed a small and loosely-allied left wing. This "Russian sectarian" was treated condescendingly by the leaders of European reformism. Some of them looked upon Lenin's activities as a sort of sectarian madness, others consider it a result of the mystical traits of his Slavic character. Very few realized the significance of this coming leader of the international working class movement. Only a few radical Germans, Polish social-democrats, and several comrades of other countries, stood in close political relations towards Bolshevism. Clara Zetkin relates the following story: At the congress in Stuttgart, held in 1907, Rosa Luxemburg, while pointing out to her the place occupied by Lenin, said: "See that man? Just watch the characteristics of his head. He looks as if he were ready to crush the whole world, that he would rather break his head than surrender."

Lenin knew the international working class movement well for many years. But the international labor movement began to know Lenin only after the October Revolution. And here we approach one of the most interesting questions connected with the theory and practice of the labor movement. How many people are familiar with the giant of scientific socialism whose name was Marx? A few hundreds of thousands. On the other hand, how many have heard of Lenin? Hundreds of millions. How is this to be explained? Marx forged the *weapon of criticism* for the struggle against the capitalist system, while Lenin employed this *criticism as a weapon* to strike the enemy over the head. The oppressed millions have gotten a very clear conception of the significance of what Lenin was doing, while the materialistic conception of history, the theory of the socialization of production, could be understood by a limited number of people. But the expropriation of land, factories, and banks, the abolition of exploitation, the annulment of debts—such propaganda by action appealed to and was understood by the widest sections of the working class.

One of the French bourgeois papers wrote after Lenin's death: "His thoughts were grey and theologically monotonous." For the bourgeois world the ideas of Lenin were really grey. But how did the international working class movement respond to his ideas? Millions of people understood his thoughts because they were simple and within the grasp of the masses. They were in harmony with the class instincts of these masses, if not always with their conscious understanding. But the true greatness of Lenin's "grey ideas could be seen only after these ideas had been transformed into "red actions."

When at the end of 1914 Lenin spoke of the necessity of putting up the civil war against the imperialist war, not even the left wing could follow the trend

of his shots. He therefore organized at Zimmerwald a left wing which assumed definite form only at Kienthal. But even after the conference at Kienthal one of its participants, the French delegate Brissac, spoke of Lenin as of a queer sort of fellow who had been making publicly very childish propositions.

From the very beginning Lenin had a very clear idea as to what results the imperialist war would bring to humanity, and that the capitalist world would under no circumstances be able to avoid civil war. This explains his radical slogans. But the international labor movement had been developing very slowly. It had to have a few more years of war before the masses would come back to their senses. And this had been Lenin's task, to awaken the masses to revolutionary action altho he was very little known to the wide proletarian masses.

After the February Revolution the patriotic henchmen of all countries started a campaign of vilification against Lenin as an agent of the German General Staff. This story found wide circulation also among social-democratic circles. Only after the October Revolution did the masses come to learn the part played by Lenin at Zimmerwald and Kienthal where he demanded that the working class be aroused against the imperialist war. Only after he assumed the leadership of the greatest revolution in the history of the world did the masses come to know who Lenin really was. And since then the international labor movement has been divided into two groups as far as Lenin was concerned, enthusiastic friends and deadly enemies.

Every day of the existence of Soviet Russia, every attack against Russia by its enemies, have contributed towards the increase of Lenin's popularity among the masses, thereby raising the importance of those organizations (the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions) whose fate was bound up with that of Soviet Russia.

Lenin's death deeply impressed the working masses of the entire world. Most of the leaders of the international revolutionary movement have realized that Lenin has been the trail-blazer for the Communist Parties of every country in the world. At present the theoretical and practical features of Bolshevism which were created by Lenin have become factors of world importance. Since Bolshevism has thrown off the chains of Czarist rule, it has become the object of universal attention and of the hatred of the imperialist bourgeoisie the world over. Bolshevism at present stands against imperialism and reaction as a real power. In the constant development of our movement, in the constant growth of the Communist ideas and Communist Parties, in the extended influence of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, in the internationalization of our methods of struggle and in the elasticity of our revolutionary tactics, in the growing international unity between the various sections of the revolutionary proletariat—in all this we can see the firm hand and the great genius of Lenin. He stands out in the history of the international labor movement as one of its foremost and greatest leaders.

THE FATHER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Lenin was the creator and the driving force of the Third Communist International, which he began building during the very first days of the world war. The moment the Parties of the Second International began openly to support their Governments, Lenin issued the following slogan: "*The Second International is dead; long live the Third International.*" He was one of the organizers of the conference of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, where he formulated the basis for the left wing. During the years of war he ruthlessly opposed and attacked every shade of opportunism, particularly the meaningless pacifist abortion of Kautsky. But it was only after the October Revolution that conditions became ripe for the Third International, conditions which laid the national, territorial, social, and political foundations for the International of action. The Russian experiences served the Communist International as the guiding line of its policies.

However, Lenin did not reject in an offhand manner *everything* that was created by the Second International. He understood how to differentiate between what was valuable and what was not. In his article entitled "The Third International and Its Place in History" he said the following:

"The First International laid the foundation for the international proletarian struggle for socialism. The Second International constitutes the epoch in which the ground has been prepared in a number of countries for a mass movement. The Third International utilizes the results of the activities of the Second Inter-

national, breaks with the opportunistic, social-chauvinistic, and petty-bourgeois tendencies, and begins to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In the same article Lenin explains what he considered the foundation of the Third International:

"The historic world significance of the Communist International consists in this, that it begins to put into effect the things which Marx has proven theoretically to be a necessity, thereby realizing the consequences produced by the socialist and labor movement, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin gave the Communist International not only its ideological direction by formulating many of the theses adopted by the Comintern, which have drawn the attention of the Communist Parties to the importance of the agrarian and colonial questions, to the mutual relations between the dictatorship and capitalist democracy, but he also participated directly and actively in the solution of all problems confronted by the Communist International. Between Congresses he always occupied himself very intensively with the problems of the Communist Parties all over the world. And when, in the beginning of 1920, he noticed the appearance of a sort of utopian Communism, he began struggling against it in his famous booklet, "The Infantile Sickness of Communism," thereby dealing a death-blow to this tendency.

After the formation of the Communist International, Lenin's main worry was to close the gates to the opportunist elements. The famous 21 points, which attracted so much attention, not only of the reformist press but also of the capitalist press, belong to Lenin. Lenin looked upon the Communist International not as a meeting place of all kinds of independent national parties, but as a absolutely homogeneous international fighting organization. However, he always had regard for the situations of the various countries, and never presented exaggerated demands to the newly-formed Communist organizations, for he knew only too well how much effort it would require to educate politically and organizationally and to put on the right track all those new Communist Parties which had just emerged from the ranks of the Social Democracy. He considered it the best means to pursue a clear revolutionary policy and, in this sense, he developed his activities in the Communist International. Lenin was, for the Third International, what Marx was for the First. The revolutionary workers of all countries have still a lot to learn from Lenin's works, particularly from his actions, because Leninism and Communism are one and the same thing.

LENIN AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The trade union movement also is very much indebted to Lenin. First of all because he has determined the correct place to be occupied by the trade unions in the class struggle. He fought very bitterly all those in the trade unions of Europe that favored the existence of the trade unions as perfectly independent organizations from the political party of the proletariat. He proved in a number of cases that this idea of the independence of the unions from the political movement of the proletariat in reality means independence from revolutionary class politics, that the anarchists and reformists by preaching the idea of the independence of the trade unions are merely serving the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin looked upon the trade unions as the elementary units of working class organization, "as the place where the masses are trained in organization, in collective management, and in Communism." He was at one and the same time opposed to over-estimating as well as under-estimating the importance of trade unions. He always insisted upon the necessity of taking part in these mass organizations, irrespective of the nature of their leadership. In his book "The Infantile Sicknesses of Communism," in the chapter entitled, "Shall Revolutionaries Participate in Reactionary Trade Unions?" he criticizes very energetically those Communist elements which at the first onslaught of the reactionary bureaucracy become pessimistic and throw out the slogan of: "Out of the Trade Unions, an immediate split." Such tactics he designates as: "Unpardonable stupidity which is equivalent to offering the greatest service to the bourgeoisie." He says: "We must work wherever the masses are, criticize mercilessly the labor aristocracy which is dominated by reformism, narrow craft egotism, and the ideas of bourgeois imperialism." Lenin would emphasize time and again that without the trade unions the Soviet Government could not have maintained itself in power for more than two weeks. The trade unions are the connecting link between the masses and the proletarian vanguard. It is

only by our daily activities that we can convince the masses that it is only we who are capable of leading them from capitalism communism.

The development of the revolutionary trade union movement followed that of the Communist movement. The Russian trade union movement was to the Red International of Labor Unions of the same importance as the Communist Party of Russia was to the Communist International. The Russian trade union movement had begun developing with particular intensity after the October Revolution under the ideological and political leadership of Lenin.

Lenin followed the development of the trade union movement with the same interest with which he followed that of the Communist movement. He would always explain that the Amsterdam International is the main support of the international bourgeoisie, and because of this was he so much interested in the Red International of Labor Unions, as can be seen from his communication to the First Congress of the R. I. L. U. (July, 1921) where Lenin said:

"It is hard to express in words the importance of this international trade union congress. Everywhere in the whole world the Communist ideas find ever more followers among the membership of the trade unions. The progress of Communism does not follow a straight line. It is not regular, it has got to overcome thousands of obstacles, but it moves forward just the same. This international trade union congress will hasten the progress of Communism, which will be victorious in the trade union movement. There is no power on earth that is able to prevent the collapse of capitalism and the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie."

From this it can be seen what importance Lenin attached to the international unification of the revolutionary trade union movement for the struggles of the working class.

A CHILD OF HIS PEOPLE AND CENTURY

Lenin was the child of his people and of his century. When called a Jacobin he would answer: "We, the Bolsheviks, are the Jacobins of the Twentieth Century, that is, the Jacobins of the proletarian revolution." Lenin was, as we have seen, the very embodiment of the idea of internationalism, and at the same time he was part and parcel of the mighty revolutionary movement that the oppressed masses of Russia have been carrying on for years and years. He was really one link in a long chain of struggles for the emancipation of the Russian proletariat and the Russian peasantry. From Radschev, thru Belinsky, Dobroljubov, Bakunin, Tschernischevsky, Netschajev, and Jelibov, thru the party "The Will of the People" and thru the group of "Emancipation of Labor," and thru many unknown representatives of the workers and peasants, which have been populating the prisons of the Czar and of Siberia, there runs the thread of struggle which unites Lenin with the Russian revolutionary movement. He was a man of an all-inclusive spirit; the press of our opponents would speak with irony about the utopian plans of Bolshevism. But in this irony there is to be found a profound truth. Lenin has been operating with whole continents. He was basing his policies upon the experiences of millions.

Only the limitless and vast extent of Russia could give birth to such a spirit. This youth, born to a family of state functionaries and adopted by the proletariat, embodied and gave expression to the hatred of the working class of Russia accumulated thru centuries. He also reflected in himself the hatred of the peasantry against its oppressors that accumulated thru centuries. He had a deep sense for the sufferings of the toiling masses, even when the masses could not give expression to those sufferings in words.

Lenin cannot be considered apart from the Russian workers and peasants and from the Russian history. Only within the social structure of Russia, the revolutionary struggles of whole generations, only by considering the achievements of the Russian revolutionary movement since the 18th century and up to the last day, can we locate the prime factors that have brought about the appearance of Bolshevism in Russia at the cross-roads of two centuries. Only by taking all this into consideration can we properly estimate the moral, political, national, and international physiognomy of Lenin. For us, his contemporaries, who have been living within the circle of his influence, one thing is clear. Lenin was one of those men by whom humanity marks its historical path, concerning whom legends are being told in his lifetime, and the farther we go from the date of his death the clearer will stand before us Lenin's greatness and immortality.

EXHIBIT No. 7

[Source: "Lenin on the Historic Significance of the Third International," a pamphlet published by Martin Lawrence, London: 1934]

LENIN ON THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Published by Martin Lawrence, 33 Great James Street, London, W. C. 1, and printed in Great Britain by Western Printing Services Ltd., Bristol, 1934

THE THIRD, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Speech Recorded for the Gramophone

IN March of this year, 1919, there took place an international congress of Communists in Moscow. This Congress founded the Third, Communist International, the Union of the Workers of the whole world who are striving for the establishment of Soviet power in all countries.

The First International, founded by Marx, existed from 1864 to 1872. The defeat of the heroic Paris workers—the famous Paris Commune—meant the end of this International. It is unforgettable, it is eternal, in the history of the struggle of the workers for their emancipation. It laid the foundation of that building of the World Socialist Republic, which we to-day have the happiness of constructing.

The Second International existed from 1889 to 1914, until the war. This period was the period of the quietest and most peaceful developments of capitalism, a period without great revolutions. The labour movement grew strong and mature in that period in a number of countries. But the leaders of the workers in the majority of parties, growing accustomed to peaceful times, lost the capacity for revolutionary struggle. When the War began in 1914, which for four years has drenched the earth with blood, a war between the capitalists for the division of profits, for power over the small and weak nations, these socialists passed over to the side of their governments. They betrayed the workers, they helped to drag out the slaughter, they became enemies of Socialism, they passed over to the side of the capitalists. The masses of the workers have turned away from these traitors to Socialism. Throughout the world a turn to revolutionary struggle has commenced. The War has shown that capitalism is doomed. A new order is taking its place. The traitors to Socialism have disgraced the old word "Socialism."

Now the workers who have remained faithful to the cause of the overthrow of the yoke of capital call themselves Communists. Throughout the world the Union of Communists is growing. In a number of countries Soviet power has already been victorious.¹ It will not be long before we see the victory of Communism throughout the world, before we see the foundation of the World Federal Republic of Soviets. (*Made in March 1919.*)

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND ITS PLACE IN HISTORY

The imperialists of the Entente countries are blockading Russia, endeavouring to cut off the Soviet Republic from the capitalist world, as a centre of infection. These people who boast of the "democracy" of their institutions are so blinded by hatred towards the Soviet Republic that they do not notice how they are making themselves ridiculous. Only think: the advanced, most civilised and "democratic" countries, armed to the teeth, which in a military respect have unchallenged sway over the whole earth, are frightened as of fire of the *ideological* infection which proceeds from a ruined, hungry, backward, and, as they declare, even a half-savage country!

This contradiction alone opens the eyes of the labouring masses of all countries and helps to expose the hypocrisy of the imperialists Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, and their governments.

But not only the blind hatred of the capitalists towards the Soviets, but also their squabbles among themselves help us, inciting them to injure one another. They have concluded among themselves a real conspiracy of silence, being frightened more than anything else of the spreading of correct news about the Soviet Republic in general, and of its official documents in particular. However, the

¹ Lenin refers to the Soviet revolutions in Bavaria and Hungary.

chief organ of the French bourgeoisie, *Le Temps*, has printed a communication about the founding in Moscow of the Third, Communist International.

We express our respectful thanks for this to the chief organ of the French bourgeoisie, to this leader of French chauvinism and French imperialism. We are ready to send the newspaper *Le Temps* a solemn address in expression of our gratitude for having so successfully and cleverly assisted us.

From the way in which the newspaper *Le Temps* made its communication on the basis of our wireless message we can see with complete clarity the motive which impelled this organ of the money bags. It wanted to taunt Wilson, to sting him. Pray see what kind of people you are allowing negotiations with! These clever fellows who wrote at command of the money bags do not see how their attempt to scare Wilson with the Bolsheviks is turned in the eyes of the labouring masses into an advertisement for the Bolsheviks. Once again, our respectful thanks to the organ of the French millionaires!

The foundation of the Third International took place in such a world situation that no prohibitions, no petty or wretched tricks of the imperialists of the Entente or of the lackeys of capitalism, such as Scheidemann in Germany, Renner in Austria, could prevent the spreading of the news of this International among the working class of the whole world and of sympathy towards it. This situation has been created by the proletarian revolution which is clearly growing everywhere, no longer just daily, but hourly. This situation has been created by the *Soviet* movement among the labouring masses which has already reached such a strength that it has really become *international*.

The First International (1864-1872) laid the foundation of the international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary onslaught upon capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was the international organisation of the proletarian movement, the growth of which extended *widely* but not without a temporary lowering of the height of the revolutionary level, without a temporary increase in opportunism which finally led to the shameful collapse of this International.

The Third International was in fact founded in 1918 when the many years process of struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, particularly during the War, has led to the formation of Communist parties in a number of nations. Formally, the Third International was founded at its first Congress in Moscow in March 1919. And the most characteristic feature of this International, its vocation, is to fulfill and bring to life the heritage of Marxism and to realise the century-old ideals of Socialism and of the labour movement—this most characteristic feature of the Third International showed itself at once in the fact that the new, Third, "International Working Men's Association" has *already begun now to coincide* to a certain degree, with the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*.

The first International laid the foundation of proletarian, international struggle for Socialism.

The Second International was the epoch of preparing the ground for a wide, mass spreading of the movement in a number of countries.

The Third International gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, cut off its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois filth and *began to realise* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The International Union of the parties which are leading the most revolutionary movement in the world, the movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, now has beneath it a basis of unexampled firmness: several *Soviet republics* which on an international scale embody in life the dictatorship of the proletariat, its victory over capitalism.

The world historical importance of the Third, Communist International consists in the fact that it has begun to bring to life Marx' greatest slogan, the slogan which sums up the century-old development of Socialism and of the labour movement, the slogan which is expressed in the conception: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This prophecy of genius, this theory of genius is becoming a reality.

These Latin words have now been translated into all the national languages of modern Europe—more than that, into all the languages of the world.

A new epoch in world history has begun.

Humanity is throwing off the last form of slavery, capitalist or wage-slavery.

In emancipating itself from slavery humanity is for the first time approaching real freedom.

How could it happen that the first country to realise the dictatorship of the proletariat, to organize a Soviet republic, was one of the most backward European countries? We shall hardly be mistaken in saying that it was precisely this

contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and its "leap" to the highest form of democracy, through bourgeois democracy to Soviet or proletarian democracy, it was precisely this contradiction which was one of the reasons (in addition to the load of opportunist habits and philistine prejudices which lay upon the majority of the socialist leaders), which has particularly made difficult and slowed up the understanding of the role of the Soviets in the West.

The working masses throughout the world guessed by instinct the importance of the Soviets as the weapons of struggle of the proletariat and as the forms of the proletarian state. But the "leaders," spoiled by opportunism, continued and still continue to pray to bourgeois democracy, calling it "democracy" in general.

Is it astonishing that the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat has first of all shown the "contradiction" between the backwardness of Russia and its "leap" through bourgeois democracy? It would have been astonishing if the realisation of a *new* form of democracy had been given us by history *without* a number of contradictions.

Any Marxist, even any person acquainted with modern science in general, if you asked him: "Is the even, or harmonious, or proportional transition of different capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat likely?"—would undoubtedly have answered this question in the negative. Neither evenness, nor harmony, nor proportion have ever existed in the world of capitalism or ever could exist. Every country has developed particularly prominently either one side or feature, or group of characteristics of capitalism and of the labour movement. The process of development has gone on unevenly.

When France carried out its great bourgeois revolution, awakening the whole continent of Europe to a historically new life, England was at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalition, although at that time it was much more developed capitalistically than France. Yet the English labour movement at this period anticipates with genius a great deal of future Marxism.

When England gave the world the first wide and really mass, politically organised, proletarian revolutionary movement, Chartism, on the European continent in most cases feeble bourgeois revolutions were taking place, but in France there broke out the first great civil war between proletariat and bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie defeated the various national detachments of the proletariat singly and in different ways in different countries.

England was an example of a country in which, according to the expression of Engels, the bourgeoisie, along with an aristocracy become bourgeois, created a more or less bourgeois upper section of the proletariat. An advanced capitalist country for some generations was backward in the sense of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. France apparently exhausted the strength of the proletariat in two heroic revolts of the working class against the bourgeoisie in 1848 and 1871 which gave an extraordinary great deal in the world historical sense. The hegemony in the International of the labour movement next passed to Germany from the seventies of the nineteenth century, when Germany was economically behind both England and France. But when Germany caught up both these countries economically, that is towards the second decade of the twentieth century, then at the head of the Marxist labour party of Germany, which had been an example to the world, appeared a group of arch-scoundrels, of the filthiest swine bought by the capitalists, from Scheidemann and Noske to David and Legien, of the most disgusting executioners of the workers in the service of the monarchy and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

World history marches unswervingly towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it marches along paths which are far from smooth, simple or direct.

When Karl Kautsky was still a Marxist, and not the renegade from Marxism he has become in his capacity of fighter for unity with the Scheidemanns and for bourgeois democracy against Soviet or proletarian democracy, at the very beginning of the twentieth century, he wrote an article, "The Slavs and the Revolution." In this article he explained the historical conditions which pointed to the possibility of the passing of the hegemony inside the international revolutionary movement to the Slavs.

It has happened so. For a time—obviously only for a short time—the hegemony in the revolutionary proletarian International has passed to the Russians, as at different periods in the nineteenth century it was held by the English, then by the French, then by the Germans.

I have had occasion to say more than once, in comparison with the advanced countries it was easier for the Russians to *begin* a great proletarian revolution, but it will be more difficult for them to *continue* it and bring it to final victory, in the sense of the complete organisation of socialist society.

It was easier for us to begin because in the first place, the unusual political backwardness—for twentieth century Europe—of the Tsarist monarchy called forth unusual strength in the revolutionary onslaught of the masses. Secondly, the backwardness of Russia merged in an original fashion the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with a peasant revolution against the landlords. We started from this in October 1917 and we should not have been so easily victorious if we had not started from this. As far back as 1856, speaking of Prussia, Marx pointed out the possibility of an original combination of the proletarian revolution with a peasant war. The Bolsheviks from the beginning of 1905 persisted in the idea of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Thirdly, the revolution of 1905 did an extraordinary great deal for the political education of the masses of workers and of peasants both in the sense of making the vanguard acquainted with the "last word" in Socialism in the West, and also in the sense of the revolutionary *activity* of the masses. Without such a "general rehearsal" as took place in 1905 the revolutions of 1917, both the bourgeois February one and the proletarian October one, would have been impossible. Fourthly, the geographical conditions of Russia allowed it to hold out more than other countries against the external preponderance of the capitalist advanced countries. Fifthly, the peculiar relationship of the proletariat and the peasantry facilitated the transition from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist one, facilitated the influence of the proletarians of the towns over the semiproletarian, poorest sections of the toilers in the country. Sixthly, the long school of strike struggle and the experience of the European mass labour movement facilitated the appearance in a deep and rapidly sharpening revolutionary situation of such an original form of proletarian revolutionary organisation as the *Soviets*.

This list is, of course, not complete. But we can limit ourselves to it meanwhile.

Soviet or proletarian democracy was born in Russia. In comparison with the Paris Commune a second world historical step was made. The proletarian-peasant Soviet republic has become the first stable socialist republic in the world. It is already impossible for it to die as a *new type of state*. It is now already not standing alone.

For the continuing of the work of the construction of Socialism, in order to bring it to a conclusion, a very great deal is still called for. Soviet republics in more civilised countries in which the proletariat has greater weight and influence, have every chance of overtaking Russia once they step onto the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bankrupt Second International is now dying and rotting alive. It is in fact playing the role of servant of the international bourgeoisie. It is a real yellow International. Its most important ideological leaders such as Kautsky, are praising *bourgeois* democracy, calling it "democracy" in general or, what is still more crude and stupid, "pure democracy."

Bourgeois democracy has outlived itself, as has the Second International, having done a historically necessary and useful work, when it was a question of the preparation of the working masses within the confines of this bourgeois democracy.

The most democratic bourgeois republic has never been and never could be anything but a machine for the suppression of the toilers by capital, a tool of the political power of capital, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The democratic bourgeois republic promised power to the majority, proclaimed it, but could never realise it so long as private property in the land and of the means of production existed.

"Freedom" in the bourgeois democratic republic was in practice freedom *for the rich*. The proletarians and labouring peasants could and should use it for preparing their forces for the overthrow of capital, for passing beyond bourgeois democracy, but *in fact* as a general rule the toiling masses under capitalism could not make use of democracy.

For the first time in the world, Soviet or proletarian democracy has created *democracy* for the masses, for the toilers, for the workers and small peasants.

There has never before in the world been such a state power of the *majority* of the population, a power of that majority *in practice*, as is the Soviet power.

It suppresses the "freedom" of the exploiters and their assistants, it takes away from them the "freedom" to exploit, the "freedom" to make profit out of hunger, the "freedom" of struggle to restore the power of capital, the "freedom" to make agreements with the foreign bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants of their own fatherland.

Let the Kautskys defend such a freedom. To do this they must be renegades from Marxism, renegades from socialism.

The collapse of the ideological leaders of the Second International, such as Hilferding and Kautsky, has in no way been so vividly shown as in their complete incapacity to understand the meaning of Soviet or proletarian democracy, its relation to the Paris Commune, its historical place, its necessity, as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In number 74 of the newspaper *Die Freiheit*, the organ of the "Independent" (read, petty-bourgeois, philistine, middle-class) German Social Democracy, in the issue of the 11th February, 1919, there was published an appeal "To the revolutionary proletariat of Germany."

This appeal was signed by the leadership of the party and the whole of its fraction in the "National Assembly," in the German "Constituent."

This appeal accuses the Scheidemanns of trying to get rid of the *Soviets* and proposes—don't laugh!—to *combine* the Soviets with the Constituent, to give the Soviets definite state rights, a definite place in the constitution.

To reconcile, to unite the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat! How simple! What a philistine idea of genius!

It is only a pity that the united Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, those petty-bourgeois democrats who call themselves socialists, have already tried it in Russia under Kerensky.

Whoever has not understood when reading Marx that in capitalist society, on every acute occasion, at every serious conflict of classes, it is only possible to have either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, has understood nothing of either the economic or the political teaching of Marx.

But the philistine idea of genius of Hilferding, Kautsky and Co. of peacefully uniting the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat demands a special examination if we wish to exhaust the economic and political stupidities crowded into this remarkable and comic appeal of the 11th February.

We must put this off for another article.

Moscow, 15th April, 1919.

First published in No. 1 of the *Communist International*, May 1st, 1919.

THE HEROES OF THE BERNE INTERNATIONAL

In the article *The Third International and Its Place in History* I pointed out one of the outstanding manifestations of the ideological collapse of the representatives of the old, rotten "Berne" International. This collapse of the theoreticians of the reactionary Socialism which does not understand the dictatorship of the proletariat, is expressed in the proposal of the German "Independent" social-democrats to combine, unite and join the bourgeois parliament with Soviet power.

The most prominent theoreticians of the old International, Kautsky, Hilferding, Otto Bauer and Company have not understood that they are proposing to join the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat! The people who made a name for themselves and won the sympathy of the workers by preaching the class struggle, by explaining its necessities, at the most decisive moment of the struggle for Socialism have not understood that they are completely abandoning all teaching of the class struggle, that they are completely renouncing it and in practice passing into the camp of the bourgeoisie in trying to join the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This sounds unlikely, but it is a fact.

As a rare occurrence we have managed now to get in Moscow a fairly large number of foreign newspapers, though of odd issues, so that it is possible to put together in a little more detail, although, of course, far from fully, the history of the hesitations of the "Independent" gentlemen in the chief theoretical and practical question of our time. This is the question of the relationship of dictatorship (*of the proletariat*) to democracy (*bourgeois*) or of Soviet power to bourgeois parliamentarianism.

In his pamphlet *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (Vienna, 1918) Mr. Kautsky wrote that "Soviet organisation is one of the most important phenomena of our times. It promises to obtain decisive importance in the great decisive battles between capital and labour towards which we are marching" (page 33

of Kautsky's pamphlet). And he added that the Bolsheviks had made a mistake in converting the Soviets from "*the militant organisation of one class*" into "*a state organisation*," thereby "destroying democracy" (the same page).

In my pamphlet *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (Petrograd and Moscow 1918) I have analysed this argument of Kautsky in detail and shown that it is made up of complete forgetfulness of the very foundations of the teaching of Marxism upon the state. For the state (every state, including the most democratic republic) is nothing but a machine for the suppression of one class by another. To call the Soviets the militant organisation of a *class* and to deny them the right of becoming a "state organisation" means in *practice* to renounce the A. B. C. of Socialism, to declare or to defend the inviolability of the *bourgeois machine for the suppression of the proletariat* (*that is* of the bourgeois democratic republic, of the bourgeois state), means in fact going over into the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The stupidity of Kautsky's position is so glaring, the onslaught of the working masses who are calling for Soviet power is so strong, that Kautsky and the Kautskyians have been forced to retreat shamefully, to fall into confusion, for they have not shown themselves able to admit honestly that they were mistaken.

On February 9th, 1919, in the newspaper *Freiheit*, the organ of the "Independent" (of Marxism, but completely dependent on petty-bourgeois democracy) Social Democrats of Germany, there appeared an article by Mr. Hilferding which *already* calls for the conversion of the Soviets into state organisations, but *along with* the bourgeois parliament, with the "National Assembly," together with it. On February 11th, 1919, in an appeal to the proletariat of Germany the *whole* "Independent" party adopts this slogan (consequently Mr. Kautsky also who has forgotten about the statement he made in the Autumn of 1918).

This attempt to join the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat is a complete renunciation of Marxism and of Socialism in general, it is forgetting the experience of the Russian Mensheviks and "Socialist Revolutionaries" who from May 6th, 1917 to October 25th, 1917 (old style) made the "experiment" of combining the Soviets as a "state organisation" with the *bourgeois* state and failed shamefully in this experiment.

At the Party Congress of the "Independents" (at the beginning of March 1919) the whole party adopted this position of sage combination of the Soviets with bourgeois parliamentarianism. But in No. 178 of *Freiheit*, on April 13th, 1919, it is announced that the fraction of the "Independents" at the Second Congress of Soviets has proposed the resolution:

"The Second Congress of Soviets is adopting the ground of the Soviet system. In accordance with this the political and economic system of Germany must be based on the organisation of Soviets. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies are the recognised representative of the toiling population in all spheres of political and economic life."

Alongside with this the same fraction proposed to the Congress a project of "directives" (Richtlinien), in which we read:

"The Congress of Soviets has full political power. The right to elect and to be elected into the Soviets is enjoyed without distinction of sex by those who fulfill socially necessary and useful labour without exploiting other peoples' labour power."

We see, consequently, how the "Independent" leaders have turned out to be wretched philistines, completely dependent on the philistine prejudices of the most backward section of the proletariat. In the Autumn of 1918 these leaders, through the mouth of Kautsky, renounce any conversion of the Soviets into state organisation. In March 1919 they abandon this position, hanging onto the tail of the working masses. In April 1919 they upset the decision of their own Congress, passing over completely to the position of the Communists: "All power to the Soviets."

Such leaders are not worth much. To be an indication of the mood of the more backward section of the proletariat, going behind and not in front of the advance guard, it is not for this that leaders are needed. And these leaders are worth nothing at all for the complete lack of character with which they change their slogans. It is impossible to feel confidence in them. They will *always* be ballast, a negative quantity in the labour movement.

The most "left" of them, a certain Mr. Däumig, argued as follows at the Party Congress (see *Freiheit* of March 9th) :

"Däumig declares that nothing divides him from the demand of the Communists: 'All power to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.' But he must appeal against the putschism in practice carried out by the Communist Party and against the Byzantinism² which they assume in regard to the masses instead of educating them. Putschist disrupting activity cannot take us forward. . . ."

The Germans call putschism what old revolutionaries in Russia fifty years ago called "outbreaks," "outbreak-fomenting," the organisation of petty conspiracies, attempts at assassination, uprisings, etc.

In accusing the Communists of "putschism" Mr. Däumig only proves thereby his own "Byzantinism," his servile crawling before the philistine prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie. The "leftism" of such a gentleman which repeats a "fashionable" slogan out of cowardice before the masses, *without understanding the mass revolutionary movement*, is not worth a broken half-penny.

In Germany a powerful wave of spontaneous strike movements is taking place. There is an unheard of revival and growth of the proletarian struggle, greater, apparently, even than there was in Russia in 1905 when the strike movement reached a height so far unparalleled in the world. To talk of "outbreak-fomenting" in the face of such a movement means that one is a hopeless tout and lackey of philistine prejudices.

The philistine gentlemen, led by Däumig, are dreaming probably of the kind of revolution (if in general they have any kind of idea in their head about revolution) in which the masses would rise all *at once* and *completely organised*.

There are no such revolutions and there cannot be such revolutions. Capitalism would not be capitalism if it did not keep the millions of the masses of toilers, the immense majority, in oppression, down-trodden, in want and in darkness. Capitalism cannot collapse otherwise than by means of revolution which in the course of the struggle will raise masses who were hitherto unaffected. Spontaneous explosions are inevitable with the growth of revolution. Without this there has been no revolution and cannot be a revolution.

That Communists are in favour of spontaneity is a lie of Mr. Däumig, exactly the same sort of lie as we have many times heard from the Mensheviks and S. Rs. Communists are *not* in favour of spontaneity, *do not* stand for scattered outbreaks. Communists teach the masses organised, complete, comradely, opportune, mature action. This fact is not refuted by the philistine slanders of Messrs. Däumig, Kautsky and Co.

But the philistines are not capable of understanding that Communists consider—and quite correctly—it is their duty *to be with the struggling masses* of the oppressed and not with the heroes of philistinism who stand on one side in cowardly expectation. When the masses are struggling mistakes are inevitable in the struggle. And the Communists seeing these mistakes, explaining them to the masses, getting the mistakes corrected, unswervingly insisting on the victory of consciousness over spontaneity, *remain with the masses*. It is better to be with the struggling masses who in the course of their struggle gradually free themselves from mistakes, than with the intellectuals, the philistines, the Kautskyians, who wait on one side for "complete victory," and this is a truth which it is not given to the Mr. Däumigs to understand.

So much the worse for them. They have already passed into the history of the world revolution as cowardly philistines, reactionary whimperers, yesterday's servants of the Scheidemanns, to-day's preachers of 'social peace,' for it is a matter of indifference whether this preaching is hidden under the form of combining a Constituent Assembly with Soviets or under the form of deep thinking condemnation of "putschism."

Mr. Kautsky has broken the record in the cause of replacing Marxism by reactionary philistine whining. He sticks to one note. He weeps over what has taken place, complains, cries, is horrified, preaches reconciliation! All his life this knight of pitiful shape has *written* about the class struggle and about Socialism, but when matters have reached a maximum sharpening of the class struggle and the eve of Socialism, our sage is panic-stricken, bursts into tears and appears as a common philistine. In No. 98 of the paper of the Vienna traitors to socialism, the Austerlitzes, the Remmers, the Bauers, (*Arbeiter Zeitung*, April 9th, 1919,

² Obscure dogmatism.

Vienna, morning edition), Kautsky, for the hundredth, if not for the thousandth time brings his lamentations together:

"Economic thought and economic understanding," he weeps, "have been driven from the heads of all classes." "The long War has accustomed wide sections of the proletariat to a complete disregard for economic conditions and to a firm faith in the all-powerfulness of violence."

There are the two "little points" of our "very learned" person!

"The cult of violence" and the collapse of production—that is why instead of an analysis of the *real* conditions of the class struggle he has fallen into the accustomed, old, primordial, philistine whining. "We expected," he writes, "that the revolution will come as a product of the proletarian class struggle . . . but the revolution has come as a consequence of the military collapse of the ruling system in Russia and in Germany. . . ."

In other words this sage "expected" a peaceful revolution! This is excellent!

But Mr. Kautsky has so lost his head that he has forgotten how he himself once wrote, when he was a Marxist, that war, most likely, will be the cause of revolution. Now in place of a calm analysis of what changes in the forms of revolution are *inevitable* as a consequence of the War, our "theoretician" weeps for his broken "expectations!"

". . . Disregard for economic conditions from wide sections of the proletariat!"

What pitiful nonsense! How well we know that philistine song from the Menshevik newspapers of the epoch of Kerensky!

The economist Kautsky has forgotten that when a country is ruined by war, and brought to the verge of doom, that the chief, main, fundamental, "economic condition" is the *salvation of the worker*. If the working class is to be saved from famine, from downright destruction, then it will be possible to restore ruined production. But in order to save the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, the only means of preventing the burdens and consequences of the war being thrown onto the shoulders of the workers.

The economist Kautsky has "forgotten" that the question of dividing the burdens of defeat is decided by *class struggle* and that the class struggle in the situation of a completely tormented, ruined, starving, dying country *inevitably* changes its form. This is no longer class struggle for a share in production, for carrying on production (for production is at a standstill, there is no coal, the railways are spoiled, the war has thrown people out of their stride, the machines are worn out and so on and so on), but for *salvation from famine*. Only fools, even though they are very "learned," can in such a situation "condemn" "consumers' soldiers" communism and superciliously teach the workers the importance of production.

It is necessary in the first place, above all, in the very first place, to save the worker. The bourgeoisie wishes to preserve its privileges, to throw all the consequences of the war upon the worker, and that means to kill the workers with hunger.

The working class wishes to be saved from hunger and in order to do this it must completely smash the bourgeoisie, *in the first place* guarantee consumption, even though a very meagre one, for otherwise it is *impossible to drag out* a semistarved existence, it is *impossible to hang on* until production is set going again.

"Think of production!" says the well-fed bourgeois to the starving worker enfeebled by hunger, and Kautsky, repeating these songs of the capitalists in the shape of "economic science" is completely converted into a lackey of the bourgeoisie.

But the worker says: "Let the bourgeoisie also be put on the ration of semi-starvation in order that the toilers may pull themselves together, may not *perish*." "Consumers' communism" is the condition for saving the worker. It is impossible to hesitate before any sacrifices in order to save the worker! Half a pound to the capitalists, a pound to the worker—this is the way it is necessary to get out of the condition of famine, of ruin. The consumption of the starving worker is the foundation and condition for the restoration of production.

Clara Zetkin was quite right to say to Kautsky that he "*is going over to bourgeois political economy*. Production is for man, not the contrary . . ."

The independent Mr. Kautsky, weeping over "the cult of violence" has shown exactly the same dependence on petty bourgeois prejudices. When even in

1914 the Bolshevik party pointed out that the imperialist war will be turned into a civil war, Mr. Kautsky was silent, while remaining in one party with David and Co., who had declared this forecast (and this slogan) to be "madness." Kautsky absolutely did not understand the inevitability of the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war and now throws his lack of understanding onto both of the sides struggling in the civil war! Surely this is an example of reactionary, philistine stupidity?

But if in 1914 failure to understand that the imperialist war must inevitably be turned into a civil war was *merely* philistine stupidity, now, in 1919, it is already something worse. It is treachery to the working class. For civil war both in Russia, and in Finland, and in Latvia, and in Germany, and in Hungary, *is a fact*. Hundreds and thousands of times in his former works Kautsky recognised that historical periods occur when the class struggle is inevitably converted into civil war. This has come, and Kautsky has turned out to be in the camp of hesitating, cowardly petty-bourgeoisie.

"The spirit inspiring Spartacus" is in essence the spirit of Ludendorff . . . Spartacus is not only bringing about the doom of its own cause but strengthening the policy of violence of the majority socialists. Noske is the antithesis of Spartacus . . ."

These words of Kautsky (from his article in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung*) are so utterly stupid, base and vile that is sufficient just to point at them. A party which tolerates such leaders is a rotten party. The Berne International, to which Mr. Kautsky belongs, must be judged by us as it deserves, from the point of view of these words of Kautsky, as a yellow International.

As a curiosity we will also mention the argument of Mr. Haase in his article on "The International at Amsterdam" (*Freiheit* May 4th, 1919). Mr. Haase boasts that on the colonial question he proposed a resolution by which "a League of Nations, organized according to the proposal of the International . . . will have the task, before the *realisation of socialism*" (note this!) . . . "of administering the colonies in the first place in the interests of the natives, and afterward in the interests of all the peoples united in the League of Nations. . ."

Is not this really a pearl? *Before the realisation of socialism the colonies will be administered*, according to the resolution of this sage, not by the bourgeoisie but by some kind, just, sweet "League of Nations!" How is this different in practice from painting in false colours the vilest capitalist hypocrisy? And these are the "left" members of the Berne International. . .

In order that the reader may more clearly compare the full stupidity, baseness and vileness of the writings of Haase, Kautsky and Co. with the real situation in Germany, I will bring forward one other quotation.

The famous capitalist Walter Rathenau has published a book, *The New State*. The book is dated March 24th, 1919. Its theoretical value is absolutely nil. But as an observer, Walter Rathenau is compelled to recognise the following:

"We, a people of poets and thinkers, are philistines by our secondary occupation. . ."

"To-day idealism is found only among the extreme Monarchists and the Spartacists."

"The bare truth is as follows: we are going towards a dictatorship, either a proletarian or a pretorian one."

This bourgeoisie evidently imagines himself to be as "independent" of the bourgeoisie as Messrs. Kautsky and Haase imagine themselves to be "independent" of petty bourgeois philistinism.

But Walter Rathenau is head and shoulders above Karl Kautsky, for the latter whines, hiding himself in cowardly fashion from "the bare truth," while the former recognises it directly.

28th May, 1919.

First published in No. 2 of the Communist International.

1st June, 1919.

³ Kautsky refers to the Spartacus League founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg which became the Communist Party of Germany in November, 1918.

EXHIBIT No. 8

[Source: A pamphlet published by the International Publishers, New York: second printing, 1935. In an edition of 100,000]

A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKERS

(V. I. Lenin)

International Publishers

INTRODUCTION

When the October Revolution was less than a year old, August 20, 1918, Lenin submitted a written report to the American workers on the progress of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia and the obstacles which were still in the way of complete victory.

Remembering the revolutionary traditions of the American working class and believing that "the American revolutionary proletarians are destined now to play an especially important rôle as irreconcilable foes of American imperialism." Lenin proceeded to explain the imperialist nature of the war which was still raging, the rapacious imperialist designs of the ruling classes of the warring nations, including the American, and the attempts of the capitalist governments to destroy the young Soviet Republic. In flaming words he showed how the Allies as well as the Central Powers were carrying on the wholesale slaughter for the division of spoils, for profits from the markets and colonies which would go to the victorious imperialist group.

In words full of scorn, Lenin described the betrayals of those Socialist leaders, "the watchdogs of imperialism," who aided their capitalist governments by deluding the workers. He wrote: "Thrice they deserve utmost contempt, this scum of International Socialism, these lackeys of bourgeois morality."

But the October Revolution made a breach in the strongest imperialist block. The Soviet Republic withdrew from the war and renounced all the imperialist covenants and policies of tsarism and of the Kerensky government which continued them. The October Revolution established workers' rule, which was showing the road to power to the toiling masses of the capitalist countries and the colonies. World capitalism would not countenance that. Counter-revolution in Russia was given every possible aid. Armies were fitted out and dispatched to the various borders from the Black Sea to the Pacific Ocean. Almost the very day Lenin was writing his *Letter to the American Workers* about these imperialist attacks, American troops were disembarking in Vladivostock (August 17, 1918) to join Japanese, British and French military detachments.

Already on July 17, President Wilson had agreed to a "limited military intervention." On August 3, the American government was forced to admit publicly that it was in full accord with the other imperialist powers in the Russian interventionist policy. But in the usual, hypocritical Wilsonian manner, common to all "democratic" governments, it declared that the troops were being sent to "protect" the "stranded" Czechoslovak regiments, and to "guard the military supplies" from the Germans who were thousands of miles away. In "the most public and solemn manner," the American government informed the people of Russia that "it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia and no intervention in her internal affairs" (sic!). The Japanese government hurried to issue a statement containing similar assurances of "friendship to Russia" and proclaiming "its avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal affairs." To make sure that Russian territory in Siberia was "respected," Japan, which was to send over 7000 troops, soon landed 70,000 armed and equipped men. Troops of the other "respectors" of Russian territory were pouring in from Hong-Kong (British), Indo-China (French) and the Philippines (American). Not satisfied with sending troops to the Far East, the American government also sent military detachments to Archangel in the North with the cradle of the revolution, Petrograd, as a cherished objective.

Lenin characterised these American invasions by declaring that the American government was joining "the Anglo-Japanese beasts for the purpose of strangling the first Socialist Republic."

While Russian soil was being invaded, the enemies within, the Socialists-Revolutionaries, were organizing an attempt on the life of the German Ambassador von Mirbach, in order to provoke the invasion of the German army from the West, and were plotting to behead the revolution by killing Lenin. They succeeded in killing the German Ambassador and seriously wounding Lenin.

It was in these circumstances that Lenin addressed himself directly to the American workers, telling them of the conditions under which the October Revolution was fighting to achieve its aims. He also drew lessons for the American workers and, for that matter, for the workers of the whole world, to whom the success or failure of the Russian Revolution was closely tied up with their own struggles against the oppression of imperialism.

With war again the order of the day and with Japanese imperialism and German fascism acting as spearheads in the threatening attack on the Soviet Union, Lenin's *Letter* is as timely today as it was when it was written.

The lessons which Lenin outlined in the *Letter* are also timely at the present time. To those who did not free themselves "from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectualism" and were questioning Lenin's policy of dealing with the French militarists when the German troops were marching towards the Ukraine, he declared: "To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans we made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist revolution." The same reasoning was used earlier by Lenin when he fought the "revolutionary" views of those who opposed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace with the German government, necessary, according to Lenin, to "gain a breathing spell" for the revolution.

Turning to American history, Lenin recalled how the leaders of the American Revolution sought the aid of other Powers in their struggle against the British. "The American people utilised the differences that existed between the French, the Spanish and the English, at times even fighting side by side with the armies of the French and Spanish oppressors against the English oppressors. First it vanquished the English and then freed itself (partly by purchase) from the French and the Spanish."

There were voices in America, as elsewhere, who were bemoaning the "destruction" which was entailed in the civil war brought about by the imperialist invasion and counter-revolution at home. Drawing again the parallel with epochal events in American history and suggesting that immediately after the Civil War the United States may have appeared "behind" that of the pre-war period, Lenin exclaimed: "But what a pedant, what an idiot is he who denies on such grounds, the greatest, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1861-1865!"

Those in the American labor movement who ranged themselves against Lenin and the Bolsheviks were prepared to admit the progressive character of the war for the abolition of *chattel* slavery, but, "Frightened by the bourgeoisie and shunning the revolution, cannot understand or do not want to understand the necessity and the legality of civil war" in the struggle for the abolition of *wage* slavery—"a vastly greater task."

Over the heads of the treacherous and faint-hearted leaders, the Gomperses and the Hillquits, Lenin passed on to the American workers the great lesson "that there can be no successful revolution without *crushing the resistance of the exploiters*," a truth "left as a heritage to the workers by the best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism."

The workers of Germany and Austria are today smarting under the iron heel of fascism because the socialist leaders refused to follow this truth "taught by all revolutions" when the revolutions of 1918 occurred. Instead of allowing the workers' revolution to develop to its logical conclusion—proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power—the socialist leaders permitted the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie to develop to its logical conclusion—fascism.

Under Lenin's tutelage, the Bolsheviks, on the other hand, mastered the "great truth" and continually urged the Russian workers and peasants to carry on the struggle until every vestige of capitalism in the city and on the land was destroyed and the workers' rule firmly entrenched.

Every line of Lenin's *Letter* breathes with faith in the ultimate triumph of the revolution, and not only in Russia, but throughout the world. Fervently confident that the international revolution would materialise, Lenin foresaw that "before the outburst of the international revolution there may be several defeats of separate revolutions." And, in his *Letter* he wrote: "We know that help from you, comrades American workers, will probably not come soon."

Irrespective, therefore, of the temporary fortunes of the revolutions in other countries, the Russian Revolution must carry on. Thus, under the leadership of Lenin, the Russian workers conquered power, and under the leadership of his successor, Stalin, are now building successfully a classless society—Socialism.

But the overthrow of the rule of capital, throughout the world, is inevitable. Writing in the darkest hour of the Russian Revolution—imperialist attacks on all sides, far-flung civil war—Lenin concluded his historic message to the American workers with the words which the toiling masses of all countries can inscribe on their banners: "*We are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible.*"

A *Letter to American Workers*, dated August 20, 1918, was first published in the United States in the December, 1918 issue of the *Class Struggle*, a bi-monthly issued by an internationalist group in the Socialist Party. It was reprinted in pamphlet form from that magazine and widely distributed. It played an important part in developing among American Socialists an understanding of the nature of imperialism, of the aims of the October Revolution and of the rôle of the social-chauvinists in the labor movement. It directly contributed to the building of the Left Wing in the Socialist Party which led later to the splitting away of the revolutionary elements and the formation of the Communist Party.

The version of the *Letter* printed in the *Class Struggle* and reprinted on numerous occasions in the periodical press, was not only inaccurate but also incomplete. Whole passages were left out, some of them giving Lenin's estimate of the rôle of American imperialism in the World War and stressing the imperialist designs of both warring groups. Much of what Lenin wrote about the rôle of the reformist and centrist Socialists—the forerunners of present-day social-fascists—in the war was omitted. The translation was free, whole sections of the *Letter* being rendered only in bare outline.

Partial results of an inquiry conducted recently into the cause of the criminal mutilation of Lenin's "*Letter*" revealed that the English translation was made from the Swedish text published in a Stockholm paper. It is yet to be established who were responsible for the excisions and free translation—those who translated the "*Letter*" from Russian into Swedish, or the English translator.

For the present edition, a completely new translation was made from the original Russian text, prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute and published in Lenin's *Collected Works*." This is, therefore, the first complete English version of the historic message of Lenin to the American workers, which remains as fresh and appropriate today as when it was penned almost sixteen years ago.

May, 1934.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKERS

Comrades: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the Revolution of 1905 and for many years afterwards live in your country has offered to transmit my letter to you. I accepted his proposal all the more joyfully, because the American revolutionary proletarians are destined precisely now to play an especially important rôle as irreconcilable foes of American imperialism, which is the newest, strongest and latest to participate in the world-wide slaughter of nations for the division of capitalist profits. Precisely now the American billionaires, these contemporary slave-owners, have opened a particularly tragic page in the bloody history of bloody imperialism by giving their approval—it makes no difference whether direct or indirect, whether open or hypocritically covered up—to an armed expedition of the Anglo-Japanese beasts for the purpose of strangling the first Socialist republic.

The history of modern civilised America opens with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few among the large number of wars of conquest that were caused, like the present imperialist war, by squabbles among kings, landowners and capitalists over the division of seized lands and stolen profits. It was a war of the American people against English robbers who subjected America and held it in colonial slavery as these "civilised" bloodsuckers are even now subjecting and holding in colonial slavery hundreds of millions of people in India, Egypt and in all corners of the world.

Since that time about 150 years have passed. Bourgeois civilisation has borne all its luxuriant fruits. By the high level of development of the productive forces of organised human labour, by utilising machines and all the wonders of modern technic, America has taken the first place among free and cultured nations. But at the same time America has become one of the foremost coun-

tries as regards the depth of the abyss which divides a handful of brazen billionaires who are wallowing in dirt and in luxury on the one hand, and millions of toilers who are always on the verge of starvation. The American people, who gave the world an example of a revolutionary war against feudal subjection, now appears as a new, capitalist wage slave of a handful of billionaires; finds itself playing the rôle of a hired assassin for the wealthy gang, having strangled the Philippines in 1898 under the pretext of "liberating" them, and strangling the Russian Socialist Republic in 1918 under the pretext of "protecting" it from the Germans.

But four years of the imperialist slaughter of peoples have not passed in vain. Obvious and irrefutable facts have exposed to the end the duping of peoples by the scoundrels of both the English and the German group of brigands. The four years of war have shown in their results the general law of capitalism as applied to war between murderers for the division of spoils: that he who was richest and mightiest profited and robbed the most; that he who was weakest was robbed, decimated, crushed and strangled to the utmost.

In number of "colonial slaves" the English imperialist cutthroats have always been most powerful. English capitalists did not lose a foot of their "own" territory (acquired through centuries of robbery) but have managed to appropriate all the German colonies in Africa, have grabbed Mesopotamia and Palestine, have stifled Greece and have begun to plunder Russia.

German imperialist cutthroats were stronger in regard to the organisation and discipline of "their" armies, but weaker in colonies. They have lost all their colonies, but have robbed half of Europe and throttled most of the small countries and weaker peoples. What a great war of "liberation" on both sides! How well they have "defended the fatherland"—these bandits of both groups, the Anglo-French and the German capitalists together with their lackeys, the social-chauvinists, *i. e.*, Socialists who went over to the side of "their own" bourgeoisie!

The American billionaires were richest of all and geographically the most secure. They have profited most of all. They have made all, even the richest countries, their vassals. They have plundered hundreds of billions of dollars. And every dollar is stained with filth; filthy secret pacts between England and her "allies," between Germany and her vassals, pacts on the division of spoils, pacts on mutual "aid" in oppressing the workers and persecuting the Socialists-internationalists. Every dollar is stained with the filth of "profitable" military deliveries enriching the rich and despoiling the poor in every country. And every dollar is stained with blood—of that sea of blood which was shed by the ten millions killed and twenty millions maimed in the great, noble, liberating and holy war, which was to decide whether the English or the German cutthroats will get more of the spoils, whether the English or the German executioners will be the *first* to smother the weak peoples the world over.

While the German bandits established a record of military brutalities, the English established a record not only in the number of looted colonies, but also in the subtlety of their disgusting hypocrisy. Precisely now the Anglo-French and American bourgeois press is spreading in millions upon millions of copies their lies and calumnies about Russia, hypocritically justifying their predatory expedition against her by the alleged desire to "protect" Russia from the Germans!

It is not necessary to waste many words to disprove this despicable and hideous lie; it is sufficient to point out one well-known fact. When in October, 1917, the Russian workers overthrew their imperialist government, the Soviet power, the power of revolutionary workers and peasants openly proposed a just peace, a peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace fully guaranteeing equal rights to all nations—and proposed such a peace to *all* the countries at war.

And it was the Anglo-French and the American bourgeoisie who refused to accept our proposals; they were the very ones who even refused to talk to us of a universal peace! Precisely *they* were the ones who acted treacherously towards the interests of all peoples by prolonging the imperialist slaughter.

Precisely they were the ones who, speculating upon a renewed participation of Russia in the imperialist war, have shunned peace negotiations and thereby given a free hand to the no less marauding German capitalists in foisting upon Russia the annexationist and violent Brest Peace!¹

¹ The treaty signed in Brest-Litovsk, March, 1918, between the Soviet Government and the Central Powers.—*Ed.*

It is difficult to imagine a more disgusting piece of hypocrisy than the one with which the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie now put upon us the "blame" for the Brest Peace. The very capitalists of those countries upon which it depended to turn Brest into general negotiations for world peace are now our "accusers." The scoundrels of Anglo-French imperialism who profited from the loot of colonies and from the slaughter of peoples, and who prolonged the war almost a year after Brest—they "accuse" us, the Bolsheviks, who proposed a just peace to all countries; us, who tore up, exposed and put to shame the secret criminal treaties of the former Tsar with the Anglo-French capitalists.

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathise with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialist ties, dirty imperialist treaties, imperialist chains, for having dreaded no sacrifice, however great, to free ourselves, for having established ourselves as a Socialist republic, even though rent asunder and plundered by the imperialists, for having gotten out of the imperialist war and raising the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism over the world.

No wonder that for this we are hated by the band of international imperialists; no wonder that they all "accuse" us and that the lackeys of imperialism, including our right Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, also "accuse" us. From the hatred of these watchdogs of imperialism for the Bolsheviks, as well as from the sympathy of class-conscious workers of all countries, we draw new assurance in the justice of our cause.

He is no Socialist who does not understand that one cannot and *must not* hesitate to make even such a sacrifice as the sacrifice of a piece of territory, the sacrifice of a heavy defeat at the hand of capitalists of other countries, the sacrifice of indemnities to capitalists, in the interest of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interest of transfer of power to the working class, in the interest of the *beginning* of the international proletarian revolution. He is no Socialist who has not shown by *deeds* his readiness for the greatest sacrifices on the part of *his* fatherland so that the cause of the Socialist revolution may be pushed forward.

For the sake of "their" cause, that is, the conquest of world hegemony, the imperialists of England and Germany have not hesitated to ruin and to strangle a whole series of countries from Belgium and Serbia to Palestine and Mesopotamia. And what about the Socialists? Shall they, for the sake of "their" cause—the liberation of the workers of the whole world from the yoke of capital, the conquest of a universal lasting peace—wait until they can find a way that entails no sacrifice? Shall they be afraid to commence the battle until an easy victory is "guaranteed"? Shall they place the integrity and safety of "their" fatherland, created by the bourgeoisie, above the interests of the world Socialist revolution? Thrice they deserve utmost contempt, this scum of international Socialism, these lackeys of bourgeois morality who think along these lines.

The beasts of prey of Anglo-French and American imperialism "accuse" us of coming to an "agreement" with German imperialism.

O hypocrites! O scoundrels, who slander the workers' government and shiver from fear of that sympathy which is being shown us by the workers of "their own" countries! But their hypocrisy will be exposed. They pretend not to understand the difference between an agreement made by "Socialists" *with* the bourgeoisie (native or foreign) *against the workers*, against the toilers, and an agreement for the safety of the workers who have defeated their bourgeoisie, with a bourgeoisie of one national color *against* the bourgeoisie of another color for the sake of the utilisation by the proletariat of the contradictions between the different groups of the bourgeoisie.

In reality every European knows this difference very well, and the American people particularly, as I shall presently show, have "experienced" it in their own history. There are agreements and agreements, there are *fagots et fagots* as the French say.

When the German imperialist robbers in February, 1918, threw their armies against defenseless, demobilised Russia, which staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to a certain "agreement" with the French monarchists. The French captain Sadoul, who sympathised in words with the Bolsheviks while in deeds a faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubersac to me. "I am a monarchist. My only purpose is the defeat of Germany," de Lubersac declared to me. "That goes without saying (*c'est va sans dire*)," I replied. But this by no means pre-

vented me from coming to an "agreement" with de Lubersac concerning certain services that French officers, experts in explosives, were ready to render by blowing up railroad tracks in order to prevent the advance of German troops against us. This was an example of an "agreement" of which every class-conscious worker will approve, an agreement in the interests of Socialism. We shook hands with the French monarchist although we knew that each of us would readily hang his "partner." But for a time our interests coincided. To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans *we* made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist revolution. In this way we served the interests of the working class of Russia and other countries, we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world, we used the justified practise of manœuvring, necessary in *every* war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had ripened.

And despite all the wrathful howling of the sharks of Anglo-French and American imperialism, despite all the calumnies they have showered upon us, despite all the millions spent for bribing the right Socialist-Revolutionary, Menshevik and other social-patriotic newspapers, *I would not hesitate a single second* to come to the *same kind* of an "agreement" with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon Russia by Anglo-French troops demand it. And I know perfectly well that my tactics will meet with the approval of the class-conscious proletariat of Russia, Germany, France, England, America—in a word, of the whole civilised world. Such tactics will lighten the task of the Socialist revolution, will hasten its advance, will weaken the international bourgeoisie, will strengthen the position of the working class which is conquering it.

The American people used these tactics long ago to the advantage of its revolution. When America waged its great war of liberation against the English oppressors, it was confronted with the French and the Spanish oppressors, who owned a portion of what is now the United States of North America. In its difficult war for freedom the American people, too, made "agreements" with one group of oppressors against the other for the purpose of weakening oppressors and strengthening those who were struggling in a revolutionary manner against oppression—in the interest of the oppressed *masses*. The American people utilised the differences that existed between the French, the Spanish and the English, at times even fighting side by side with the armies of the French and Spanish oppressors against the English oppressors. First it vanquished the English and then freed itself (partly by purchase) from the French and the Spanish.

The great Russian revolutionist Chernyshevsky once said: "Historical action is not the pavement of *Nevsky Prospekt*." He is no revolutionist who would "permit" the proletarian revolution only under the "condition" that it proceed easily, smoothly, with the co-ordinated and simultaneous action of the proletarians of different countries and with a guarantee beforehand against defeat; that the revolution go forward along the broad, free, direct path to victory, without the necessity sometimes of making the greatest sacrifices, of "lying in wait in besieged fortresses," or of climbing along the narrowest, most impassable, winding, dangerous mountain roads—he has not yet freed himself from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectualism, he will fall back again and again into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, like our Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and even (although more seldom) the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Along with the bourgeoisie these gentlemen like to blame us for the "chaos" of revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. What hypocrisy these accusations are from people who greeted and supported the imperialist war or came to an "agreement" with Kerensky, who continued this war! It is that very imperialist war which is the cause of all these misfortunes. The revolution that was born of the war must necessarily go through the terrible difficulties and sufferings left as the heritage of the prolonged, destructive, reactionary slaughter of the peoples. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries, or of "terror," is either hypocrisy or clumsy pedantry; it is an inability to understand the basic conditions of the raging class struggle, intensified to the utmost, which is called revolution.

Generally speaking, such "accusers" limit themselves to a verbal recognition even when they do "recognise" the class struggle, but in deeds they revert again

² Reference is here made to the smoothness of the pavement of the famed main street of St. Petersburg, now Leningrad.—Ed.

and again to the philistine Utopia of "conciliation" and "collaboration" of classes. For the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably and in every country taken on the form of a *civil war*, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of formal democracy in the interests of the war. Only suave priests, be they Christian or "secular" parliamentary or parlor Socialists, are unable to see, understand and feel this necessity. Only a lifeless "man in the case"⁴ can shun the revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the utmost passion and decisiveness at a moment when history demands that the greatest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The American people has a revolutionary tradition adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat, who gave repeated expression to their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviks. This tradition is the war of liberation against the English in the 18th and the Civil War in the 19th century. If we are to take only into consideration the "destruction" of some branches of industry and national economy, America in 1870 was in some respects *behind* 1860. But what a pedant, what an idiot is he who denies on such grounds the greatest, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1861-1865!

Representatives of the bourgeoisie understand that it was worth letting the country go through long years of civil war, the abysmal ruin, destruction and terror which are connected with every war for the sake of the overthrow of Negro slavery and the overthrow of the rule of the slave-owners. But now, when we are confronted with the vastly greater task of the overthrow of capitalist *wage* slavery, the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie—now the representatives and defenders of the bourgeoisie, as well as the socialist-reformists, frightened by the bourgeoisie and shunning the revolution, cannot understand and do not want to understand the necessity and the legality of civil war.

The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us for civil war against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the world and the American labour movement strengthens my conviction. I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene Debs, who wrote in *The Appeal to Reason*, I believe towards the end of 1915, in the article "In Whose War I Will Fight"⁵ (I quoted that article at the beginning of 1916 at a public meeting of workers in Berne, Switzerland) that he, Debs, would rather be shot than vote for loans for the present criminal and reactionary imperialist war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy and, from the standpoint of the proletariat, legal war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery!

I am not at all surprised that Wilson, the head of the American billionaires and servant of the capitalist sharks, has thrown Debs into prison. Let the bourgeoisie be brutal to the true internationalists, the true representatives of the revolutionary proletariat! The more obduracy and bestiality it displays, the nearer comes the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are blamed for the destruction caused by our revolution. . . . Who are the accusers? The hangers-on of the bourgeoisie, that very bourgeoisie, which has destroyed almost the whole of European culture during the four years of the imperialist war, and has brought Europe to a state of barbarism, savagery and starvation. That bourgeoisie now demands of us that we do not carry on our revolution on the basis of this destruction, amidst the remnants of culture, ruins created by the war, nor with men whom the war turned into savages. O how humane and righteous is that bourgeoisie!

Its servants accuse us of terror. . . . The English bourgeois has forgotten his 1649, the French his 1793.⁶ Terror was just and legal when used by the bourgeoisie to its own advantage against feudalism. Terror became monstrous and criminal when workers and the poorest peasants dared to use it against the bourgeoisie! Terror was legal and just when used in the interests of a substitution of one exploiting minority for another. Terror became monstrous and criminal when it began to be used in the interests of an overthrow of *every* exploiting minority, in the interests of a really vast majority, in the interests

⁴The title of a story by Anton Chekhov. The hero is hemmed in by routine like a clam in its shell.—*Ed.*

⁵*Appeal to Reason*, September 11, 1915. Reprinted in *Voices of Revolt*, Vol. IX, "Speeches of Eugene V. Debs" (International Publishers), p. 63.—*Ed.*

⁶The execution of King Charles I and the suppression of opposition during the régime of Cromwell in England, and the terror during the Great French Revolution.—*Ed.*

of the proletariat and semi-proletariat, the working class and the poorest peasantry!

The international imperialist bourgeoisie has killed off ten million men and maimed twenty million in "its" war, the war to decide whether the English or the German robbers are to rule the world.

If our war, the war of oppressed and exploited against oppressors and exploiters, results in half a million or a million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie will say that the sacrifice of the former is justified, while the latter is criminal.

The proletariat will say something altogether different.

Now, amid the ravages of the imperialist war, the proletariat is thoroughly mastering that great truth taught by all revolutions and left as a heritage to the workers by their best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. That truth is, that there can be no successful revolution without *crushing the resistance of the exploiters*. It was our duty to crush the resistance of exploiters when we, the workers and toiling peasants, seized state power. We are proud that we have been doing it and are continuing to do it. We only regret that we are not doing it in a sufficiently firm and determined manner.

We know that the fierce resistance of the bourgeoisie to the Socialist revolution is inevitable in all countries and that it will *grow* with the growth of this revolution. The proletariat will crush this resistance; it will definitely mature to victory and power in the course of struggle against the resisting bourgeoisie.

Let the kept bourgeois press howl to the whole world about each mistake made by our revolution. We are not afraid of our mistakes. Men have not become saints because the revolution has begun. The toiling classes, oppressed and downtrodden for centuries and forced into the clutches of poverty, savagery and ignorance, cannot be expected to bring about a revolution flawlessly. And the cadaver of bourgeois society, as I had occasion to point out once before,⁷ cannot be nailed in a casket and buried. Defeated capitalism is dying and rotting around us, polluting the air with germs and poisoning our lives, grasping the new, the fresh, the young and the live with thousands of threads and bonds of the old, the rotten, the dead.

For every hundred mistakes of ours heralded to the world by the bourgeoisie and its lackeys (including our own Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries) there are 10,000 great and heroic deeds, the greater and the more heroic for their simplicity, for their being unseen and hidden in the everyday life of an industrial quarter or provincial village, performed by men who are not used to (and who do not have the opportunity to) herald their achievements to the world.

But even if the contrary were true—although I know this supposition to be incorrect—even if there were 10,000 mistakes for every 100 correct actions of ours, even in that case our revolution would be great and invincible, and *so it will be in the eyes of world history*, because, for the first time not the minority, not only the rich, not only the educated, but the real masses, the vast majority of toilers are *themselves* building a new life, are deciding *by their own experience* the most difficult problems of Socialist organisation.

Each mistake in such a work, in this most honest and sincere work of tens of millions of simple workers and peasants for the reorganisation of their whole life, each such mistake is worth thousands and millions of "faultless" successes of the exploiting minority—successes in swindling and duping the toiler. For only *through* such mistakes will the workers and peasants *learn* to build a new life, learn to do *without* capitalists; only thus will they blaze a new trail—through thousands of obstacles—to a victorious Socialism.

In carrying on their revolutionary work mistakes were made by our peasants who abolished all private landed property at one blow in one night, October 25-26 (Nov. 7), 1917. Now, month after month, overcoming tremendous hardships and correcting themselves, they are solving in a practical way the most difficult tasks of organising new conditions of economic life—struggling with kulaks, securing the land for the *toilers* (and not for the rich people) and bringing about the transition to a *Communist* large scale agriculture.

In carrying on their revolutionary work mistakes were made by our workers, who have now nationalised, after a few months, almost all the major factories and plants and who are learning from hard, day-to-day work the new task of managing whole branches of industry; who are perfecting the nationalised

⁷ In a speech before the Joint Session of the Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet and the Trade Unions on June 4, 1918.—*Ed.*

economy; who are overcoming the powerful resistance of inertia, petty-bourgeois tendencies and selfishness; who are laying stone after stone the foundation of a *new* social bond, of a *new* labor discipline, of a *new* power of trade unions of workers over their members.

In carrying on their revolutionary work mistakes are made by our soviets, which were created back in 1905 by a mighty upsurge of the masses. The soviets of workers and peasants are a new *type* of state, a new and higher *type* of democracy, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a means of ruling the state *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy serves the masses, the toilers, having ceased to be a democracy for the rich, as it still remains in all the bourgeois republics, even the most democratic ones. For the first time the popular masses are deciding, on a scale affecting hundreds of millions of people, the task of realising the dictatorship of proletarians and semi-proletarians—a task without the solution of which one *cannot* speak about Socialism.

Let the pedants, or people hopelessly stuffed with bourgeois-democratic or parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads perplexedly about our soviets, for instance, about the lack of direct elections. These people forget nothing and learned nothing during the period of the great upheavals of 1914-1918. A union of the dictatorship of the proletariat with a new democracy for the toilers—civil war with the broadest involving of the masses in politics—such union is neither to be achieved at once nor is it to be fitted into the dreary forms of routine parliamentary democracy. A new world, the world of Socialism, is what rises before us in its contours as the Soviet Republic. And it is no wonder that this world is not being born ready-made and does not spring forth all at once, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter.

While the old bourgeois-democratic constitutions spoke about formal equality and right of assembly, our proletarian and peasant Soviet constitution casts aside the hypocrisy of formal equality. When bourgeois republicans overthrew thrones they did not care about formal equality of monarchists with republicans. When we speak of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, only traitors or idiots will seek to concede to the bourgeoisie formal equality of rights. The "freedom of assembly" for workers and peasants is not worth a cent when the best buildings are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our soviets *took away* all the good buildings from the rich both in town and country, and *turned over* all these buildings to the workers and peasants for *their* unions and meetings. That is *our* freedom of assembly—for the toilers. That is the idea and content of our Soviet, Socialist Constitution!

And this is why we are so firmly convinced that our Republic of Soviets is *invincible* no matter what misfortunes befall her.

It is invincible, because each blow of frenzied imperialism, each defeat which we suffer from the international bourgeoisie, calls to struggle new strata of workers and peasants, teaches them at the price of the greatest sacrifices, hardens them and gives birth to new mass heroism.

We know that help from you, comrades American workers, will probably not come soon, for the development of the revolution proceeds with a different tempo and in different forms in different countries (and it cannot be otherwise). We know that the European proletarian revolution also may not blaze forth during the next few weeks,⁸ no matter how rapidly it has been ripening lately. We stake our chances on the inevitability of the international revolution, but this in no way means that we are so foolish as to stake our chances on the inevitability of the revolution within a *stated* short period. We have seen in our country two great revolutions, in 1905 and 1917, and we know that revolutions are made neither to order nor by agreement. We know that circumstances brought to the fore *our* Russian detachment of the Socialist proletariat, not by virtue of our merits, but due to the particular backwardness of Russia, and that *before* the outburst of the international revolution there may be several defeats of separate revolutions.

Despite this, we are firmly convinced that we are invincible, because mankind will not break down under the imperialist slaughter, but will overcome it. And the first country which *demolished* the galley chains of imperialist war, was *our* country. We made the greatest of sacrifices in the struggle for the

⁸ The German Revolution broke out about ten weeks after these lines were written.—Ed.

demolition of this chain, but we *broke* it. We are beyond imperialist dependence, we raised before the whole world the banner of struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism.

We are now as if in a beleaguered fortress until other detachments of the international Socialist revolution come to our rescue. But these detachments *exist*, they are *more numerous* than ours, they mature, they grow, they become stronger as the bestialities of imperialism continue. The workers sever connections with their social-traitors—the Gomperses, Hendersons, Renaudels, Scheidemanns, Renners.⁹ The workers are going slowly, but unswervingly, towards Communist, Bolshevik tactics, towards the proletarian revolution, which is the only one capable of saving perishing culture and perishing mankind.

In a word, we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible.

N. LENIN.

August 20, 1918.

First published in *Pravda*, No. 178, August 22, 1918.

EXHIBIT No. 9

[Source: Excerpts from Stalin, by Boris Souvarine, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Alliance Book Corporation, Longmans, Green & Company, New York: 1939]

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The disaster of the Spartacus League in Germany, then the assassination of Liebknecht and of Rosa Luxemburg, has darkened the prospects of revolution. But Lenin renounced neither his hopes nor his plans, and he had at heart the creation of a Communist International. No one in his Party raised any objections when he proposed to summon to Moscow the Conference, to which, in addition to Bolsheviks of the various nationalities inside Russia, there was only one single delegate representing a Party, the German Communist Party. The other participants, recruited from refugees, émigrés, exiles, represented no one but themselves. The Spartacus delegate brought with him the posthumous view of Rosa Luxemburg, definitely hostile to the premature formation of a new International. This was also the definite opinion of the Central Committee of his Party. After much hesitation, Lenin ignored it; the Communist International was born of his will. He was not disturbed by a modest beginning. The political fortune of his own original group, of which he had been the only fully conscious member, seemed to him to promise the future victory of the Communist embryo organization on a world scale. A few days after the conference had transformed itself into a congress the proclamation of a Soviet Republic in Hungary and then in Bavaria, where no Communist Party even existed, fortified him in his illusions. [pages 236, 237]

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The Politbureau, which had to conduct simultaneously both the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which was necessarily opportunist, and the Communist International, which was, by definition, revolutionary, had embarked on a queer diplomatic adventure with the General Council of the Trade Union Congress using the bureaucratic Russian trade unions as intermediaries. [page 428]

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After a few days of this unparalleled democracy, the Opposition, faced with the dilemma of submission or insurrection, chose to retreat. On October 4th it offered to make peace with the Politbureau . . . As for Zinoviev, he was invited to resign from the Presidency of the International, which he did soon after. [page 436]

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Stalin arranged his pieces on the chess-board, where the so-called Trotskyists were mere pawns: Ordjonikidze as President of the Control Commission; Chubar to fill the vacancy as alternate of the Politbureau; Bukharin at the helm of

⁹ Right-wing leaders of American, English, French, German and Austrian socialist and trade union movements.—*Ed.*

the International, without the title of President; lesser personages everywhere where the machine did not appear to be secure. [page 440]

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Stalin had against him a body of more or less respectable traditions, static tendencies consecrated by time, and reputations which were long established, even overvalued . . . Having already postponed the Party Congress, first for some months, then for a year, he adjourned the Congress of the Soviets for the same period, and put off the Congress of the International to an unspecified date. [page 448]

EXHIBIT No. 10

[Source: Excerpts from Questions and Answers to American Trade Unionists, Stalin's Interview with the First American Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia, September 9, 1927. Workers Library Publishers, 39 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y.: First edition—December 15, 1927]

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Question II. *Is it accurate to say that the Communist Party controls the Russian Government?*

Reply: . . . Perhaps the delegation did not mean control, but the guidance exercised by the Party in relation to the Government. If that is what the delegation meant by its question, then my reply is: Yes, our Party does guide the Government. And the Party is able to guide the Government because it enjoys the confidence of the majority of the workers and the toilers generally and it has the right to guide the organs of the Government in the name of this majority. [page 21]

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Question X. *Is any money now being sent to America to aid either the American Communist Party or the Communist paper, The "Daily Worker"? If not how much do American Communists remit to the Third International in annual membership dues?*

Reply: If this has reference to the relations between the Communist Party of America and the Third International, I must say that the Communist Party of America, as part of the Communist International most likely pays affiliation fee to the Comintern. On the other hand, the Comintern, being the central body of the International Communist movement, we assume, renders assistance to the Communist Party of America whenever it thinks it necessary. I do not think there is anything surprising or exceptional in this. . . . What would happen if the Communist Party of America did appeal for aid to the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R.? I think the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. would render it whatever assistance it could. Indeed, what would be the worth of the Communist Party, a Party which is in power, if it refused to do what it could to aid the Communist Party of another country laboring under the yoke of capitalism. I would say that such a Communist Party would not be worth a cent. Let us assume that the American working class had come into power after overthrowing its bourgeoisie. Let us assume that the working class of another country appealed to the working class of America, which had emerged victorious in a great struggle against capitalism, for material aid; would the American working class refuse it? I think it would disgrace itself if it hesitated to give the assistance asked for. [page 44]

EXHIBIT No. 11

[Source: Excerpts from My Life as A Rebel, by Angelica Balabanoff, first Secretary of the Communist International. Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York and London: 1938]

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Soon after the February Revolution the Soviets had issued a proclamation to the effect that "the time had come to begin a resolute struggle with the predatory aspirations of the governments of all countries." [page 153]

In Russia, at the April meeting of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin had already called for a break with the Zimmerwald "Center" and for the immediate organization of the Third International. [page 154]

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On January 24th Chicherin sent out, by radio, an invitation to an international Left Wing gathering to be held in Moscow early in March . . . The manifesto which had been written by Trotsky, ended with the call: "Under the banner of Workers' Councils, of the revolutionary fight for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of the Third International, workers of all countries, unite!" [page 209]

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I heard that Radek was organizing foreign sections of the "Communist Party," with headquarters in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. When I went there to investigate, I found that this widely heralded achievement was a fake. The members of these sections were practically all war prisoners in Russia; most of them had joined the Party recently because of the favour and privileges which membership involved . . . Radek was grooming them to return to their native countries, where they were to "work for the Soviet Union." [page 210]

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Most of the thirty-five delegates and fifteen guests had been handpicked by the Russian Central Committee from so-called "Communist parties" in those smaller "nations" which had formerly comprised the Russian Empire, such as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Finland; or they were war prisoners or foreign radicals who happened to be in Russia at this time . . . the Socialist Propaganda League of America (made up mostly of Slavic immigrants) . . . were represented by a Dutch-American engineer named Rutgers. [page 213]

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The Third International was born! Immediately after this, Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Racovsky, and Platten were chosen as the members of its first Bureau. [page 216]

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Meeting Trotsky as I was leaving the hall, I bade him good-bye. "Good-bye? What do you mean?" he asked. "Don't you know that you are to be the secretary of the International? It has been discussed and Lenin is of the opinion that no one but you should have this position." [page 217]

* * * * *

I hardly had time to voice my first objection to Lenin when he interrupted me . . .

"Party discipline exists for you too, dear comrade. The Central Committee has decided." (When Lenin had decided something before the Central Committee had ratified his decision, he usually anticipated their action in this fashion so as to avoid superfluous discussion.)

I knew it would be useless to argue.

When I returned to my hotel a few minutes after this conversation with Lenin I received the confirmation of my appointment by telephone. [page 218]

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I was surprised to find that the topics of discussion at our Executive meetings had so little relation to the work we had been elected to do. (Later, when I discovered that our meetings were mere formalities and that real authority rested with a secret Party Committee, I was to understand the reason for this.) [page 222]

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It was the secret Party Committee, not the Comintern Executive, that had met "informally" and issued statements in my name. [page 224]

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I knew, of course, that the Bolshevik leaders controlled the International Executive . . .

The next meeting of the International Executive was to take place in Petrograd in Zinoviev's magnificent offices . . . [page 241]

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It became obvious that the Bolsheviks . . . were concerned only with the organization in each country of a militarized and miniature Bolshevik Party completely dominated by and dependent upon Moscow itself. [page 274]

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EXHIBIT No. 12

[Source: A booklet published by the Publishing Office of the Communist International, Moscow: 1920; and reprinted by the United Communist Party of America]

Workers of the world unite!

THESES AND STATUTES OF THE THIRD (COMMUNIST)
INTERNATIONAL

Adopted by the Second Congress July 17th—August 7th, 1920. Publishing Office of the Communist International, Moscow, 1920. Reprinted by United Communist Party of America

(To be inserted in the U. C. P. edition of the Theses of the Second Congress of the Third (Communist) International.)

ERRATA

Theses on the Trade Union Movement:

Page 136, twenty-fifth line from bottom

Instead of: "But the support of the revolutionary trades unions, which are in a state of ferment and passing over to the class struggle, must not be neglected"—

This sentence should read: "But the support of the revolutionary trades unions must not result in an exodus of the communists from the opportunist unions which are in a state of ferment and are beginning to recognize the class struggle."

ADDENDUM

Final text of clause 17, of the "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International" (see pages 120-121).

§ 17. With regard to the Italian Socialist Party the Second Congress of the Third International recognizes that the revision of the programme, which had been last year decided upon by the Party Congress of Bologna, indicates a milestone along the road of communism and that the proposal which was submitted to the National Council of the Italian Socialist Party by the Turin Section of the Party published in the journal "L'Ordine Nuovo" (The New Order) of the 3rd of May, 1920, is in keeping with all the basic principles of the Third International. The Third International requests that at the next Congress of the Italian Socialist Party which is to be convened in accordance with the party regulations and the general rules regarding the affiliation to the Third International the Italian Socialist Party should discuss these proposals as well as all the decisions of the two Congresses of the Communists International, special attention to be paid to the resolutions on parliamentary fractions, trade unions and the non-communist elements of the party.

STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In London in 1864 was established the first International Association of Workers, latterly known as the First International. The statute of the International Association of Workers reads as follows:

"That the emancipation of the working class to to be attained by the working class itself:

That the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean a struggle for class privileges and monopolies but a struggle for equal rights and equal obligations, for the abolition of every kind of class-domination;

That the economic subjection of the worker under the monopolists of the means of production, i. e., of the sources of life is the cause of servitude in

all its forms, the cause of all social misery, all mental degradation and political dependence.

That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great aim which every political movement must be subordinated to;

That all endeavors for this great aim have failed as yet because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in all countries, because of the absence of the fraternal tie of unity between the working classes of the different countries.

That the emancipation is neither a local nor a national problem but a problem of a social character embracing every civilized country, the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most progressive countries;

That the actual simultaneous revival of the workers' movement in the industrial countries of Europe, on the one hand, awakens new hopes, while, on the other hand, it is a solemn warning of the danger of relapse into the old errors and an appeal for an immediate union of the hitherto disconnected movement."

The Second International which was established in 1889 at Paris had undertaken to continue the work of the First International. In 1914, at the outbreak of the world slaughter, it suffered a complete failure. Undermined by opportunism and damaged by the treason of its leaders who had taken the side of the bourgeoisie—the Second International perished.

The Third Communist International which was established in March, 1919, in the capital of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, in the city of Moscow, solemnly proclaims before the entire world that it takes upon itself to continue and to complete the great cause begun by the First International Workers' Association.

The Third Communist International was formed at a moment when the Imperialist slaughter of 1914–1918, in which the Imperialist bourgeoisie of the various countries had sacrificed twenty million men, came to an end.

Keep in mind the Imperialist war! This is the first appeal of the Communist International to every toiler wherever he may live and whatever language he may speak. Keep in mind that owing to the existence of the capitalist system a small group of Imperialists had the opportunity during four long years to compel the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. Keep in mind that the bourgeois war has cast Europe and the entire world into a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Keep in mind that unless the capitalist system is overthrown the repetition of such criminal war is not only possible but inevitable.

The Communist International makes its aim to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the International bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism. The Communist International considers the Soviet form of government as the historically evolved form of this dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Imperialist war is responsible for the close union of the fates of the workers of one country with the fates of the workers of all other countries. The Imperialist war emphasizes once more what is pointed out in the statute of the First International: that the emancipation of labor is neither a local, nor as a national task, but one of a social and international character.

The Communist International once for ever breaks with the traditions of the Second International which in reality only recognized the white race. The Communist International makes it its task to emancipate the workers of the entire world. The ranks of the Communist International fraternally unite men of all colors: white, yellow, and black—the toilers of the entire world.

The Communist International fully and unreservedly upholds the gains of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious socialist revolution in the world's history, and calls upon all workers to follow the same road. The Communist International makes it its duty to support with all the power at its disposal every Soviet Republic, wherever it may be formed.

The Communist International is aware that for the purpose of a speedy achievement of victory the International Association of Workers, which is struggling for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, should possess a firm and centralized organization. To all intents and purposes

the Communist International should represent a single universal Communist party, of which the parties operating in every country form individual sections. The organized apparatus of the Communist International is to secure to the toilers of every country the possibility at any given moment of obtaining the maximum of aid from the organized workers of the other countries.

For this purpose the Communist International confirms the following items of its statutes:

§ 1. The new International Association of Workers is established for the purpose of organizing common activity of the workers of various countries who are striving towards a single aim: the overthrow of capitalism; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic; the complete abolition of classes, and the realization of socialism—the first step of Communist Society.

§ 2. The new International Association of Workers has been given the name of The Communist International.

§ 3. All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist party of the given country (section of the Communist International).

§ 4. The World Congress of all parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International, is the supreme organ of this International. The World Congress confirms the programmes of the various parties comprising the Communist International. The World Congress discusses and decides the more important questions of programme and tactics, which are connected with the activity of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes at the World Congress for every party and organization is determined by a special regulation of the Congress; it is found necessary to strive for a speedy establishment of a standard of representation on the basis of the actual number of the members of the organization and the real influence of the party in question.

§ 5. The World Congress elects an Executive Committee of the Communist International which serves as the leading organ of the Communist International in the interval between the convention of World Congresses, and is responsible only to the World Congress.

§ 6. The residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is every time decided at the World Congress of the Communist International.

§ 7. A Special World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by regulation of the Executive Committee, or at the demand of one-half of the number of the parties which were part of the Communist International at the last World Congress.

§ 8. The chief bulk of the work and greatest responsibility in the Executive Committee of the Communist International lie with the party of that country where, in keeping with the regulation of the World Congress, the Executive Committee finds its residence at the time. The party of the country in question sends to the Executive Committee not less than five members with a decisive vote. In addition to this, one representative with a decisive vote is sent to the Communist International from ten or twelve of the largest communist parties. The list of these representatives is to be confirmed by the Universal Congress of the Communist International. The remaining parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International enjoy the right of sending to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote.

§ 9. The Executive Committee is the leading organ of the Communist International between the conventions; the Executive Committee publishes in no less than four languages the central organ of the Communist International (the periodical "The Communist International"). The Executive Committee makes the necessary appeals on behalf of the Communist International, and issues instructions obligatory on all the parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to demand from the affiliated parties the exclusion of groups of members who are guilty of the infringement of international proletarian discipline, as well as the exclusion from the Communist International of parties guilty of the infringement of the regulations of the World Congress. In the event of necessity the Executive Committee organizes in various countries its technical and auxiliary bureaux, which are entirely under the control of the Executive Committee.

§ 10. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to include in its ranks representatives of organizations and parties not accepted in the Communist International, but which are sympathetic towards communism; these are to have a consultative vote only.

§ 11. The organs of all the parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International as well as of those which are recognized sympathizers of the Communist International, are obliged to publish all official regulations of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee.

§ 12. The general state of things in the whole of Europe and of America makes it necessary for the communists of the whole world an obligatory formation of illegal communist organizations along with those existing legally. The Executive Committee should take charge of the universal application of this rule.

§ 13. All the most important political relations between the individual parties forming part of the Communist International will generally be carried on through the medium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In cases of exigency direct relations will be established, with the provision, however, that the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be informed of them at the same time.

§ 14. The Trade Unions that have accepted the Communist platform and are united on an international scale under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, form Trade Union Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Trade Unions send their representatives to the World Congresses of the Communist International through the medium of the Communist parties of their respective countries. Trade Union sections of the Communist International delegate a representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right of sending a representative with decisive vote, to the Trade Union section of the Communist International.

§ 15. The International League of Communist Youth is subordinate to the Communist International and its Executive Committee. One representative of the Executive Committee of the International League of Communist Youth with a decisive vote is delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, on the other hand, enjoys the right of sending a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive organ of the International League of Youth. Organization relations between the League of Youth and the Communist party are basically defined in every country after the same system.

§ 16. The Executive Committee of the Communist International confirms the International Secretary of the Communist Women's Movement, and organizes a women's section of the Communist International.

§ 17. In case a member of the Communist International goes to another country, he is to have the fraternal support of the local members of the Third International.

THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THESES ADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONGRESS

1. A characteristic feature of the present moment in the development of the international Communist movement is the fact that in all the capitalist countries the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat have completely understood the fundamental principles of the Communist International, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets; and with a loyal enthusiasm have placed themselves on the side of the Communist International. A still more important and great step forward is the unlimited sympathy with these principles manifested by the wider masses not only of the proletariat of the towns, but also by the advanced portion of the agrarian workers.

On the other hand two mistakes or weaknesses in the extraordinarily rapidly increasing international Communist movement have shown themselves. One very serious weakness directly dangerous to the success of the cause of the liberation of the proletariat consists in the fact that some of the old leaders and old parties of the Second International—partly half-unconsciously yielding to the wishes and pressure of the masses, partly consciously deceiving them in order to preserve their former role of agents and supporters of the bourgeoisie

inside the Labor movement—are declaring their conditional or even unconditional affiliation to the Third International, while remaining, in reality, in the whole practice of their party and political work, on the level of the Second International. Such a state of things is absolutely inadmissible, because it demoralizes the masses, hinders the development of a strong Communist Party, and lowers their respect for the Third International by threatening repetition of such betrayals as that of the Hungarian Social-Democrats, who had rapidly assumed the disguise of Communists. The second much less important mistake, which is, for the most part, a malady inherent in the party growth of the movement, is the tendency to be extremely “left,” which leads to an erroneous valuation of the role and duties of the party in respect to the class and to the mass, and of the obligation of the revolutionary Communists to work in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary labor unions.

The duty of the Communists is not to gloss over any of the weaknesses of their movement, but to criticize them openly, in order to get rid of them promptly and radically. To this end it is necessary, 1) to establish concretely, especially on the basis of the already acquired practical experience, the meaning of the terms: “Dictatorship of the Proletariat” and “Soviet Power”, and, 2) to point out what could and should be in all countries the immediate and systematic preparatory work to realizing these formulas; and, 3) to indicate the ways and means of curing our movement of its defects.

I. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND OF THE SOVIET POWER

2. The victory of Socialism over Capitalism—as the first step to Communism—demands the accomplishment of the three following tasks by the proletariat, as the only really revolutionary class:

The first task is to lay low the exploiters, and above all the bourgeoisie as their chief economic and political representative; to defeat them completely; to crush their resistance; to render impossible any attempts on their part to reimpose the yoke of capitalism and wage-slavery.

The second is to inspire and lead in the footsteps of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, its Communist party—not only the whole proletariat or the great majority, but the entire mass of workers and those exploited by capital; to enlighten, organize, instruct, and discipline them during the course of the bold and mercilessly firm struggle against the exploiters; to wrench this enormous majority of the population in all the capitalist countries out of their state of dependence on the bourgeoisies; to instill in them, through practical experience, confidence in the leading role of the proletariat and its revolutionary advance guard. The third is to neutralize or render harmless the inevitable fluctuations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois democracy and Soviet Power, on the part of that rather numerous class in all advanced countries—although constituting a minority of the population—the small owners and proprietors in agriculture, industry, commerce, and the corresponding layers of intellectuals, employees, and so on.

The first and second tasks are independent ones, demanding each of them their special methods of action in respect to the exploiters and to the exploited. The third task results from the two first, demanding only a skillful, timely, supple combination of the methods of the first and second kind, depending on the concrete circumstances of each separate case of fluctuation.

3. Under the circumstances which have been created in the whole world, and especially in the most advanced, most powerful, most enlightened and freest capitalist countries by militarist imperialism—oppression of colonies and weaker nations, the universal imperialist slaughter, the “peace” of Versailles—to admit the idea of a voluntary submission of the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of a peaceful, reformist passage to Socialism, is not only to give proof of an extreme petty bourgeois stupidity, but it is a direct deception of the workmen, a disguise of capitalist wage-slavery, a concealment of the truth. This truth is that the bourgeoisie, the most enlightened and democratic portion of the bourgeoisie, is even now not stopping at deceit and crime, at the slaughter of millions of workmen and peasants, in order to retain the right of private ownership over the means of production. Only a violent defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois governmental apparatus, parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., even the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters, the establishment of

a strict control over them for the repression of all inevitable attempts at resistance and restoration of capitalist slavery—only such measures will be able to guarantee the complete submission of the whole class of exploiters.

On the other hand, it is the same disguising of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, the same deceiving of the workmen, when the old parties and old leaders of the Second International admit the idea that the majority of the workers and exploited will be able to acquire a clear Socialist consciousness, firm Socialist convictions and character under the conditions of capitalist enslavement, under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, which assumes an endless variety of forms—the more refined and at the same time the more cruel and pitiless, the more cultured the given capitalist nation. In reality it is only when the advance guard of the proletariat, supported by the whole class as the only revolutionary one, or a majority of the same, will have overthrown the exploiters, crushed them, freed all the exploited from their position of slaves, improved their conditions of life immediately at the expense of the expropriated capitalists—only after that, and during the very course of the acute class struggle, it will be possible to bring about the enlightenment, education and organization of the widest masses of workers and exploited around the proletariat, under its influence and direction; to cure them of their egotism, their non-solidarity, their vices and weaknesses engendered by private ownership, and to transform them into free workers.

4. For victory over capitalism a correct correlation between the leading Communist Party—the revolutionary class, the proletariat—and the masses, i. e., the whole mass of workers and exploited, is essential. If the Communist Party is really the advance guard of the revolutionary class, if it includes the best representatives of the class, if it consists of perfectly conscious and loyal Communists, enlightened by experience gained in the stubborn revolutionary struggle—if it can be bound indissolubly with the entire life of its class, and through the latter with the whole mass of the exploited, and if it can inspire full confidence in this class and this mass, only then is it capable of leading the proletariat in the pitiless, decisive, and final struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party will the proletariat be able to employ all the force of its revolutionary onslaught, nullifying the inevitable apathy and partial resistance of the insignificant minority of the demoralized labor aristocracy, the old trade-union and guild leaders, etc. Only then will the proletariat be able to display its power which is immeasurably greater than its share in the population, by reason of the economic organization of capitalist society itself. Lastly, only when practically freed from the yoke of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governing apparatus, only after acquiring the possibility of freely (from all capitalist exploitation) organizing into its own Soviets, will the mass—i. e., the total of all the workers and exploited—employ for the first time in history all the initiative and energy of tens of millions of people, formerly crushed by capitalism. Only when the Soviets will become the only State apparatus, will effectual participation in the administration be realized for the entire mass of the exploited, who, even under the most cultured and free bourgeois democracy, remain practically excluded from participation in the administration. Only in the Soviets does the mass really begin to study, not out of books, but out of its own practical experience, the work of Socialist construction, the creation of a new social discipline, a free union of free workers.

II. IN WHAT SHOULD THE IMMEDIATE PREPARATION FOR DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT CONSIST?

5. The present moment in the development of the International Communist movement is characterized by the fact that in a great majority of capitalist countries the preparation of the proletariat or the realization of its dictatorship is not yet completed—very often it has not even been begun systematically. It does not follow that the proletarian revolution is not possible, for the economic and political situation is extraordinarily rich in inflammable material which may cause a sudden flame; the other condition for a revolution, besides the preparedness of the proletariat, namely, the general state of crisis in all the ruling and all the bourgeois parties, is also at hand. But it follows from the above that for the moment the duty of the Communist Parties consists in accelerating the revolution, without provoking it artificially until sufficient preparation has been made; such preparation is to be carried on and emphasized by revolutionary activity. On the other hand, the above instance in the

history of many Socialist parties draws our attention to the fact, that the "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat should not remain only verbal.

Therefore the principal duty of the Communist Parties, from the point of view of an international proletarian movement, is at the present moment the uniting of the dispersed Communist forces, the formation in each country of a single Communist Party (or the strengthening and renovation of the already existing one) in order to perform the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of the governing power, and especially for the acquisition of power under the form of a dictatorship of the groups and parties that recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat. This work has not been sufficiently subjected to the radical reformation, the radical renovation, which are necessary for it to be recognized as Communist work, and as corresponding to the tasks on the eve of proletarian dictatorship.

6. The conquest of political power by the proletariat does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it makes the struggle especially broad, acute, and pitiless. All the groups, parties, leaders of the Labor movement, fully or partially on the side of reformism, the "center," and so on, turn inevitably, during the most acute periods of the struggle, either to the side of the bourgeoisie or to that of the wavering ones, and the most dangerous are added to the number of the unreliable friends of the vanquished proletariat. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands not only an increased struggle against all reformists and "centrist" tendencies, but a modification of the nature of this struggle.

The struggle should not be limited to an explanation of the fallacy of such tendencies, but it should stubbornly and mercilessly denounce any leader in the Labor movement who may be manifesting such tendencies, otherwise the proletariat will not know whom it must trust in the most decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. The struggle is such, that the slightest hesitation or weakness in the denunciation of those who show themselves to be reformists or "centrists," means a direct increase of the danger that the power of the proletariat may be overthrown by the bourgeoisie, which will on the morrow utilize in favor of the counter-revolution all that which to short-sighted people appears only as a "theoretical difference of opinion" to-day.

7. In particular one cannot stop at the usual doctrinaire refutation of all "collaboration" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie:

The simple defense of "liberty and equality," under the condition of preserving the right of private ownership of the means of production, becomes transformed under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat—which will never be able to suppress completely all private ownership—into a "collaboration" with the bourgeoisie, which undermines directly the power of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the strengthening and defense, by means of the ruling power of the State, of the "non-liberty" of the exploiter to continue his work of oppression and exploitation, the "inequality" of the proprietor (i. e., of the person who has taken for himself personally the means of production created by public labor and the proletariat). That which before the victory of the proletariat seems but a theoretical difference of opinion on the question of "democracy," becomes inevitably on the morrow of the victory, a question which can only be decided by force of arms. Consequently, without a radical modification of the whole nature of the struggle against the "centrists" and "defenders of democracy," even a preliminary preparation of the mass for the realization of a dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

8. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most decisive and revolutionary form of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Such a struggle can be successful only when the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat leads the majority. The preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands, therefore, not only the elucidation of the bourgeois nature of all reformism, all defense of "democracy," with the preservation of the right to the ownership of the means of production; not only the denunciation of such tendencies, which in practice mean the defense of the bourgeoisie inside the Labor movement—but it demands also the replacing of the old leaders by Communists in all kinds of proletarian organizations, not only political, but industrial, co-operative, educational, etc. The more lasting, complete, and solid the rule of the bourgeois democracy has been in any country, the more has it been possible for the bourgeoisie to appoint as labor leaders men who have been educated by it, imbued with its views and prejudices and very frequently directly or indirectly bribed by it. It is necessary to remove

all these representatives of the Labor aristocracy, all such "bourgeois" workmen, from their posts and replace them by even inexperienced workers, so long as these are in unity with the exploited masses, and enjoy the latter's confidence in the struggle against the exploiters. The dictatorship of the proletariat will demand the appointment of such inexperienced workmen to the most responsible State functions, otherwise the rule of the Labor government will be powerless and it will not have the support of the masses.

9. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most complete realization of a leadership over all workers and exploited, who have been oppressed, beaten down, crushed, intimidated, dispersed, deceived by the class of capitalists, on the part of the only class prepared for such a leading role by the whole history of capitalism. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat must begin immediately and in all places by means of the following methods among others:

In every organization, union, association—beginning with the proletarian ones at first, and afterwards in all those of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses (political, professional, military, co-operative, educational, sporting, etc., etc.) must be formed groups or nuclei of Communists—mostly open ones, but also secret ones which become necessary in each case when the arrest or exile of their members or the dispersal of their organization is threatened; and these nuclei, in close contact with one another and with the central Party, exchanging experiences, carrying on the work of propaganda, campaign, organization, adapting themselves to all the branches of social life, to all the various forms and subdivisions of the working masses, must systematically train themselves, the Party, the class, and the masses by such multiform work.

At the same time it is most important to work out practically the necessary methods on the one hand in respect to the "leaders" or responsible representatives, who are very frequently hopelessly infected with petty bourgeois and imperialist prejudices; on the other hand, in respect to the masses, who, especially after the imperialist slaughter, are mostly inclined to listen to and accept the doctrine of the necessity of leadership of the proletariat as the only way out of capitalistic enslavement. The masses must be approached with patience and caution, and with an understanding of the peculiarities, the special psychology of each layer, each profession of these masses.

10. In particular one of the groups or nuclei of the Communists deserves the exclusive attention and care of the party, namely, the parliamentary faction, i. e., the group of members of the Party who are members of bourgeois representative institutions (first of all state institutions, then local, municipal, and others). On the one hand, such a tribune has a special importance in the eyes of the wider circles of the backward or prejudiced working masses; therefore, from this very tribune, the Communists must carry on their work of propaganda, agitation, organization, explaining to the masses why the dissolution of the bourgeois parliament (Constituent Assembly) by the national Congress of Soviets was a legitimate proceeding at the time in Russia (as it will be in all countries in due time). On the other hand, the whole history of bourgeois democracy has made the parliamentary tribune, especially in the more advanced countries, the chief or one of the chief means of unbelievable financial and political swindles, the means of making a career out of hypocrisy and oppression of the workers. Therefore the deep hatred against all parliaments in the revolutionary proletariat is perfectly justified. Therefore the Communist Parties, and all parties adhering to the Third International, especially in cases when such parties have been formed not by means of a division in the old parties and after a long stubborn struggle against them, but by means of the old parties passing over (often nominally) to a new position, must be very strict in their attitude towards their parliamentary factions, demanding their complete subordination to the control and the direction of the Central Committee of the party; the inclusion in them chiefly of revolutionary workmen; the carrying out at Party meetings of a most intensive analysis of the Party press and of the parliamentary speeches, from the point of view of their Communist integrity; detailing of parliament members for propaganda among the masses; the exclusion from such groups of all those who show a tendency towards the Second International, and so forth.

11. One of the chief causes of difficulty in the revolutionary Labor movement in the advanced capitalist countries lies in the fact that owing to colonial dominions and super-dividends of a financial capital, etc., capital has been able to attract a comparatively more solid and broader group of a small minority of the

labor aristocracy. The latter enjoy better conditions of pay and are most of all impregnated with the spirit of professional narrow-mindedness, bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. This is the true social "support" of the Second International reformists and centrists, and at the present moment almost the chief social support of the bourgeoisie.

Not even preliminary preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible without an immediate, systematic, widely organized and open struggle against the group which undoubtedly—as experience has already proved—will furnish plenty of men for the White Guards of the bourgeoisie after the victory of the proletariat. All the parties adhering to the Third International must at all costs put into practice the mottoes: "deeper into the masses," "in closer contact with the masses," understanding by the word "masses" the entire mass of workers and those exploited by capitalism, especially the less organized and enlightened, the most oppressed and less adaptable to organization.

The proletariat becomes revolutionary in so far as it is not enclosed within narrow guild limits, in so far as it participates in all the events and branches of public life, as a leader of the whole working and exploited mass; and it is completely impossible for it to realize its dictatorship unless it is ready for and capable of doing everything for the victory over the bourgeoisie. The experience of Russia in this respect has a theoretical and practical importance; where the proletariat could not have realized its dictatorship, nor acquired the respect and confidence of the whole working mass, if it had not borne most of the sacrifices and had not suffered from hunger more than all the other groups in this mass, during the most difficult moments of the onslaught, war and blockade on the part of the universal bourgeoisie.

In particular it is necessary for the Communist Party and the whole advanced proletariat to give the most absolute and self-denying support to all the masses for a larger general strike movement, which is alone able under the yoke of capitalism to awaken properly, arouse, enlighten, and organize the masses, and develop in them a full confidence in the leading role of the revolutionary proletariat. Without such a preparation no dictatorship of the proletariat will be possible, and those who are capable of preaching against strikes, like Kautsky in Germany, Turati in Italy, are not to be suffered in the ranks of parties adhering to the Third International. This concerns still more, naturally, such trade-union and parliamentary leaders, as often betray the workingmen by teaching them to make the strike an instrument of reform and not of revolution (Jouhaux in France, Gompers in America, and Thomas in England.)

12. For all countries, even for most free "legal" and "peaceful" ones in the sense of a lesser acuteness in the class struggle, the period has arrived, when it has become absolutely necessary for every Communist party to join systematically lawful and unlawful work, lawful and unlawful organization.

In the most enlightened and free countries, with a most "solid bourgeois-democratic regime, the governments are systematically recurring, in spite of their false and hypocritical assurances, to the method of keeping secret lists of Communists; to endless violations of their constitutions for the semi-secret support of White Guards and the murder of Communists in all countries; to secret preparations for the arrest of Communists; the introduction of provocateurs among the Communists, etc. Only the most reactionary petty bourgeoisie, by whatever high-sounding "democratic" or pacifist phrases it might disguise its ideas, can dispute this fact or the necessary conclusion; an immediate formation by all lawful Communist parties of unlawful organizations for systematic unlawful work, for their complete preparation at any moment to thwart any steps on the part of the bourgeoisie. It is especially necessary to carry on unlawful work in the army, navy, and police, as, after the imperialist slaughter, all the governments in the world are becoming afraid of the national armies, open to all peasants and workingmen, and they are setting up in secret all kinds of select military organizations recruited from the bourgeoisie and especially provided with improved technical equipment.

On the other hand, it is also necessary, in all cases without exception, not to limit oneself to unlawful work, but to carry on also lawful work overcoming all difficulties, founding a lawful press and lawful organizations under the most diverse, and in case of need, frequently changing names. This is now being done by the illegal Communist parties in Finland, in part in Germany, Poland, Latvia, etc. It is thus that the I. W. W. in America should act, as well as all the lawful Communist parties at present, in case prosecutors start prosecutions on the basis of resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, etc

The absolute necessity of the principle of unlawful and lawful work is determined not only by the total aggregate of all the peculiarities of the given movement, on the very eve of a proletarian dictatorship, but by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie, that there is not and can not be any branch of the work of which the Communists have not possessed themselves, and still more by the fact that everywhere there are still wide circles of the proletariat and greater ones of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses, which still trust in the bourgeois democracy, the discussion of which is our most important duty.

13. In particular, the situation of the Labor press in the more advanced capitalist countries shows with special force both the falsity of liberty and equality under the bourgeois democracy, and the necessity of a systematic blending of the lawful and unlawful work. Both in vanquished Germany and in victorious America all the powers of the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and all the tricks of its financial kings are being set in motion in order to deprive the workingmen of their press; prosecutions and arrests (or murder by means of hired murderers) of the editors, denial of mailing privilege, curtailing of paper supply, etc. Moreover, the information necessary for a daily paper is in the hands of bourgeois telegraph agencies, and the advertisements, without which a large paper cannot pay its way, are at the "free" disposal of capitalists. On the whole, by means of deception, the pressure of capital, and the bourgeois government, the bourgeoisie deprives the revolutionary proletariat of its press.

For the struggle against this state of things the Communist parties must create a new type of periodical press for extensive circulation among the workmen:

1) Lawful publications, in which the Communists without calling themselves such and without mentioning their connection with the party, learn to utilize the slightest liberty allowed by the laws, as the Bolsheviks did at the "time of the Tsar," after 1905.

2) Illegal sheets, although of the smallest dimensions and irregularly published, but reproduced in most of the printing offices by the workingmen (in secret, or if the movement has grown stronger, by means of a revolutionary seizure of the printing offices) giving the proletariat undiluted revolutionary information and the revolutionary mottoes.

Without a Communist press the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

III. THE AMENDMENT OF THE POLICY—PARTLY ALSO OF THE MAKE-UP—OF THE PARTIES ADHERING OR WILLING TO ADHERE TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

14. The degree of preparedness of the proletariat to carry out its dictatorship, in the countries most important from the view-point of world economics and world politics, is manifested most objectively and precisely by the fact that the most influential parties of the Second International, the French Socialist Party, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Labor Party of England, the American Socialist Party, have gone out of this yellow International and have passed resolutions to join the Third International, the first three con-resolutions to join the Third International, all, however, making certain reservations. This proves that not only the advance guard but the majority of the proletariat has begun to pass over to our side, persuaded thereto by the whole course of events. The chief thing now is to know how to complete this passage and solidly, structurally strengthen it, so as to be able to advance along the whole line, without the slightest hesitation.

15. The whole activity of the above-mentioned parties (to which must be added the Swiss Socialist Party if the telegraphic reports regarding its resolution to join the Third International are correct) *proves*—and any given periodical paper of these parties confirms it—that they are not Communist as yet, and frequently even are in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the Third International, namely: the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of Soviet power instead of the bourgeois democracy.

Therefore the Second Congress of the Communist International should announce that it does not consider it possible to receive these parties immediately; that it confirms the answer of the Executive Committee of the Third International to the German Independents; that it confirms its readiness to carry on negotiations with any party leaving the Second International and desiring to join the

Third; that it reserves the right of a consultative vote to the delegate of such parties at all its congresses and conferences, and that it proposes the following conditions for a complete union of these (and similar) parties with the Communist International.

1.) The publishing of all the resolutions passed by all the congress of the party for the weeding out of all elements that Committee, in all the periodical publications of the party.

2.) Their discussion at the special meetings of all sections and local organizations of the party.

3.) The convocation, after such a discussion, of a special congress of the party for the weeding out of all elements which continue to act in the spirit of the Second International. Such a congress is to be called together as soon as possible within a period of four months at most following the Second Congress.

4.) Expulsion from the party of all members who persist in their adherence to the Second International.

5.) The transfer of all periodical papers of the party into the hands of Communist editors.

6.) The parties wishing to join the Third International but which have not yet radically changed their old tactics, must above all take care that two-thirds of their Central Committee and of their chief central institutions consist of such comrades as have declared their adherence to a party of the Third International before the Second Congress. Exceptions can be made only with the sanction of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The E. C. also reserves the right of making exceptions with regard to the representatives of the "centrist" movement mentioned in paragraph 7.

7.) Members of the party who repudiate the conditions and theses adopted by the Communist International must be excluded from the Party. The same applies to delegates of special congresses. The Second Congress of the Third Intern. must charge its Executive Committee to admit the above-named and similar parties into the Third International after a preliminary verification that all these conditions have been fulfilled, and that the nature of the activity of the party has become Communist.

16. In regard to the question as to what must be the line of conduct of the Communists at present constituting the minority at the responsible posts of the above-named and similar parties, the Second Congress of the Third International should establish, that, in view of the rapid progress of the actual revolutionary spirit among the workmen belonging to these parties it would be undesirable for the Communists to leave the parties, so long as they are able to carry on their work within the parties in the spirit of a recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the criticism of all opportunists and centrists still remaining in these parties.

When the left wing of the centre party becomes sufficiently strong, it can—provided it considers it beneficial for the development of Communism—leave the party in a body and inaugurate a Communist Party.

At the same time the Second Congress of the Third International must declare itself in favor of the joining of Communist Party, and the groups and organizations sympathizing with Communism in England, joining the Labor Party, notwithstanding the circumstance that this party is a member of the Second International. The reason of this is that so long as this party will allow all constituent organizations their present freedom of criticism and freedom of propaganda, and organizing activity in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets, so long as this party preserves its principle of uniting all the industrial organizations of the working class, the Communists ought to take all measures and even consent to certain compromises, in order to be able to exercise an influence over the wider circles of workmen and the masses, to denounce their opportunist leaders from a higher tribune, to accelerate the transfer of the political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the "Labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," so that the masses may be more rapidly cured of all illusions on this subject.

17. In regard to the Italian Socialist Party, the Second Congress of the Third International considers as perfectly correct the criticism of this Party and the practical propositions which are stated, as propositions to the District Council of the Italian Socialist Party on behalf of the Turin section of this Party in the paper "New Order" (L'Ordine Nuovo) dated May 8th, 1920, and which completely corresponds with the fundamental principles of the Third International.

Therefore the Second Congress of the Third International requests the Italian Socialist Party to convene an extraordinary congress of the party for the discussion of these propositions and the resolutions of both congresses of the Communist International, especially with regard to the parliamentary fraction, to the non-communist elements in the party, and concerning the tactics in the trade unions.

18. The Second Congress of the Third International considers as not correct the views regarding the relations of the Party to the class and to the masses, and the non-participation of the Communist Parties in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary Labor unions, which have been emphatically repudiated in the special resolutions of the present congress, and defended in full by the "Communist Labor Party of Germany" and also partially by the "Communist Party of Switzerland," by the organ of the West European secretariat of the Communist International "Communismus" in Amsterdam, and by several of our Dutch comrades; further by certain Communist organizations in England, as for instances "The Workers' Socialist Federation," also by the "I. W. W." in America, the "Shop Steward Committees" in England, and so forth.

Nevertheless the Second Congress of the Third International considers possible and desirable the immediate affiliation of such of these organizations as have not already done so officially, because, in the given case, especially as regards the I. W. W. of America and Australia, and the "Shop Steward Committees of England, we have to deal with a genuinely proletarian mass movement, which practically adheres to the principles of the Communist International. In such organizations any mistaken views on the question of participation in the bourgeois parliaments, are to be explained not so much on the theory that they are members of the bourgeoisie advocating their own petty bourgeois views, as the views of the Anarchists frequently are, but on the theory of the political inexperience of the proletarians, who are, nevertheless, completely revolutionary and in contact with the masses.

The Second Congress of the Third International requests, therefore, all Communist organizations and groups in the Anglo-Saxon countries, even in case immediate union between the Third International and the "Industrial Workers of the World" and the "Shop Steward Committees" does not take place, to carry on a policy of the most friendly attitude toward these organizations, to enter into closer connection with them, to explain to them in a friendly way, from the point of view of all revolutions and the three Russian revolutions in the Twentieth Century especially, the fallacy of their above-stated views, and not to desist from repeated attempts to become united with these organizations so as to form one Communist Party.

19. In connection with this the Congress draws the attention of all comrades, especially in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries to the fact that among the Anarchists since the war all over the world a deep ideological schism is taking place upon the question of their attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets. And it is just among the proletarian elements, which were frequently led into anarchism by their perfectly justified hatred of the opportunism and reformism of the parties of the Second International, that there is to be noticed a perfectly correct understanding of these principles, especially among those who are more nearly acquainted with the experience of Russia, Finland, Hungary, Lettland, Poland, and Germany.

The Congress considers it the duty of all comrades to support by all measures all the masses of proletarian elements passing from Anarchism to the Third International. The Congress points out that the success of the work of the truly Communist Parties ought to be measured, among other things, by how far they have been able to attract to their party all the uneducated, not petty-bourgeois, but proletarian masses from Anarchism.

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The First Constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions of admission to the Third International.

At the moment of the convocation of the First Congress in the majority of countries only Communist currents and groups existed.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International is convening under different conditions. At the present moment in most countries there are not only Communist tendencies and groups but Communist parties and organizations.

The Communist International more and more frequently receives applications from parties and groups but a short time ago belonging to the Second International, now desirous of joining the Third International, but not yet really communist. The Second International is completely broken. Seeing the complete helplessness of the Second International the intermediary faction and the groups of the "centre" are trying to lean on the ever strengthening Communist International hoping at the same time, however, to preserve a certain "autonomy" which should enable them to carry on their former opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International has become the fashion.

The desire of certain leading groups of the "centre" to join the Third International now is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the majority of conscious workers of the whole world is growing stronger every day.

The Communist International is being threatened with the danger of dilution with the fluctuating and half-and-half groups which have as yet not abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

It must be mentioned that in some of the large parties (Italy, Norway, Jugoslavia, etc.), the majority of which adhere to the point of view of Communism, there is up to this moment a considerable reformist and social pacifist wing, which is only awaiting the moment to revive and to begin an active "sabotage" of the proletarian revolution, and thus assist the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lesson of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The unity between the Hungarian Communists and the so-called Left Social Democrats cost the Hungarian Proletariat very dearly.

In view of this the Second World Congress finds it necessary to establish most definite conditions for the joining of new parties, as well as to point out to such parties as have already joined the Communist International the duties which are laid upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International rules that the conditions for joining the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character, and should correspond to the programme and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the Proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodicals and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. The editors should in no way be given an opportunity to abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, popular meetings, labor unions or co-operatives,—it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants and agents—reformists of every color and shade.

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all the responsible posts in the labor movement (Party organizations, editors, labor unions, parliamentary factions, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.), all reformists and followers of the "centre," and to have them replaced by Communists, even at the cost of replacing at the beginning "experienced" men by rank-and-file working men.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and unlawful work is absolutely necessary.

4. A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate

in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause, and incompatible with affiliation with the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The working class can gain no victory unless it possesses the sympathy and support of at least part of the rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are equally utilized. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workingmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work, or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half reformists, is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party desirous of affiliating with the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism, but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganization of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new Imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as for instance Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.

8. In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of "its own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in words but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own Imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workingmen of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, co-operatives and other labor organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within the organizations, which by persistent and lasting work should win over labor unions to Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations of the "centre." These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.

10. Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of the yellow labor unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International Unification of Red Labor Unions, adhering to the Communist International, which is now beginning.

11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions, not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote his entire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able fully to do its duty only when it is organized in a sufficiently thorough way when it possesses an iron discipline, and when its party centre enjoys the confidence of the members of the party, who are to endow this centre with complete power, authority and ample rights.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communist activity is legal, should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well

as those of the party organizations, in order systematically to free the party from the petty bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.

14. Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc.

15. All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social and democratic programmes should, within the shortest time possible, draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule, the programme of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party being confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All the resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralized in a better manner than the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and the Executive Committee are naturally bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed only on such questions upon which such resolutions are possible.

17. In connection with the above, all parties desiring to join the Communist International should alter their name. Each party desirous of joining the Communist International should bear the following name: Communist Party of such and such a country, section of the Third Communist International. The question of the renaming of a party is not only a formal one, but is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world, and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank-and-file worker should be able clearly to distinguish between the Communist parties and the old official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading organs of the press of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those parties which have joined the Communist International, as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so, are obliged in as short a space of time as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this, the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint all the local organizations with the regulations of the Second Congress.

20. All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their committee members and of all their central institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress, as to their desire that the party should affiliate with the Third International. Exclusions are permitted only with the confirmation of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "centre" as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International, are liable to be excluded from the party.

This applies principally to the delegates at the Special Congresses of the party.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The world proletariat is confronted with decisive battles. We are living in an epoch of civil war. The critical hour has struck. In almost all countries where

there is a labor movement of any importance the working class, arms in hand, stands in the midst of fierce and decisive battles. Now more than ever is the working class in need of a strong organization. Without losing an hour of invaluable time, the working class must keep on indefatigably preparing for the impending decisive struggle.

The first heroic uprising of the French proletariat during the Paris Commune of 1871 would have been much more successful, and many errors and shortcomings would have been avoided, had there been a strong Communist party, no matter how small. The struggle which the proletariat is now facing, under changed historical circumstances, will be of much more vital importance to the future destiny of the working class than was the insurrection of 1871.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International therefore calls upon the revolutionary workers of the whole world to concentrate all their attention on the following:

1. The Communist Party is part of the working class, namely, its most advanced, intelligent, and therefore most revolutionary part. The Communist Party is formed of the best, most intelligent, self-sacrificing and far-seeing workers. The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the workers in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class, and at all turns of the road it endeavors to defend the interests, not of separate groups or professions, but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads all the proletariat and semi-proletarian mass.

2. Until the time when the power of government will have been finally conquered by the proletariat, until the time when the proletarian rule will have been firmly established beyond the possibility of a bourgeois restoration, the Communist Party will have in its organized ranks only a minority of the workers. Up to the time when the power will have been seized by it, and during the transition period, the Communist Party may, under favorable conditions, exercise undisputed moral and political influence on all the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes of the population; but it will not be able to mite them within its ranks. Only when the dictatorship of the workers has deprived the bourgeoisie of such powerful weapons as the press, the school, parliament, the church, the government apparatus, etc.; only when the final overthrow of the capitalist order will have become an evident fact—only then will all or almost all the workers enter the ranks of the Communist Party.

3. A sharp distinction must be made between the conception of "party" and "class". The members of the "Christian" and liberal trade unions of Germany, England, and other countries, are undoubtedly parts of the working class. More or less considerable circles of the working people, followers of Scheidemann, Gompers and Co., are likewise part of the working class. Under certain historical conditions the working class is very likely to be impregnated with numerous reactionary elements. The task of Communism is not to adapt itself to such retrograde elements of the working class, but to raise the whole working class to the level of the Communist vanguard. The confounding of these two conceptions—of party and of class—can only lead to the greatest errors and confusion. Thus, for instance, it is clear that notwithstanding the disposition or prejudices of certain parts of the working masses during the imperialist war, the workers' parties ought to have counteracted these prejudices, defending the historical interests of the proletariat, which demanded of the proletarian parties a declaration of war against war.

Thus in the beginning of the imperialistic war of 1914, the social-traitor parties of all countries, in upholding the capitalists of their "own" countries, unanimously declared that such was the will of the people. They forgot at the same time that even if this were so, the duty of the workers' party would have been to combat such an attitude of the majority of the workers, and to defend the interests of the workers at whatever cost. At the very beginning of the twentieth century the Russian Mensheviks (minimalists) of the time (the so-called "economists"), denied the possibility of an open political struggle against Tsarism, on the ground that the working class in general was not yet ripe for the understanding of the political struggle. So also has the right wing of the Independents of Germany, in all its compromising, referred to the "will of the masses," failing to understand that the party exists precisely for the purpose of marching ahead of the masses and pointing out the way.

4. The Communist International is firmly convinced that the collapse of the old "Social Democratic" parties of the Second International cannot be rep-

resented as the collapse of the proletarian party organizations in general. The period of open struggle for the dictatorship of the workers has created a new proletarian party, the Communist Party.

5. The Communist International emphatically rejects the opinion that the workers could carry out a revolution without having an independent political party of their own. Every class struggle is a political struggle. The object of this struggle, which inevitably turns into a civil war, is the obtaining of political power. However, this power cannot be acquired, organized and directed otherwise than by means of a political party. Only in case the workers have for their leader an organized and experienced party, with strictly defined objects, and a practically drawn up program of immediate action, both in internal and foreign policy—then only will the acquisition of political power cease to be a causal episode, but will serve as a starting point.

This class struggle likewise demands that the general guidance of the various forms of the proletarian movement (labor unions, co-operative associations, cultural-educational work, elections, etc.) be united in one central organization. Only a political party can be such a unifying and guiding centre. To refuse to create and strengthen such a party and submit to its dictates, would mean to abandon the idea of unity in the guidance of the separate proletarian groups operating in the different arenas of the struggle. Lastly, the class struggle of the proletariat demands a concentrated propaganda, throwing light on the various stages of the fight, a unified point of view, directing the attention of the proletariat at each given moment to the definite tasks to be accomplished by the whole class. This cannot be done without the help of a centralized political apparatus, i. e., a political party. Therefore the propaganda of the revolutionary Syndicalists, and the partisans of the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), against the necessity of an Independent Workers' Party, as a matter of fact has only served and continues to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary "Social Democrats." In their propaganda against the Communist Party, which the Syndicalists and Industrialists desire to replace by the labor unions, they approach the opportunists. After the defeat of the revolution in 1905, during the course of several years the Russian Mensheviks proclaimed the necessity of a so-called Labor Congress, which was to replace the revolutionary party of the working class; all kinds of "Laborites" of England and America, while consciously carrying on a bourgeois policy, are propagating among the workers the idea of creating indefinite shapeless workers' unions instead of a political party. The revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists desire to fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but they do not know how to do it. They do not see that a working class without an independent political party is like a body without a head.

Revolutionary Syndicalism and Industrialism are a step forward only in comparison with the old, musty, counter-revolutionary ideology of the Second International. But in comparison with the revolutionary Marxian doctrine, i. e., with Communism, Syndicalism and industrialism are a step backward. The declaration made by the "Lefts" of the Communist Labor Party of Germany (in the programme-declaration of their Constituent Congress in April) to the effect that they are forming a party, but not one in the traditional sense of the word ("Kein Partei im überlieferten Sinne")—is a capitulation before the views of Syndicalism and Industrialism which are reactionary. The working class cannot achieve the victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone, and by the policy of folded arms. The proletariat must resort to an armed uprising. Having understood this, one realizes that an organized political party is absolutely essential, and that shapeless labor organizations will not suffice.

The revolutionary Syndicalists frequently advance the idea of the great importance of a determined revolutionary minority. The Communist Party is just such a determined minority of the working class, which is ready to act, which has a program and strives to organize the masses for the struggle.

6. The most important task of a genuine Communist Party is to preserve constantly the closest contact with the widest masses of the workers. For that purpose the Communists must carry on activity also within such organizations as are non-partisan, but which comprise large proletarian groups, for example organizations of war invalids in various countries, the "Hands-off Russia" Committee in England, Proletarian Tenants' Unions, and so forth. Of special importance are the so-called non-party conferences of workers and peasants held in Russia. Such conferences are being organized almost in every town, in all industrial districts and in the country. In the elections to these con-

ferences the widest masses even of the most backward workers take part. The order of business at these conferences is made up of the most pressing questions, such as the food question, the housing problem, the military situation, the school question. The Communists exercise their influence on these non-party conferences in the most energetic manner, and with the greatest success for the party. They consider it their most important task to carry on the work of organization and instruction within such organizations. But in order that their efforts should bring forth the desired results, and that such organizations should not become the prey of opponents of the revolutionary proletariat, the most advanced Communist workers should always have their own independent, closely united Communist Party, working in an organized manner, and standing up for the general interests of Communism at each turn of events, and under every form of the movement.

7. The Communists have no fear of the largest workers' organizations which belong to no party, even when they are of a decidedly reactionary nature (yellow unions, Christian Associations, etc.). The Communist Party carries on its work inside such organizations, and untiringly instructs the workers, and proves to them that the idea of no political party as a principle is consciously cultivated among the workers by the bourgeoisie and its adherents, with the object of keeping the proletariat from an organized struggle for Socialism.

8. The old classical division of the labor movement into three forms (party, labor unions and co-operatives) has evidently served its time. The proletarian revolution in Russia has brought forward the fundamental form of the workers' dictatorship, the Soviets. The new divisions, which are now everywhere forming, are: Party, Soviet, Industrial Union. But the party of the proletariat, that is to say, the Communist Party, must constantly and systematically direct the work of the Soviets as well as of the revolutionized industrial unions. The Communist Party, the organized vanguard of the working class, must direct the struggle of the entire class on the economic and the political fields, and also on the field of education. It must be the animating spirit in the industrial unions, labor councils and all other forms of proletarian organizations.

The existence of the Soviets as an historically basic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in no way lessens the guiding role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution. The assertions made by the "Left" Communists of Germany (in their appeal to the German proletariat of April 14th, 1920, signed "The Communist Labor Party of Germany") that the party must always adapt itself to the idea of the Soviets and assume a proletarian character, is nothing but a hazy expression of the opinion that the Communist Party should dissolve itself into the Soviets, that the Soviets can replace the Communist Party. This idea is essentially reactionary.

There was a period in the history of the Russian Revolution when the Soviets were acting in opposition to the party, and supported the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie. The same has happened in Germany, and may take place in other countries.

In order that the Soviets may be able to perform their historic mission, a party of staunch Communists is necessary who should not merely adapt themselves to the Soviets, but, on the contrary, should take care that the Soviets do not adapt themselves to the bourgeoisie, and to the white guard Social Democracy. The Soviets, with the aid of the Communist factions in them, should be brought under the banner of the Communist Party.

Those who propose to the Communist Party to "conform" to the Soviets, those who perceive in such "conformation" a strengthening of the "proletarian nature" of the party, are rendering a bad service both to the Party and to the Soviets, and do not understand the importance of the Party, nor that of the Soviets. The stronger the Communist Party in each country, the sooner will the Soviet idea triumph. Many "Independent" and even "Right" Socialists profess to believe in the Soviet idea. But we cannot prevent such elements from distorting this idea, unless there exists a strong Communist Party, capable of determining the policy of the Soviets and of making them follow it.

9. The Communist Party is necessary to the working class not only before it has acquired power, not only while it is acquiring such power, but also after the power has passed into the hands of the working class. The history of the Russian Communist Party, for three years at the head of such a vast country, shows that the role of the party after the acquisition of power by the working class has not only not diminished, but, on the contrary, has greatly increased.

10. On the morrow of the acquisition of power by the proletariat, its party still remained, as formerly, a part of the working class. But it was just that part of the class which organized the victory. During twenty years in Russia—and for a number of years in Germany—the Communist Party, in its struggle not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against those Socialists who diffuse bourgeois ideas among the proletariat, has enrolled in its ranks the staunchest, the most far-seeing and most advanced fighters of the working class. Only by having such a closely united organization of the best part of the working class is it possible for the Party to overcome all the difficulties that arise before the proletarian dictatorships in the days following the victory. In the organization of a new proletarian Red Army, in the practical abolition of the bourgeois governing apparatus, and the building in its place of the framework of a new proletarian state apparatus, in the struggle against the narrow craft tendencies of certain separate groups of workers, in the struggle against local and provincial "patriotism," clearing the way for the creation of new labor discipline—in all these undertakings the final decisive word is to be said by the Communist Party, whose members by their own example animate, guide the majority of the workers.

11. The necessity of a political party for the proletariat can cease only with the complete abolition of classes. On the way to this final victory of Communism it is possible that the relative importance of the three fundamental proletarian organizations of modern times (Party, Soviets, and Industrial Unions), shall undergo some changes, and that gradually a single type of workers' organization will be formed. The Communist Party, however, will become absorbed in the working class only when Communism ceases to be the object of struggle, and the whole working class shall have become Communist.

12. The Second Congress of the Communist International must serve not only to establish the historical mission of the Communist Party in general, but it must indicate to the international proletariat, in rough draft, what kind of Communist Party is needed.

13. The Communist International assumes that especially during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party in its successful leadership of the civil war of the working class during three years, has proved that the victory of the workers is impossible without a severe discipline, a perfected centralization, and the fullest confidence of all the organizations of the party in the leading organ of the party.

14. The Communist Party should be based on the principle of democratic centralization. The chief principle of the latter is the election of the upper party units by those immediately below, the unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decisions of those above them, and a strong party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of party life between party conventions.

15. In view of the state of siege introduced by the bourgeoisie against the Communists, a whole series of Communist parties in Europe and America, are compelled to exist illegally. It must be remembered that under such conditions it may become necessary sometimes temporarily to deviate from the strict observance of the elective principle, and to delegate to the leading party organizations the right of co-election, as was done in Russia at one time. Under the state of siege the Communist Party cannot have recourse to a democratic referendum among all the members of the party (as was proposed by part of the American Communists), but on the contrary, it should empower its leading central organ to make important decisions in emergencies on behalf of all the members of the party.

16. The doctrine of a wide "autonomy" for the separate local organizations of the party at the present moment only weakens the Communist Party, undermines its working capacity, and aids the development of petty bourgeois, anarchistic, centrifugal tendencies.

17. In countries where the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie or the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, the Communist Party must learn to unite systematically legal with illegal work; but all legal work must be carried on under the practical control of the illegal Party. The parliamentary groups of Communists, both in the central as well as in the local government institutions, must be fully and absolutely subject to the Communist Party in general, irrespective of whether the Party on the whole be a legal or an illegal organiza-

tion at the moment. Any delegate who in one way or another does not submit absolutely to the Party shall be expelled from the ranks of Communism.

The legal press (newspapers, publications) must be unconditionally and fully subject to the party in general, and to its Central Committee. No concessions are admissible in this respect.

18. The fundamental principle of all organization work of the Communist Party and individual Communists must be the creation of Communist nuclei everywhere where they find proletarians and semi-proletarians—although even in small numbers. In every Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in every government institution, everywhere, even though there may be only three people sympathizing with Communism, a Communist nucleus must be immediately organized. It is only the power of organization of the Communists that enables the advance guard of the working class to be the leader of the whole class. Communist nuclei, working in organizations adhering to no political party, must be subject to the party organizations in general, whether the Party itself is working legally or illegally at the given moment. Communist nuclei of all kinds must be subordinated one to another in a strictly hierarchical order and system.

19. The Communist Party almost always begins its work among the industrial workers residing for the most part in cities. For the rapid victory of the working class it is necessary that the Party should also work in the country, in the villages. The Communist Party must carry on its propaganda and organization work among the agricultural laborers and the poorer farmers. It must especially endeavor to organize Communist nuclei in the rural districts.

The international organization of the proletariat will be strong only if in all the countries where the Communists are living and working the above principles of party organization and activity are firmly established. The Communist International invites to its Congress all labor unions which recognize the principles of the Third International, and are ready to break with the yellow International. The Communist International intends to organize an international section composed of the red labor unions, which recognize the principles of Communism. The Communist International will not refuse to co-operate with purely non-political workers' organizations desirous of carrying on a serious revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. But at the same time the Communist International will never cease to emphasize to the workers of all the world:

1. The Communist International is the chief and essential instrument for the liberation of the working class. In each country there must now be not only Communist groups, or tendencies,—but a Communist Party.

2. In every country there must be only one Communist Party.

3. The Communist Party must be founded on the principle of the strictest centralization, and during the period of civil war it must introduce military discipline in its ranks.

4. In every place where there are a dozen proletarians or semi-proletarians, the Communist Party must have an organized nucleus.

5. In each non-political organization there must be a Communist nucleus, strictly subordinate to the Party in general.

6. While firmly and faithfully supporting the programme and revolutionary tactics of Communism, the Communist Party must always be closely united with the most widely spread workers' organizations, and avoid sectarianism as much as lack of principle.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND PARLIAMENTARISM

I. THE NEW EPOCH AND THE NEW PARLIAMENTARISM

The attitude of the Socialist Parties towards parliamentarism was originally, at the time of the First International, one of utilizing the bourgeois parliament for purposes of agitation. Participation in parliamentary activity was looked upon from the point of view of developing class consciousness, i. e., of awakening in the proletariat class hostility toward the ruling class. Changes in this attitude were brought about not through change of doctrine, but under the influence of political development. Owing to the uninterrupted advance of the forces of production and the widening sphere of capitalist exploitation, capitalism, and together with it the parliamentary state, acquired a lasting stability.

This gave rise to the adaptability of the parliamentary tactics of the Socialist parties to "organic" legislative activity in the bourgeois parliament, and the ever growing significance of the struggle for reforms within the capitalist system as well as the predominating influence of the so-called "immediate de-

mand" and the conversion of the maximum programme into a figure of speech as an altogether remote "final goal." This served as a basis for the development of parliamentary careerism, corruption, and open or hidden betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class.

The attitude of the Third International towards parliamentarism is determined not by a new doctrine, but by the changed goal of parliamentarism itself. During the previous epoch parliament performed a certain progressive function as the weapon of developing capitalism, but under the present conditions of unbridled Imperialism, parliament has become a tool of falsehood, deceit, violence, and enervating gossip. In the ruin, parliamentary reforms, devoid of system, of constancy, and of definite plan, have lost every practical significance for the working masses.

Parliament has lost its stability like the whole of bourgeois society. The sudden transition from the organic to the critical epoch has created the foundation for new proletarian tactics in the field of parliamentarism. The Russian Workers' Party (Bolsheviks) had already worked out the essence of revolutionary parliamentarism in the preceding period, owing to the fact that Russia, since 1905, had lost its political and social equilibrium and had entered upon the period of storm and stress.

To the extent that some Socialists with an inclination for Communism point out that the moment of revolution in their respective countries has not yet arrived, and so decline to break away from the parliamentary opportunists, they are reasoning consciously or unconsciously from the assumption that the present epoch is one of relative stability for imperialist society, and they are assuming, therefore, that practical results may be achieved in the struggle for reform by coalition with such men as Turati and Longuet. As soon as Communism comes to light, it must begin to elucidate the character of the present epoch (the culminations of capitalism, imperialistic self-negation and self-destruction, uninterrupted growth of civil war, etc.). Political relationships and political groupings may be different in different countries, but the essence of the matter is everywhere the same: we must start with the direct preparation for a proletarian uprising, politically and technically, for the destruction of the bourgeoisie and for the creation of the new proletarian state.

Parliament at present can in no way serve as the arena of a struggle for reform, for improving the lot of the working people, as it has at certain periods of the preceding epoch. The centre of gravity of political life at present has been completely and finally transferred beyond the limits of parliament. On the other hand, owing not only to its relationship to the working masses, but also to the complicated mutual relations within the various groups of the bourgeois itself, the bourgeoisie, is forced to have some of its policies in one way or another passed through parliament, where the various cliques haggle for power, exhibit their strong sides and betray their weak ones, get themselves unmasked, etc., etc. Therefore it is the immediate historical task of the working class to tear this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling classes, to break and destroy it, and to create in its place a new proletarian apparatus. At the same time, however, the revolutionary general staff of the working class is vitally concerned in having its scouting parties in the parliamentary institutions of the bourgeoisie, in order to facilitate this task of destruction.

Thus the fundamental difference between the tactics of Communists entering parliament with revolutionary aims in view, and the tactics of the socialist parliamentarians, becomes perfectly clear. The latter act on the assumption of the relative stability and the indefinite durability of the existing order, they consider it their task to achieve reforms by all means and are concerned to make the masses appreciative of every accomplishment as the merit of Social Democratic parliamentarism (Turati, Longuet & Co.).

Instead of the old compromising parliamentarism a new parliamentarism has come to life, as a weapon for the destruction of parliamentarism as a whole. But the aversion towards the traditional practices of the old parliamentarism drives some revolutionary elements into the camp of the opponents of parliamentarism on principle (I. W. W., the revolutionary Syndicalists, German Communist Labor Party).

Taking all this into consideration, the Second Congress adopts the following theses:

II. COMMUNISM, THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND THE UTILIZATION OF THE BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENT

1. Parliamentarism as a State system, has become a "democratic" form of the rule of the bourgeoisie which, at a certain stage of its development, needs

the fiction of national representation, which outwardly would be an organization of a "national will" standing outside of classes, but in reality is an instrument of oppression and suppression in the hands of the ruling capitalists.

2. Parliamentarism is a definite form of State order. Therefore it can in no way be a form of Communist society, which recognizes neither classes, nor class struggle, nor any form of State authority.

3. Parliamentarism cannot be a form of proletarian government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat. At the moment when the accentuated class struggle turns into a civil war, the proletariat must inevitably form its State organization as a fighting organization, which cannot contain any of the representatives of the former ruling classes: all fictions of a "national will" are harmful to the proletariat at that time, and a parliamentary division of authority is needless and injurious to it; the only form of proletarian dictatorship is a Republic of Soviets.

4. The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important instruments of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it, and all the parliamentary institutions with it, whether they be republican or constitutional-monarchical.

5. The same relates to the local government institutions of the bourgeoisie, which theoretically it is not correct to differentiate from State organizations. In reality they are part of the same apparatus of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6. Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces the same as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over the parliaments; its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organizations with the object of destroying them. The question can be discussed only and exclusively on such a plane.

7. All class struggle is a political struggle, because it is finally a struggle for power. Any strike, when it spreads through the whole country, is a menace to the bourgeois State, and thus acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to destroy its State, means to carry on political warfare. To create one's own class apparatus—for the bridling and suppression of the resisting bourgeoisie, whatever such an apparatus may be—means to gain political power.

8. Consequently, the question of a political struggle does not end in the question of one's attitude towards the parliamentary system. It is a general condition of the class struggle of the proletariat, insofar as the struggle grows from a small and personal one to a general struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order as a whole.

9. The elementary means of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is, first of all, the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the organized masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of that fight.

10. The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developing into a civil war, the guiding party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, secure every and all lawful positions, making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the mass struggle.

11. One such auxiliary support is the rostrum of the bourgeois parliament. Against participation in a political campaign one should not use the argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within (for instance, the work of Liebknecht in Germany, of the Bolsheviks in the Imperial Duma, in the "Democratic Conference," in the "Parliament" of Kerensky, and lastly, in the "Constituent Assembly," and also in the Municipal Dumas, and the activities of the Bulgarian Communists.)

12. This work within the parliaments, which consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, the denouncing of enemies, the ideological unification of the masses, who are still looking up to the parliamentary platform, captivated by democratic illusions, especially in backward territories, etc., must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside the parliaments.

The participation in the elective campaign and the revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary tribune has a special importance for the winning over of those elements of the workers, who—as perhaps the agrarian working masses—have stood far away from the revolutionary movement and political life.

13. If the Communists have the majority in the local government institutions, they must: a) carry on a revolutionary opposition against the bourgeois central authority; b) do all for the aid of the poor population (economic measures, establishment of attempt to establish an armed workers' militia; c) point out on every occasion the barriers which the bourgeois State power puts against really great changes; d) develop on this basis the sharpest revolutionary propaganda without fearing a conflict with the State authorities; e) under certain conditions substitute local Workers' Councils for the municipal administration. The whole activity of the Communists in the communal administration therefore must be a part of the general work of destruction of the capitalistic system.

14. The elective campaign must be carried on not in the sense of obtaining a maximum of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the mottoes of the proletarian revolution. The election campaign must be conducted by the entire mass of party members, not by the leaders alone; it is necessary to make use of and be in complete touch with all the manifestations of the masses (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the soldiers and sailors, etc.) going on at the moment; it is necessary to summon all the masses of the proletarian organizations to active work.

15. In complying with all these conditions, as well as with those indicated in a special instruction, the parliamentary work must present a direct contrast to the dirty "politics" which has been practised by the Social Democratic parties of all countries, that enter parliament with the object of supporting that "democratic" institution or, at best, to "win it over." The Communist Party can only recommend a revolutionary use of the parliament as exemplified by Karl Liebknecht, Haeglund and the Bolsheviks.

16. "Anti-parliamentarism," in principle, in the sense of an absolute and categorical repudiation of participation in the elections and the parliamentary revolutionary work, cannot, therefore, bear criticism, and is a naive, childish doctrine, which is founded sometimes on a healthy disgust of politicians, but which does not understand the possibilities of revolutionary parliamentarism. Besides, very often this doctrine is connected with a quite erroneous idea of the role of the party, which in this case is considered not as a fighting, centralized, advance guard of the workers, but as a decentralized system of badly joined revolutionary nuclei.

17. On the other hand, an acknowledgement of the value of parliamentary work in no wise leads to an absolute, in-all-and-any-case acknowledgement of the necessity of concrete elections and a concrete participation in parliamentary sessions. The matter depends upon a series of specific conditions. Under certain circumstances it may become necessary to leave the parliament. The Bolsheviks did so when they left the pre-parliament in order to break it up, to weaken it, and to set up against it the Petrograd Soviet, which was then prepared to head the uprising; they acted in the same way in the Constituent Assembly on the day of its dissolution, converting the Third Congress of Soviets into the centre of political events. In other circumstances a boycotting of the elections may be necessary, and a direct, violent storming of both the great bourgeois State apparatus and the parliamentary bourgeois clique, or a participation in the elections with a boycott of the parliament itself, etc.

18. In this way, while recognizing as a general rule the necessity of participating in the election to the central parliament, and the institutions of local self-government, as well as in the work in such institutions, the Communist Party must decide the question concretely, according to the specific conditions of the given amount. Boycotting the elections or the parliament, or leaving the parliament, is permissible, chiefly when there is a possibility of an immediate transition to an armed fight for power.

19. At the same time one must constantly bear in mind the relative unimportance of this question. If the center of gravity lies in the struggle for the power outside the parliament, then naturally the question of a proletarian dictatorship

and a mass fight for it is immeasurably greater than the secondary one of using the parliament.

20. Therefore the Communist International insists categorically that it considers any division or attempt at a division within the Communist Parties along this line a crime against the labor movement. The Congress calls upon all the elements which are in favor of the mass struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, and of being under the direction of a centralized party of the revolutionary proletariat for gaining influence over all the mass organizations of the working class, to strive for a complete unity between the Communist elements, notwithstanding any possible disagreement on the question of utilizing the bourgeois parliaments.

III. REVOLUTIONARY PARLIAMENTARISM

For securing the real execution of revolutionary parliamentary tactics it is necessary that:

1. The Communist Party in general and its Central Committee should, during the preparatory stage, before the parliamentary elections, inspect very carefully the quality of the personnel of the parliamentary factions. The Central Committee should be responsible for the parliamentary Communist faction. The Central Committee shall have the undeniable right to reject any candidate of any organizations, if it is not perfectly convinced that such candidate will carry on a real Communist policy while in parliament.

The Communist parties must desist from the old Social Democratic habit of electing as delegates only the so-called "experienced" parliamentarians, chiefly lawyers and so on. As a rule workmen should be put forward as candidates, without troubling about the fact that these may be sometimes simple rank-and-file workmen. The Communist Party must treat with merciless contempt all elements who try to make a career by joining the party just before elections in order to get into parliament. The Central Committees of Communist parties must sanction the candidacy of only such men as by long years of work have proved their unwavering loyalty to the working class.

2. When the elections are over, the organization of the parliamentary factions must be wholly in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—whether the party in general is a lawful or unlawful one at the given moment. The chairman and the bureau of the parliamentary faction of Communists must be confirmed in their functions by the Central Committee of the Party. The Central Committee of the Party must have its permanent representative in the parliamentary faction with the right of veto. On all important political questions the parliamentary faction shall get preliminary instructions from the Central Committee of the Party.

At each forthcoming important debate of the Communists in the parliament, the Central Committee shall be entitled and bound to appoint or reject the orator of the faction, to demand that he submit previously the theses of his speech, or the text, for confirmation by the Central Committee, etc. Each candidate entered in the list of the Communists must sign a paper to the effect that at the first request of the Central Committee of the Party he shall be bound to give up his mandate, in order that in a given situation the act of leaving the parliament may be executed in unison.

3. In countries where reformist, semi-reformist or simply career-seeking elements have managed to penetrate into the parliamentary faction of the Communists (as has already happened in several places), the Central Committees of the Communist Parties are bound radically to weed out the personnel of the factions, on the principle that it is better for the cause of the working class to have a small but truly Communist faction than a large one without a regular Communist line of conduct.

4. A Communist delegate, by decision of the Central Committee, is bound to combine lawful work with unlawful work. In countries where the Communist delegate enjoys a certain inviolability, this must be utilized by way of rendering assistance to illegal organizations and for the propaganda of the party.

5. The Communist members shall make all their parliamentary work dependent on the work of the Party outside the parliament. The regular proposing of demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purpose of propaganda, agitation, and organization, must be carried on under the direction of the party and its Central Committee.

6. In the event of labor demonstrations in the streets or other revolutionary movements, the Communist members must occupy the most conspicuous place—at the head of the proletarian masses.

7. The Communist deputies must try to get in touch (under the control of the party) with the revolutionary workingmen, peasants, and other workers either by correspondence or otherwise. They must in no way act like the Social Democratic deputies who carry on mere business relations with the constituents. They must always be at the disposal of the Communist organizations for propaganda work in the country.

8. Each Communist member must remember that he is not a "legislator" who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the Party there. The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether lawful or unlawful.

9. The Communist members must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washerwoman, shepherd; so that the Party may publish his speeches and spread them to the most remote villages of the country.

10. The rank-and-file Communist worker must not shrink from speaking in the bourgeois parliaments, and not give way to the so-called experienced parliamentarians, even if such workingmen are novices in parliamentary methods. In case of need the workingmen members may read their speeches from notes, in order that the speech may be printed afterwards in the papers or in leaflet form.

11. The Communist members must make use of the parliamentary tribune to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, but also for the denunciation of the social patriots, reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the centre and other opponents of Communism, and for the wide propagation of the ideas of the Third International.

12. The Communist members, even though there should be only one or two of them in the parliament, should by their whole conduct challenge capitalism, and never forget that only those are worthy of the name of Communists, who not in words only but in deeds are the mortal enemy of the bourgeois order and its social-patriotic funkeys.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, FACTORY COMMITTEES, AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The trade unions, created by the working class during the period of the peaceful development of capitalism, were organizations of the workers for the struggle for the increase of the price of labor at the labor market, and the improvement of labor conditions. The revolutionary Marxists endeavored by their influence to unite them with the political party of the proletariat, the Social Democracy, for a joint struggle for Socialism. For the same reasons that the international Social Democracy, with a few exceptions, proved to be not an instrument of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism, but an organization which held back the proletariat from revolution in interests of the bourgeoisie, the trade unions proved to be in most cases, during the war, a part of the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie, helping the latter to exploit from the working class as much sweat as possible for a more energetic warfare for capitalist profits. Containing chiefly the skilled workmen, the better paid, limited by their craft narrowmindedness, fettered by a bureaucratic apparatus, which had removed itself from the masses, demoralized by their opportunist leaders, the labor unions betrayed not only the cause of the Social Revolution, but even also the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of life of the workmen organized by them. They started from the point of view of the trade union struggle against the employers, and replaced it by the program of an amiable arrangement with the capitalists, at any cost. This policy was carried on not only by liberal unions of England and America, not only by the would-be "Socialist". Trade unions in Germany and Austria, but by the Syndicalist unions in France as well.

2. The economic consequences of the war, the complete disorganization of world economy, the insane prices, the unlimited application of the labor of women and children, the aggravation of the housing conditions, all these are forcing the large masses of the proletariat into the struggle against capitalism. This struggle is revolutionary warfare by its proposition, and the character that it is assuming more and more every day; a warfare destroying objectively the bases

of the capitalist order. The increase of wages, obtained one day by the economic struggle of one or another category of workers, is the next day nullified by the high prices. The prices must continue to rise, because the capitalist class of the victorious countries, ruining by their policy of exploitation central and eastern Europe, is not only not in a position to organize world economy but is incessantly disorganizing it. For the success of their economic struggle, the larger masses of workers who up to this time have stood apart from the labor unions, are now flowing into their ranks in a powerful stream. In all capitalist countries a tremendous increase of the trade unions is to be noticed, which now become organizations of the chief masses of the proletariat, not only if its advanced elements. Flowing into the unions, these masses strive to make them their weapons of battle. The sharpening of class antagonism compels the trade unions to lead strikes, which flow in a broad wave over the entire capitalist world, constantly interrupting the process of capitalist production and exchange. Increasing their demands in proportion to the rising prices and their own exhaustion, the working classes undermine the basis of all capitalist calculations, that elementary premise of every well organized economic management. The unions, which during the war had been organs of compulsion over the working masses, become in this way organs for the annihilation of capitalism.

3. The old trade union bureaucracy and the old forms of organization of the trade unions are in every way opposing such a change in the nature of the trade unions. The old trade unions Bureaucracy is endeavoring in many places to maintain the old trade unions as organizations of the workers' aristocracy. It preserves the rules which make it impossible for the badly paid working classes to enter into the trade union organizations. The old trade union aristocracy is even now intensifying its efforts to replace the strike methods, which are ever more and more acquiring the character of revolutionary warfare between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, by the policy of arrangements with the capitalists, the policy of long term contracts, which have lost all sense simply in view of constant insane rise of prices. It tries to force upon the workers the policy of "Joint Industrial Councils," and legally to impede the leading of strikes with the assistance of the capitalist State. At the most tense moments of the struggle this bureaucracy sows trouble and confusion among the struggling masses of the workers, impeding the fusion of the struggle of various categories of workmen into one general class struggle. In these attempts it is helped by the old organization of the trade unions according to crafts, which breaks up the workmen of one branch of production into separate professional groups, notwithstanding their being bound together by the process of capitalist exploitation. It rests on the force of tradition of the ideology of the old labor aristocracy, which is now constantly being weakened by the process of suppression of the privilege of separate groups of the proletariat through the general decay of capitalism, the equalization of the level of the working class and the growth of its need and the precariousness of its livelihood. In this way the trade union bureaucracy breaks up the powerful stream of the labor movement into weak streamlets, substitutes partial reformist demands for the general revolutionary aims of the movement, and on the whole retards the transformation of the struggle of the proletariat into a revolutionary struggle for the annihilation of capitalism.

4. Bearing in mind the rush of the enormous working masses into the trade unions, and also the objective revolutionary character of the economic struggle which those masses are carrying on in spite of the trade union bureaucracy, the Communists must join such unions in all countries, in order to make of them efficient organs of the struggle for the suppression of capitalism and for Communism. They must initiate the forming of trade unions where these do not exist. All voluntary withdrawal from the industrial movement, every artificial attempt to organize special unions, without being compelled thereto by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade union bureaucracy, such as expulsion of separate revolutionary local branches of the unions by the opportunist officials, or by their narrow-minded aristocratic policy, which prohibits the unskilled workers from entering into the organization, represents a great danger to the Communist movement. It threatens to hand over the most advanced, the most conscious workers, to the opportunist leaders, playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie. . . . The luke-warmness of the working masses, their ideological indecision, their tendency to yield to the arguments of opportunist leaders, can be overcome only during the process of the evergrowing struggle, by degrees as the wider masses of the proletariat learn to understand, by experience, by their victories and defeats, that ob-

jectively it is already impossible to obtain human conditions of life on the basis of capitalist methods of management; and by degrees as the advanced Communist workmen learn through their economic struggle to be not only preachers of the ideas of Communism, but also the most determined leaders of the economic struggle of the labor unions—only in this way will it be possible to remove from the unions their opportunist leaders, only in this way will the Communists be able to take the lead of the trade-union movement, and make of it an organ of the revolutionary struggle for Communism. Only in this way can they prevent the break-up of the trade unions, and replace them by industrial unions, remove the old bureaucracy separated from the masses and replace it by the apparatus of factory-representatives, leaving only the most necessary functions to the center.

5. Placing the object and the essence of labor organizations before them, the Communists ought not to hesitate before a split in such organizations, if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle, the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat. But even if such a split should be necessary, it must be carried into effect only at a time when the Communists have succeeded by the incessant warfare against the opportunist leaders and their tactics, by their most active participation in the economic struggle, in persuading the wider masses of workmen that the split is occurring not because of the remote and as yet incomprehensible aims of the revolution, but on account of the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. The Communists in case a necessity for a split arises, must continuously and attentively discuss the question as to whether a split might not lead to their isolation from the working mass.

6. Where a split between the opportunists and the revolutionary trade union movement has already taken place before, where, as in America, alongside the opportunist trade unions there are unions with revolutionary tendencies—although not Communist ones—there the Communists are bound to support such revolutionary unions, to persuade them to abandon Syndicalist prejudices and to place themselves on the platform of Communism, which alone is a trustworthy compass in the complicated question of the economic struggle. Where within the trade unions or outside of them in the factories, organizations are formed, such as shop stewards, factory committees, etc., for the purpose of fighting against the counter-revolutionary tendencies of the trade-union bureaucracy, to support the spontaneous direct action of the proletariat, there, of course, the Communists must with all their energy give assistance to these organizations. But the support of the revolutionary trade unions, which are in a state of ferment and passing over to the class struggle, must not be neglected. On the contrary, by approaching this evolution of the unions on their way to a revolutionary struggle, the Communists will be able to play the part of an element uniting the politically and industrially organized workmen in their joint struggle for the suppression of capitalism.

The economic struggle of the proletariat becomes a political struggle during an epoch of the decline of capitalism much quicker than during an epoch of its peaceful development. Every serious economic clash may immediately place the workers face to face with the question of revolution. Therefore it is the duty of the Communists in all the phases of the economic struggle to point out to the workers, that the success of the struggle is only possible if the working class conquers the capitalists in open fight, and by means of dictatorship proceeds to the organization of a Socialist order. Consequently, the Communists must strive to create as far as possible complete unity between the trade unions and the Communist party, and to subordinate the unions to the practical leadership of the Party, as the advance guard of the workers' revolutions. For this purpose the Communists should have Communist factions in all the trade unions and factory committees, and acquire by their means and influence over the labor movement and direct it.

II

1. The economic struggle of the proletariat for the increase of wages and the improvement of the conditions of life of the masses, is getting more and more into a blind alley. The economic crisis, embracing one country after another in ever increasing proportions, is showing to even unenlightened workmen that it is not enough to demand an increase of wages and a shortening

of the working hours, but that the capitalist classes less capable every day of establishing the normal conditions of public economy and of guaranteeing to the workers at least those conditions of life which it gave them before the world war. Out of this growing conviction of the working masses are born their efforts to create organizations which will be able to commence a struggle for the alleviation of the situation by means of workers' control over production through the medium of the factory committees. This aspiration to create factory committees, which is more and more taking possession of the workingmen of different countries, takes its origin from the most varied causes (struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, discouragement after union defeats, striving to create an organization embracing all workers), but in the end it results in the fight for control over industry, the special historic task of the factory committees. Therefore it is a mistake to form the shop committees only out of workingmen who are already struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the contrary, the duty of the Communist Party is to organize all the workingmen on the ground for the economic crisis, and to lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the struggle for workers' control over production, which they all understand.

2. The Communist Party will be able to accomplish this task if, taking part in the struggle in the factory committees, it will instill in the minds of the masses the consciousness that a systematic reconstruction of the public economy on the basis of a capitalist order, which would mean its new enslavement by the government in favor of the industrial class, is now fatally impossible. The organization of the economic management corresponding with the interests of the working masses, is possible only when the government is in the hands of the working class, when the strong hand of the labor dictatorship will proceed to the suppression of capitalism and to the new Socialist organization.

3. The struggle of the factory committees against capitalism has for its immediate object workers' control over production.

The workers of every enterprise, every branch of industry, no matter what their trade, suffer from the "sabotage" of production on the part of capitalists, who frequently consider it more profitable to stop production in order that it may be easier to compel the workingmen to agree to unsatisfactory labor conditions, or not to invest new capital in industry at a moment of a general rise in prices. The need to protect themselves against such sabotage of production by the capitalists unites the workingmen independently of their political opinions, and therefore, the factory committees elected by the workingmen of a given enterprise are the broadest mass organizations of the proletariat. But the disorganization of capitalist management is the result not only of the conscious will of the capitalists, but in a still greater degree an inevitable decline of capitalism. Therefore in their struggle against the consequences of such a decline, the factory committees must go beyond the limits of control in separate factories. The factory committees of separate factories will soon be faced with the question of workers' control over the whole branches of industry and their combinations. And as any attempt on the part of the workingmen to exercise a control over the supplying of the factories with raw material or to control the financial operations of the Factory owners, will meet with the most energetic measures against the working class on the part of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist government, the struggle for workers' control over production must lead to the struggle for a seizure of power by the working class.

4. The campaign in favor of the factory committees must be conducted in such a way that into the minds of the popular masses, even not directly belonging to the factory proletariat, there should be instilled the conviction that the bourgeoisie is responsible for the economic crisis, while the proletariat, under the motto of workers' control of industry, is struggling for the organization of production, for the suppression of speculation, disorganization and high prices, the duty of the Communist Parties is to struggle for control over production on the ground of the most insistent questions of the day, the lack of fuel, the transport crisis—to unite the different groups of the proletariat and to attract wide circles of the petty bourgeoisie, which is becoming more and more proletarianized day by day, and is suffering extremely from the economic crisis.

5. The factory committees cannot be substituted for the labor unions. During the process of struggle they may form unions outside the limits of single factories and trades, according to the branches of production, and create a

general apparatus for the direction of the struggle. The labor unions are already now centralized fighting organs, although they do not embrace such wide masses of workmen as the factory committees are capable of, these latter being loose organizations which are accessible to all the workers of a given enterprise. The division of tasks between the shop committees and the industrial unions is the result of the historical development of the social revolution. The industrial unions organize the working masses for the struggle for the increase of wages and shortening of work-hours on a national scale. The factory committees are organized for workers' control over production, for the struggle against the crisis, embracing all the workmen of the enterprises, but their struggle can only gradually assume the character of a national one. The Communists must endeavor to render the factory committees the nuclei of the labor unions and to support them in proportion as the unions overcome the counter-revolutionary tendencies of their bureaucracy, as they consciously become organs of the revolution.

6. The duty of the Communists consists in inspiring the labor unions and the factory committee with a spirit of determined struggle, and the consciousness and knowledge of the best methods of such a struggle—the spirit of Communism. In execution of this duty the Communists must practically subordinate the factory committees and the unions to the Communist Party, and thus create a proletarian mass organ, a basis for a powerful centralized party of the proletariat, embracing all the organizations of the proletarian struggle, leading them all to one aim, to the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat to Communism. The Communists converting the labor unions and factory committees into powerful weapons of the revolution, prepare these mass organizations for the great task which they will have after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the task of being the instrument of the reorganization of economic life on a Socialistic basis. The labor unions, developed as industrial unions and supported by the factory committees as their factory organizations, will then make the working masses acquainted with their tasks of production: they will educate the most experienced workmen to become leaders of the factories to control the technical specialists, and, together with the representatives of the Workers' State, will lay down the plan of the Socialist economic policy, and carry it out.

III

1. The labor unions tried to form international unions even in time of peace, because during strikes the capitalists used to invite workers from other countries, as strike-breakers. But the International of Labor Unions had only a secondary importance before the war. It made one union support another when needful; it organized social statistic, but it did nothing for the organization of a joint struggle, because the labor unions, under the leadership of opportunists, strove to avoid all revolutionary collisions on an international scale. The opportunist leaders of the labor unions, who, each in his own country, during the war were flunkies of the bourgeoisie, are now striving to revive the International of Labor Union, attempting to make it a weapon for the direct struggle of international world capital against the proletariat. Under the direction of Legien, Jouhaux, Gompers, they are creating a Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, the organization of international capitalist robbery. In all countries they are attempting to crush the strike movement by means of laws, compelling the workmen to submit to the arbitration of representatives of the capitalist State.

They are endeavoring to obtain concessions for the skilled workers by means of agreements with the capitalists, in order to break in this way the growing unity of the working class. The Amsterdam International of Labor Unions is thus a substitute for the bankrupt Second International of Brussels.

The Communist workers who are members of the labor unions in all countries must, on the contrary, strive to create an international battle front of labor unions. The question now is not financial relief in case of strikes; but when the danger is threatening the working class of one country, the labor unions of the others, being organizations of the larger masses, should all come to its defense: they should make it impossible for the bourgeoisie of their respective countries to render assistance to the bourgeoisie of the country engaged in the struggle against the working class. The economic struggle against the working class, the economic struggle of the proletariat in all coun-

tries, is daily becoming more and more a revolutionary struggle. Therefore the labor unions must consciously use their forces for the support of all revolutionary struggles in their own and in other countries. For this purpose they must not only, in their own countries, strive to attain as great centralization of their struggle as possible, but they must do so on an international scale by joining the Communist International, and by uniting in one army the different parts of which shall carry on the struggle co-jointly, supporting one another.

WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS SOVIETS OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES SHOULD BE FORMED

1. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies appeared for the first time in Russia in 1905, at a time when the revolutionary movement of Russian workingmen was at its height. Already in 1905 the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies was taking the first instinctive steps towards a seizure of the power. And at that time the Petrograd Soviet was strong only as far as it had a chance of acquiring political power. As soon as the Imperial counter-revolution rallied its forces and the labor movement slackened, the Soviet, after a short vegetation, ceased to exist.

2. When in 1905, at the beginning of a new strong revolutionary wave, the idea began to awaken in Russia regarding the immediate organization of Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the Bolshevik party warned the workingmen against the immediate formation of the Soviets, and pointed out that such a formation would be well-timed only at the moment when the revolution would have already begun, and when the turn would have come for the direct struggle for the power.

3. At the beginning of the February revolution of 1917, when the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were transformed into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, they drew into the sphere of their influence the widest circles of the popular masses and at once acquired a tremendous authority, because the real force was on their side, in their hands. But when the liberal bourgeoisie recovered from the suddenness of the first revolutionary blows, and when the social traitors, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, helped the Russian bourgeoisie to take the power into its hands, the importance of the Soviets began to dwindle. Only after the July days and after the ill-success of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary campaign, when the wider popular masses began to move, and when the threat of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois coalition government came quite near, then the Soviets began to flourish again; and they soon required a prominent position in the country.

4. The history of the German and the Austrian revolutions shows the same situation. When the popular masses revolted, when the revolutionary wave rose so high that it washed away the strongholds of the monarchies of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, in Germany and in Austria, the Soviets or Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were formed with gigantic rapidity. At first the real force was on their side, and the Soviets were well on the way to become practically the power. But, owing to a whole series of historical conditions, as soon as the power began to pass to the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, then the Soviets began to decline and lose all importance. During the days of the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary revolt of Kapp-Lüttwitz in Germany, the Soviets again resumed their activity, but when the struggle ended again in the victory of the bourgeoisie and the social-traitors, the Soviets, which had just begun to revive, once more died away.

5. The above facts prove that for the formation of Soviets certain definite premises are necessary. To organize Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and transform them into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the following conditions are necessary:

a) A great revolutionary impulse among the widest circle of working men and working women, the soldiers and the workers in general;

b) The acuteness of a political economic crisis attaining such a degree that the power begins to slip out of the hands of the government;

c) A serious decision to begin a systematic and regular struggle developing in the ranks of considerable masses of the workingmen, and first of all in the ranks of the Communist Party.

6. In the absence of these conditions the Communists may and should systematically and insistently propagate the idea of Soviets, popularize it among the

masses and demonstrate to the widest circles of the population that the Soviets are the only efficient form of government during the transition to complete Communism. But to proceed to a direct organization of Soviets in the absence of the above three conditions is impossible.

7. The attempt of the social traitors in Germany to introduce the Soviets into the general bourgeois-democratic constitutional system, is treason to the workers' cause and deception of the workingmen. Real Soviets are possible only as a form of state organization, relieving bourgeois democracy, breaking it up and replacing it by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. The propaganda of the right leaders of the Independents (Hilferding, Kautsky, and others), proving the compatibility of the Soviet "system" with the bourgeois Constituent Assembly, is either a complete misunderstanding of the laws of development of a proletarian revolution, or a conscious deceiving of the working class. The Soviets are the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Constituent Assembly is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To unite and reconcile the dictatorship of the working class with that of the bourgeoisie is impossible.

9. The propaganda of some representatives of the Left Independents in Germany presenting the workers with a ready-made, formal plan of a "Soviet system," which has no relation whatever to the concrete process of the civil war, is a doctrinaire pastime which draws the workers away from their essential tasks of the real struggle for power.

10. The attempts of separate Communist groups in France, Italy, America, England to form Soviets not embracing the larger working masses and unable, therefore, to enter into a direct struggle for power, are only prejudicial to the actual preparation of a Soviet revolution. Such artificial hot-house "Soviets" soon become transformed in the best of cases into small associations for propaganda of the idea of a Soviet power, and in the worst case such miserable "Soviets" are capable only of compromising the idea of the power of "Soviets" in the eyes of the popular masses.

11. At the present time there exists a special condition in Austria, where the working class has succeeded in preserving its Soviets, which unite large masses of workers. Here the situation resembles the period between February and October, 1917, in Russia. The Soviets in Austria represent a considerable political force, and appear to be the embryo of a new power.

It must be understood that in such a situation the Communists ought to participate in these Soviets, help the Soviets to penetrate into all phases of the social economic and political life of the country; they should create Communist factions within these Soviets, and by all means aid their development.

12. Soviets without a revolution are impossible. Soviets without a proletarian revolution inevitably become a parody of Soviets. The authentic Soviets of the masses are the historically revealed form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All sincere and serious partisans of the power of Soviets should deal cautiously with the idea of Soviets, and while indefatigably propagating it among the masses, proceed to the direct realization of such Soviets only under the conditions mentioned above.

THESES ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS.

A.) THESES.

1. It is typical of bourgeois democracy, by its very nature, to take an abstract or formal attitude towards the question of the colonies in general, and to that of national equality in particular. Under the appearance of the equality of human beings in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or judicial equality of the proprietor and the proletarian, of the exploiter and the exploited, thereby greatly deceiving the oppressed classes. On the pretext of absolute equality which is in itself but a reflection of the relations caused by commodity production, he converts them into an instrument in the struggle against the abolition of classes. But the real essence of the demand for equality is based on the demand for the abolition of classes.

2. In conformity with its chief task—the struggle against bourgeois democracy and the denunciation of its lies and deceptions—the Communist Party being the class conscious expression of the struggle of the proletariat to cast off the yoke of the bourgeoisie, must not advance any abstract and formal principles on the national question, but must first analyze the historical, and, before

all, the economic conditions; second, it must clearly distinguish the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers, of the exploited, from the general conception of national interests which in reality means the interests of the ruling class; third, it must equally separate the oppressed and subject nations from the dominating nations, in contradistinction to the bourgeois democratic lies concealing the enslavement of a vast majority of the population of the earth by an insignificant minority of the advanced capitalist nations which is peculiar to the epoch of financial capital and imperialism.

3. The imperialist war of 1914 has demonstrated very clearly to all nations and to all oppressed classes of the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois democratic phraseology. That war has been carried on on both sides under the false motto of the freedom of nations and national self-determination. But the Brest Litovsk and Bucharest peace on the one hand, and the Versailles and Saint-Germain peace on the other, have shown how the bourgeoisie establishes even "national" boundaries in conformity with its own economic interests. "National" boundaries are for the bourgeoisie nothing but market commodities. The so-called "League of Nations" is nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. The striving for the reconstruction of national unity and of the "re-union of alienated territories" on the part of the bourgeoisie, is nothing but an attempt of the vanquished to gather forces for new wars. The re-uniting of the nationalities artificially torn asunder corresponds also to the interests of the proletariat only through revolutionary struggle and by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the policy of the imperialist powers after the war demonstrate this even more clearly and definitely, making the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries more acute, increasing the ferment of the working masses of the colonies and the subject countries, and dispelling the middle class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and equality of nations under capitalism.

4. It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above, that the policy of the Communist International on the National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism, without which national equality and oppression cannot be abolished.

5. The political situation of the world at the present time has placed the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the foreground, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself the Soviet movements of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat, and the triumph of the Soviet power over Imperialism.

6. Consequently, we must not content ourselves with a mere recognition or declaration concerning the unity of the workers of different nations, but we must carry out a policy of realizing the closest union between all national and colonial liberation movements and Soviet Russia, determining the forms of this union in accordance with the stage of development of the Communist movement among the proletariat of each country, or the revolutionary liberation movement in the subject nations and backward countries.

7. Federation is a transitional form towards the complete union of the workers of all countries. It has already proved its efficiency in practice in the relations of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of Russia to the other Soviet Republics (Hungarian, Finnish, Lettish, in the past; and the Azerbeidjan and Ukrainian in the present), as also within the borders of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of Russia with regard to the nationalities which had neither their own government nor any self-governing institutions (for example, the autonomous Republic of Bashkiria and the Tartar Republic, which were formed in 1919—1920 by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic).

8. It is the task of the Communist International in this regard not only to develop further, but also to study and test by experience, these federations which have arisen out of the Soviet order and the Soviet movement. Recognizing federation as a transition form towards complete union, we must strive for ever closer federative connections, bearing in mind first, the impossibility of maintaining the Soviet Republic surrounded by powerful imperialist nations, without a close union with other Soviet Republics; second, the necessity of a close economic union of the Soviet Republics, without which the restoration of the forces of pro-

duction destroyed by Imperialism, and the assuring of the welfare of the workers is impossible; third, the striving towards the creation of a unified world economy based on one general plan and regulated by the proletariat of all the nations of the world. This tendency has already manifested itself under capitalism, and is undoubtedly going to be further developed and perfected by Socialism.

9. With regard to inter-state relations, the international policy of the Communist International cannot limit itself to a mere formal verbal declaration of the recognition of the equality of nations, which does not involve any practical obligations, such as has been made by the bourgeois democrats who styled themselves socialist. The constant violations of the equality of nations and the infringement upon the rights of national minorities practised in all the capitalist states in spite of the democratic constitutions, must be denounced in all the propaganda and agitational activity of the Communist International, within, as well as outside the parliament. It is likewise necessary, first, to explain constantly that only the Soviet regime is able to give the nations real equality, by uniting the proletariat and all the masses of the workers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; second, to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for example, Ireland, American negroes, etc.) and in the colonies.

Without this last, especially important condition the struggle against the oppression of dependent nations and colonies, as well as the recognition of their right to an independent existence, is only a misleading signboard, such as has been exhibited by the parties of the Second International.

10. It is the habitual practice not only of the centre parties of the Second International, but also of those which have left it, to recognize internationalism in words and then to adulterate it in their propaganda, agitation, and practical activity by mixing it up with petty bourgeois nationalism and pacifism. This is to be found even among those parties that at present call themselves Communist. The struggle against this evil, and against the deep-rooted petty bourgeois national prejudices (manifesting themselves in various forms, such as race hatred, national antagonism and antisemitism), must be brought to the foreground the more vigorously because of the urgent necessity of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat and changing it from a national basis (i. e., existing in one country and incapable of exercising an influence over world politics), into an international dictatorship (i. e., a dictatorship of the proletariat of at least several advanced countries capable of exercising a determined influence upon world politics). Petty bourgeois internationalism means the mere recognition of the rights of national equality, and preserves intact national egotism. Proletarian internationalism, on the other hand, demands: (1) the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one nation to the interests of that struggle on an international scale; (2) the capability and the readiness on the part of one nation which has gained a victory over the bourgeoisie, of making the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capitalism.

In the countries in which fully developed capitalist states exist, the labor parties, comprising the vanguard of the proletariat, must consider it as their primary and most important task to combat the opportunist and petty bourgeois pacifist confusion of the ideas and the policy of internationalism.

11. With regard to those states and nationalities where a backward, mainly feudal, patriarchal, or patriarchal-agrarian regime prevails, the following must be borne in mind: 1) All Communist parties must give active support to the revolutionary movements of liberation, the form of support to be determined by a study of existing conditions, carried on by the party wherever there is one. This duty of rendering active support is to be imposed in the first place on the workers of those countries on whom the subject nation is dependent in a colonial or financial way; 2) Naturally, a struggle must be carried on against the reactionary mediaeval influences of the clergy, the christian missions, and similar elements; 3) It is also necessary to combat the pan-Islam and pan-Asiatic and similar movements, which are endeavoring to utilize the liberation struggle against European and American imperialism for the purpose of strengthening the power of Turkish and Japanese imperialists, of the nobility, of the large land owners, of the clergy, etc.; 4) It is of special importance to support the peasant movements in backward countries against the land owners and all feudal survivals; above all, we must strive as far as possible to give the peasant movement a revolutionary character, to organize the peasants and all the exploited into the Soviets, and thus bring about the closest possible union between the Communist proletariat of Western Europe and the revolutionary peasant movement of the East and of the colonial and subject countries; 5) It is likewise necessary to wage determined war against the attempt of quasi-

Communist revolutionists to cloak the liberation movement in the backward countries with a Communist garb. It is the duty of the Communist International to support the revolutionary movement in the colonies and in the backward countries, for the exclusive purpose of uniting the various units of the future proletarian parties—such as are Communist not only in name—in all backward countries and educate them to the consciousness of their specific tasks, i. e., to the tasks of the struggle against the bourgeois democratic tendencies within their respective nationalities. The Communist International must establish temporary relations and even unions with the revolutionary movements in the colonies and backward countries, without, however, amalgamating with them, but preserving the independent character of the proletarian movement, even though it be still in its embryonic state. 6) It is essential continually to expose the deception fostered among the masses of the toilers in all, and especially in the backward countries, by the imperialist powers aided by privileged classes of the subject countries, in creating under the mask of political independence various governments and state institutions which are in reality completely dependent upon them economically, financially and in a military sense. As a striking example of the deception practised upon the working class of a subject country through the combined efforts of Allied Imperialism and bourgeoisie of the given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists, where, under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which the Jews form only an insignificant part of the population, Zionism has delivered the native Arabian working population to the exploitation of England. Only a union of Soviet Republics can bring salvation to the dependent and weak nationalities under present International conditions.

12. The age long enslavement of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers, has given rise to a feeling of rancour among the masses of the enslaved countries, as well as to a feeling of distrust towards the oppressive nations in general and towards the proletariat of those nations. These sentiments have become strengthened by the base treachery of the majority of the official leaders of the proletariat in the years of 1914-1919, when the social patriots came out in defence of their fatherlands and of the "rights" of their bourgeoisie to the enslavement of the colonies and to the plunder of the financially dependent countries. These sentiments can be completely rooted out only by the abolition of imperialism in the advanced countries and the radical transformation of all the foundations of economic life in the backward countries. Thus it will take a long time for these national prejudices to disappear. This imposes upon the class conscious proletariat of all countries the duty of exercising special caution and care with regard to these national sentiments still surviving in the countries and nationalities which have been subjected to lasting enslavement, and also of making necessary concessions in order more speedily to remove this distrust and prejudice. The victory over capitalism cannot be fully achieved and carried to its ultimate goal unless the proletariat and the toiling masses of all nations of the world rally of their own accord in a harmonious and close union.

B.) SUPPLEMENTARY THESES

1. To determine more especially the relation of the Communist International to the revolutionary movements in the countries dominated by capitalistic imperialism, for instance, China and India, is one of the most important questions before the Second Congress of the Third International. The history of the world revolution has come to a period when a proper understanding of this relation is indispensable. The great European war and its results have shown clearly that the masses of non-European subject countries are inseparably connected with the proletarian movement in Europe, as a consequence of the centralization of world capitalism—for instance, the sending of colonial troops and huge armies of workers to the battle front during the war, etc.

2. One of the main sources from which European capitalism draws its chief strength is to be found in the colonial possessions and dependencies. Without the control of the extensive ????? and vast fields of exploitation in the colonies, the capitalist powers of Europe, cannot maintain their existence even for a short time. England, the stronghold of imperialism, has been suffering from overproduction for more than a century. But for the extensive colonial possessions acquired for the sale of her surplus products and as a source of raw materials for her ever-growing industries, the capitalistic structure of England

would have been crushed under its own weight long ago. By enslaving the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia and Africa, English imperialism succeeds so far in keeping the British proletariat under the domination of the bourgeoisie.

3. Super-profit gained in the colonies is the mainstay of modern capitalism, and so long as the latter is not deprived of this source of super-profit, it will not be easy for the European working class to overthrow the capitalist order. Thanks to the possibility of the extensive and intensive exploitation of human labor and natural resources in the colonies, the capitalist nations of Europe are trying, not without success, to recuperate their present bankruptcy. By exploiting the masses in the colonies, European imperialism will be in a position to give concession after concession to the labor aristocracy at home. While, on the one hand, European imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat by bringing into competition the productions of the lower paid workers in subject countries, on the other hand, it will not hesitate to go to the extent of sacrificing the entire surplus value in the home country so long as it continues to gain its huge super-profits in the colonies.

4. The breaking up of the colonial empire, together with the proletarian revolution in the home country, will overthrow the capitalist system in Europe. Consequently, the Communist International must widen the sphere of its activities. It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of imperialism in the countries subjected politically and economically. These two forces must be co-ordinated if the final success of the world revolution is to be guaranteed.

5. The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalistic order and the establishment of Communism. The Third International is a fighting body which must assume the task of combining the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world. Dominated as it was by a group of politicians, permeated with bourgeois culture, the Second International failed to appreciate the importance of the colonial question. For them the world did not exist outside of Europe. They could not see the necessity of co-ordinating the revolutionary movement of Europe with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists.

6. Foreign imperialism, imposed on the Eastern peoples prevented them from developing, socially and economically, side by side with their fellows in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialist policy of preventing industrial development in the colonies, a proletarian class, in the strict sense of the word, could not come into existence there until recently. The ingenious craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialistic countries, consequently a majority of the population was driven to the land to produce food, grains, and raw materials for export to foreign lands. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land in the hands of the big landowners, of financial capitalists, and the state, thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt latent in every subject people, found its expression only through the small, educated middle class.

Foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces, therefore, its overthrow is the first step towards a revolution in the colonies. So to help overthrow the foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie, but to open the way to the smothered proletariat there.

7. There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow farther apart from each other. One is the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement, with a programme of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation. The former endeavor to control the latter, and often succeed to a certain extent, but the Communist International and the parties affected must struggle against such control, and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies. For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, which is the first step toward revolution in the colonies, the co-operation of the bourgeois nationalist revolutionary elements is useful.

But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist Parties which will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution

and to the establishment of soviet republics. Thus the masses in the backward countries may reach Communism, not through capitalistic development, but led by the class conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

8. The real strength of the liberation movements in the colonies is no longer confined to the narrow circle of bourgeois democratic nationalists. In most of the colonies there already exist organized revolutionary parties which strive to be in close connection with the working masses. (The relation of the Communist International with the revolutionary movement in the colonies should be realized through the mediums of these parties or groups, because they were the vanguard of the working class in their respective countries.) They are not very large today, but they reflect the aspirations of the masses and the latter will follow them to the revolution. The Communist parties of the different imperialistic countries must work in conjunction with these proletarian parties of the colonies, and, through them, give all moral and material support to the revolutionary movement in general.

9. The revolution in the colonies is not going to be a Communist revolution in its first stages. But from the outset the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard, the revolutionary masses will not be led astray, but will go ahead through the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience. Indeed, it would be extremely erroneous in many of the Oriental countries to try to solve the agrarian problem according to pure Communist principles. In its first stages the revolution in the colonies must be carried on with a programme which will include many petty bourgeois reform clauses, such as division of land, etc. But from this it does not follow at all that the leadership of the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the proletarian parties must carry on vigorous and systematic propaganda of the Soviet idea, and organize the peasants' and workers' Soviets as soon as possible. These Soviets will work in co-operation with the Soviet Republics in the advanced capitalistic countries for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist order throughout the world.

THESES ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

1. No one but the city industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can save the laboring masses in the country from the pressure of capital and landlordism, from dissolution and from imperialistic wars, ever inevitable as long as the capitalist regime endures. There is no salvation for the peasants except to join the Communist proletariat, to support with heart and soul its revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the industrial workers will be unable to carry out their universal historic mission, and to liberate humanity from the bondage of capital and war, if they shut themselves within their separate guilds, their narrow trade interests, and restrict themselves self-sufficiently to a desire for the improvement of their sometimes tolerable bourgeois conditions of life. That is what happens in most advanced countries possessing a "labor aristocracy," which forms the basis of the would-be parties of the Second International, who are, in fact, the worst enemies of Socialism, traitors to it, bourgeois jingoes, agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class, truly Socialist in its actions, only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are being exploited, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the oppressors; and this cannot be achieved without carrying the class struggle into the agricultural districts, without making the laboring masses of the country all gather around the Communist Party of the town proletariat, without the peasants being educated by the town proletariat.

2. The laboring and exploited masses in the country, which the town proletariat must lead on to the fight, or at least win over to its side, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following groups:

In the first place, the agricultural proletariat, the hired laborers (by the year, by the day, by the job), making their living by wage labor in capitalist, agricultural or industrial establishments; the independent organization of this class, separated from the other groups of the country population (in a political, military, trade, co-operative, educational sense), and an energetic propaganda among it, in order to win it over to the side of the Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be the fundamental task of the Communist parties in all countries.

In the second place, the semi-proletariat or small peasants, those who make their living partly by working for wages in agricultural and industrial capitalist establishments, partly by toiling on their own or a rented parcel of land yielding but a part of the necessary food produce for their families; this class of the rural population is rather numerous in all capitalist countries, but its existence and its peculiar position are hushed up by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the yellow "Socialists" affiliated to the Second International. Some of these people intentionally cheat the workers, but others follow blindly the average views of the public and mix up this special class with the whole mass of the "peasantry." Such a method of bourgeois deception of the workers is used more particularly in Germany and France, and then in America and other countries. Provided that the work of the Communist Party is well organized, this group is sure to side with the Communists, the conditions of life of these half-proletarians being very hard, the advantage the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat would bring them being enormous and immediate. In some countries there is no clear-cut distinction between these two groups; it is, therefore, permissible under certain conditions to form them into separate organizations.

In the third place, the little proprietors, the small farmers who possess by right of ownership or on rent small portions of land which satisfy the needs of their family and of their farming without requiring any additional wage labor; this part of the population as a class gains everything by the victory of the proletariat, which brings with it: a) liberation from the payment of rent or of a part of the crops (for instance, the metayers in France, the same arrangements in Italy, etc.) to the owners of large estates; b) abolition of all mortgages; c) abolition of many forms of pressure and of dependence on the owners of large estates (forests and their use, etc.); d) immediate help from the proletarian state for farm work (permitting use by peasants of the agricultural implements and in part of the buildings on the big capitalist estates expropriated by the proletariat, the immediate transformation by the proletarian state power of all rural co-operatives and agricultural companies, which under the capitalist rule were chiefly supporting the wealthy and the middle peasantry, into institutions primarily for the support of the poor peasantry, that is to say, the proletarians, semi-proletarians, small farmers, etc.)

At the same time the Communist Party should be thoroughly aware that during the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least some partial hesitations are inevitable in this class, in favor of unrestricted free trade and free use of the rights of private property. For this class, being a seller of commodities (although on a small scale), is necessarily demoralized by profit-hunting and habits of proprietorship. And yet, provided there is a consistent proletarian policy—and the victorious proletariat deals relentlessly with the owners of the large estates and the landed peasants—the hesitations of the class in question will not be considerable, and cannot change the fact that on the whole this class will side with the proletarian revolution.

3. All these three groups taken together constitute the majority of the agrarian population in all capitalist countries. This guarantees in full the success of the proletarian revolution, not only in the towns but in the country as well. The opposite view is very widely spread, but it persists only because of a systematic deception on the part of bourgeois science and statistics. They hush up by every means any mention of the deep chasm which divides the rural classes we have indicated, from the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists on the one hand, from the landed peasants on the other. It holds further because of the incapacity and the failure of the "heroes" affiliated to the yellow Second International and the "labor aristocracy," demoralized by imperialistic privileges, to do genuine propaganda work among the poor in the country. All the attention of the opportunists was given and is being given now to the arrangement of theoretical and practical agreements with the bourgeoisie, including the landed and the middle peasantry (see Paragraph concerning these classes) and not to the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois government and the bourgeois class by the proletariat. In the third place, this view persists because of the force of inveterate prejudice possessing already a great stability (and connected with all bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices) the incapacity to grasp a simple truth fully proved by the Marxian theory and confirmed by the practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia. This truth consists in the fact that the peasant population of the three classes we have mentioned above, being extremely oppressed, scattered, and doomed to live in half-civilized conditions in all countries, even in the most advanced, is economically, socially, and morally interested in the victory of Socialism; but that it will finally support the revolutionary proletariat only

after the proletariat has taken the political power, after it has done away with the owners of the large estates and the capitalists, after the oppressed masses are able to see in practice that they have an organized leader and helper sufficiently powerful and firm to support and to guide, to show the right way.

The "middle peasantry," in the economic sense, consists of small landowners who possess, according to the right of ownership or rent, portions of land, which, although small, nevertheless may: 1) usually yield under capitalist rule not only scanty provision for the family and the needs of the farming, but also the possibility of accumulating a certain surplus, which, at least in the best years, could be transformed into capital; and 2) necessitate the employment of (for instance, in a family of two or three members) wage labor. As a concrete example of the middle peasantry in an advanced capitalist country, we may take the situation in Germany, where, according to the registration of 1917, there was a group tilling farms from five to ten acres, and in these farms the number of hired agricultural laborers made up about a third of the whole number of farms in this group.¹ In France, the country of a greater development of special cultures, for instance, the vineyards, requiring special treatment and care, the corresponding group employs wage labor probably in a somewhat larger portion.

The revolutionary proletariat can not make it its aim, at least for the nearest future and for the beginning of the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to win this class over to its side. The proletariat will have to content itself with neutralizing this class, i. e., with making it take a neutral position in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The vacillation of this class is unavoidable, and in the beginning of the new epoch its predominating tendency in the advanced capitalist countries will be in favor of the bourgeoisie, for the ideas and sentiments of private property are characteristic of the possessors. The victorious proletariat will immediately improve the lot of this class by abolishing the system of rent and mortgage, by the introduction of machinery and electrical appliances into agriculture. The proletarian state power cannot at once abolish private property in most of the capitalist countries, but must do away with all duties and levies imposed upon this class of people by the landlords; it will also secure to the small and middle peasantry the ownership of their land holdings and enlarge them, putting the peasants in possession of the land they used to rent (abolition of rents).

The combination of such measures with a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie guarantees the full success of the neutralization policy. The transition to collective agriculture must be managed with much circumspection and step by step, and the proletarian state power must proceed by the force of example without any violence toward the middle peasantry.

5. The landed peasants or farmers (Grossbauern) are capitalists in agriculture, managing their lands usually with several hired laborers. They are connected with the "peasantry" only by their rather low standard of culture, their way of living, the personal manual work of their land. This is the most numerous element of the bourgeois class, and the decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. The chief attention of the Communist Party in the rural districts must be given to the struggle against this element, to the liberation of the laboring and exploited majority of the rural population from the moral and political influence of these exploiters.

After the victory of the proletariat in the towns, this class will inevitably oppose it by all means, from sabotage to open armed counter-revolutionary resistance. The revolutionary proletariat must, therefore, immediately begin to prepare the necessary force for the disarmament of every single man of this class, and together with the overthrow of the capitalists in industry, the proletariat must deal a relentless, crushing blow to this class. To that end it must arm the rural proletariat and organize Soviets in the country, with no room for exploiters, and a preponderant place must be reserved to the proletarians and the semi-proletarians.

But the expropriation even of the landed peasants can by no means be an immediate object of the victorious proletariat, considering the lack of material, particularly of technical material, and further of the social conditions necessary for the socialization of such lands. In some probably exceptional cases parts

¹These are the exact figures; number of farms 5—10 acres 552,798 (out of 5,736,082); they possess in all sorts of hired workers, 487,704—the number of workers with their families (Familienangehoerige) being 2,013,633. In Austria, according to the census of 1910, there were 383,351 farms in this group. 126,136 of them employing hired labor; 146,044 hired workers, 1,215,969 workers with their families. The total number of farms in Austria amounts to 2,856,349.

of their estates will be confiscated if they are leased in small parcels, or if they are specially needed by the small-peasant population. A free use must be also secured to this population, on definite terms, of a part of the agricultural machinery of the landed peasants, etc. As a general rule, however, the state power must leave the peasants in possession of their land, confiscating it only in case of resistance to the government of the laboring and exploited peasants. The experience of the Russian proletarian revolution, whose struggle against the landed peasants became very complicated and prolonged owing to a number of particular circumstances, nevertheless shows that this class has been at last taught what it costs to make the slightest attempt at resistance, and is now quite willing to serve loyally the aims of the proletarian state. It begins even to be penetrated, although very slowly, by a respect for the government which protects every worker and deals relentlessly with the idle rich.

The specific conditions which complicated and prolonged the struggle of the Russian proletariat against the landed peasantry after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, consist mainly in the fact that after the coup d'état of October 25 and November 7, 1917, the Russian revolution traversed a stage of "general democratic," actually bourgeois democratic, struggle of the peasantry as a whole against the landowners, and there were further the low standard of living and scarcity of the urban proletariat, and, finally, the enormous distances and exceedingly bad transport conditions. Insofar as these adverse conditions do not exist in the advanced countries, the revolutionary proletariat in Europe and America must prepare with much more energy and carry out a much more rapid and complete victory over the resistance of the landed peasantry, depriving it of all possibility of resistance. This is of the utmost importance, considering that until a complete, absolute victory is won, the proletarian state power cannot be regarded as secure and capable of resisting its enemies.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must proceed to an immediate and unconditional confiscation of the estates of the landowners and big landlords, that is, of all those who systematically employ wage labor, directly or through their tenants, who exploit all the small (and not infrequently also the middle) peasantry in their neighborhood, and who do not do any actual manual work. To this element belong the majority of the descendants of the feudal lords (the nobility of Russia, Germany, and Hungary, the restored seigneurs of France, the Lords in England, the former slave owners in America), or financial magnates who have become particularly rich, or a mixture of those two classes of exploiters and idlers.

No propaganda can be admitted in the ranks of the Communist parties in favor of an indemnity to be paid to the owners of large estates for their expropriation. In the present conditions prevailing in Europe and America this would mean treason to Socialism and the imposition of a new tax on the laboring and exploited masses, who have already suffered from the war, which has increased the number of millionaires and has multiplied their wealth.

In the advanced capitalist countries the Communist International considers that it should be a prevailing practice to preserve the large agricultural establishments and manage them on the lines of the "Soviet farms" in Russia.² In regard to the management of the estates confiscated by the victorious proletariat from the owners of large landed property—the prevailing practice in Russia—the cause of economic backwardness was the partition of this landed property for the benefit of the peasantry, and in comparatively rare exceptions was there a preservation of the so-called "Soviet farm," managed by the proletarian state at its expense, and transforming the former wage laborers into workers employed by the state, and into members of the Soviets managing these farms.

The preservation of large landholdings serves best the interests of the revolutionary elements of the population, namely, the landless agricultural workers and semi-proletarian small landholders, who get their livelihood mainly by working on the large estates. Besides, the nationalization of large landholdings makes the urban population, at least in part, less dependent on the peasantry for their food.

In those places, however, where relics of the feudal system still prevail, where "serfdom" and the system of giving half of the products to the peasants prevails and where a part of the soil belongs to the large estates the landlord privileges give rise to special forms of exploitation.

² It is also advisable to encourage collective establishments (Communes).

In countries where large landholdings are insignificant in number, while a great number of small tenants are in search of land, the distribution of the large holdings can prove a sure means of winning the peasantry for the revolution, while the preservation of the large estates can be of no value for the provisioning of the towns. The first and most important task of the proletarian state is to secure a lasting victory. The proletariat must put up with a temporary decline of production so long as it makes for the success of the revolution. Only by persuading the middle peasantry to maintain a neutral attitude, and by gaining the support of a large part, if not the whole, of the small peasantry, can the lasting maintenance of the proletarian power be secured.

At any rate, where the land of the large owners is being distributed, the interests of the agricultural proletariat must be of primary consideration.

The implements of large estates must be converted into state property absolutely intact, but on the unflinching condition that these implements be put at the disposal of the small peasants gratis, subject to conditions worked out by the proletarian state.

If just at first, after the proletarian coup d'état, the immediate confiscation of the big estates becomes absolutely necessary, and moreover, also the banishment or internment of all landowners as leaders of the counter-revolution, and relentless oppressors of the whole rural population, the proletarian state, in proportion to its consolidation not only in the towns but in the country as well, must systematically strive to take advantage of all the forces of this class, of all those who possess valuable experience, learning, organizing talent, and must use them (under special control of the most reliable Communist workers) to organize large agriculture on Socialist principles.

7. The victory of Socialism over capitalism, the consolidation of Socialism, will be definitely established at the time that the proletarian state power, after having finally subdued all resistance of the exploiters and secured for itself complete and absolute submission, will reorganize the whole industry on the base of wholesale collective production and a new technical basis (founded on the electrification of agriculture). This alone will afford a possibility of such radical help in the technical and the social sense, accorded by the town to the backward and dispersed country, that this help will create the material base for an enormous increase in the productivity of agricultural and general farming work, and will induce the small farmers by force of example and for their own benefit to change to large, collective machine agriculture.

Most particularly in the rural districts real possibility of successful struggle for Socialism requires, in the first place, that all Communist parties inculcate in the industrial proletariat the necessity of sacrifice on its part, and readiness to sacrifice itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the consolidation of the proletariat be based on the proletariat's knowing how to organize and to lead the working and exploited masses, and on the vanguard's being ready for the greatest sacrifices and heroism. In the second place, possibility of success requires that the laboring and most exploited masses in the country experience immediate and great improvement in their position caused by the victory of the proletariat and by the defeat of the exploiters. Unless this is done, the industrial proletariat cannot depend on the support of the rural districts, and cannot secure the provisioning of the town with foodstuffs.

8. The enormous difficulty of organization and education for the revolutionary struggle of the agrarian laboring masses placed by capitalism in a condition of particular oppression, dispersion, and often a mediaeval dependence require from the Communist parties special care for the strike movement in the rural districts. It requires enforced support and wide development of mass strikes of the agrarian proletarians and semiproletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, confirmed and enlarged now by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that only the development of mass-strike struggle (under certain conditions the small peasants are also to be drawn into these strikes) will shake the inactivity of the country population, arouse in them a class consciousness and the consciousness of the necessity of class organization in the exploited masses in the country, and show them the obvious practical use of their joining the town workers. From this standpoint the promotion or Unions of Agricultural Workers, the co-operation of Communists in the country, and woodworkers' organizations are of great importance. The Communists must likewise support the co-operative organizations formed by the exploited agricultural population closely connected with the revolutionary labor movement. A vigorous agitation is likewise to be carried on among the small peasants.

The Congress of the Communist International denounces as traitors those Socialists—unfortunately there are such not only in the yellow Second International, but also among the three most important European parties, which have left the Second International—who are not only indifferent toward the strike struggle in the rural districts, but oppose it (as does Kautsky) on the ground that it might cause a falling-off of the production of foodstuffs. No programmes and no solemn declarations have any value if the fact is not in evidence, testified by actual deeds, that the Communists and labor leaders know how to put the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory above everything else and are ready to make the utmost sacrifices for the sake of this victory. Unless this is a fact, there is no escape, no barrier against starvation, dissolution, and new imperialistic wars.

The Communist parties must make all efforts possible to start as soon as possible setting up Soviets in the country, and these Soviets must be chiefly composed of hired laborers and semi-proletarians. Only in connection with the mass-strike struggle of the most oppressed class will the Soviets be able to serve fully their ends, and become sufficiently firm to dominate (and further on to include in their ranks) the small peasants. But if the strike struggle is not yet developed, and the ability to organize the agrarian proletariat is weak because of the strong oppression by the landowners and the landed peasants, and also because of the want of support from the industrial workers and their unions, the organization of the Soviets in the rural districts will require long preparation by means of creating small Communist centers, of intensive propaganda, expounding in a most popular form the demands of the Communists, and illustrating the reasons of these demands by specially convincing cases of exploitation, and pressure by systematic excursions of industrial workers into the country, etc.

EXHIBIT No. 13

[Source: Excerpts from Lenin On Organization, published by Daily Worker Publishing Company, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois: 1926. Pages 64, 74, 111-125]

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On the other hand, the organizations of revolutionaries must be comprised first and foremost of people whose profession consists of being revolutionaries (that is why I speak of organizations of *revolutionaries*, meaning revolutionary Social Democrats). In face of this common characteristic the members of such an organization *must abandon all distinction between workers and intellectuals*, let alone distinctions between trades and professions. Such an organization must of necessity be not too extensive and as conspiratorial as possible.

* * * * *

I might go on analyzing the statutes, but I think that what has been said will suffice. A small tight kernel, consisting of reliable, experienced and steeled workers, with responsible agents in the chief districts and connected by all the rules of strict conspiracy with the organizations of revolutionaries, can, with the wide support of the masses and without any formulation, fully perform all the functions belonging to a trade union organization, and perform them moreover in the manner desired by Social Democrats.

IV

GENERAL TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

(From "A Letter to a Comrade on Our Problems of Organization,"
September, 1902)

. . . Now a word about the factory circles. They are of extreme importance to us: the main strength of our movement lies in the workers' organizations in the *large* factories. For in the large factories (and works) are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacity. Every factory must be our stronghold. And that means that every "factory" workers' organization must be as conspiratorial internally and as "ramified" externally, and that its feelers be stretched as far and widespread as any revolutionary organization. I emphasize that here again the center,

the leader, the "boss" must be a group of worker revolutionaries. We must break completely with the traditional type of purely labor or purely trade union organization, *not excluding* the "factory" circles. The factory group, or the factory (works) committee (to distinguish it from other groups of which there should be a great number) must consist of a very small number of *revolutionaries* who will take their instructions and receive their authority to carry on Social Democratic work in the factory, *directly from the committee*. Every member of the factory committee must regard himself as an agent of the committee, obliged to subordinate himself to the orders of the committee and to adhere to all the "laws and customs" of that "army on active service" which he has joined and which in time of war he has no right to abandon without the consent of his superior. The composition of the factory committee is therefore a matter of extreme importance. One of the main cares of the committee should be that the sub-committee be properly organized. I imagine the thing somewhat as follows: the committee charges certain of its members (plus, let us say, certain workers who for some reason or other cannot join the committee, but who may be very useful on account of their experience, knowledge of people, good sense and connections) to organize factory sub-committees everywhere. The commission will consult with the district delegates, arrange meetings, carefully examine the candidates for membership of the factory sub-committees, submit them to close cross-examination, if possible subject them to a test, endeavoring themselves to interview and directly examine *as large a number as possible* of candidates to the sub-committee of the factory in question and will finally submit a certain list of members for each factory group for the approval of the committee, or propose that authority be given to a certain worker to set up, indicate, or select a complete sub-committee. The committee will itself determine which of these agents is to maintain contact with it and *how* the contact is to be maintained (as a rule, through the district delegates, but this rule may be subject to additions and amendments). In view of the great importance of these factory sub-committees, we must see to it that wherever possible each sub-committee should be in possession of an address to which to direct its communications to the C. O. (16) and have a *depot* for its contacts in some safe place (i. e., that the information required for the immediate reformation of a factory committee in the event of the arrest of its members should be transmitted as frequently and as abundantly as possible to the party centre, there to be kept in a safe place where the Russian gendarmes are unable to get at it). It will, of course, be understood that the transmission of addresses is to be determined by the committee according to its own discretion and the facts at its disposal, and not in accordance with some non-existent "democratic" right. Finally, it is perhaps not superfluous to mention that *it might sometimes be more convenient* in place of a factory sub-committee consisting of several members to confine itself to the appointment of an agent of the committee (and his candidate or substitute). As soon as the factory sub-committee has been formed it should proceed to organize a number of factory groups and circles with diverse functions and with varying degrees of conspiratorialness and definition of organization: such as, for instance, circles for distributing and broadcasting literature (this is one of the most important functions; it must be so organized as to provide us with a real postal service of our own; not only the methods of distributing literature but also of delivering it in the homes must be carefully studied and tested, and the home of every worker and the way to it must be well learned); circles for reading illegal literature; groups for keeping a watch on spies;¹ circles for the economic struggle, groups of agitators and propagandists who know how to start and to carry specific leadership of the trade union movement and on long conversations *in a legal manner* (on the subject of machinery, inspectors, etc.), and so be able to speak safely in public, to examine people and feel how the land lies.² The factory sub-committee should endeavor to embrace the whole factory and the largest possible number of the workers in a network of circles of all kinds (or agents). The success of the activities of the sub-committee should be measured

¹ We must get the workers to understand that while the killing of spies, provocateurs and traitors may sometimes, of course, be absolutely unavoidable, it is highly undesirable and mistaken to make a system of it, and that our endeavor should be to create an organization which will be able to *render spies innocuous* by exposing them and tracking them down. To root out spies altogether is impossible, but to create an organization which will track them out and *educate* the working class masses is both *possible and necessary*.

² We also need fighting groups, in which workers who have had military training or who are particularly muscular and agile should be enrolled, to be used in the event of demonstrations, prison, releases, etc.

by the multiplicity of circles, the possibility of travelling propagandists getting into contact with them, and above all, by the correctness and regularity of the work done in the *distribution of literature* and the reception of information and correspondence.

In my opinion, the general type of organization should be as follows: the head of the whole local movement and of all the local Social Democratic activities should be the committee. From it should proceed the institutions and branch departments subordinated to it, such as, firstly, the *network of executive agents* embracing (as far as possible) the whole working class mass and organized in the form of *district* groups and factory (works) sub-committees. In times of peace this network will be engaged in distributing literature, leaflets, proclamations and the conspiratorial communications of the committee; in time of war it will organize demonstrations and similar collective activities. Secondly, there will proceed from the committee circles and groups of all kinds necessary for serving the whole movement (propaganda, transport, conspiratorial function, etc.). Every group, circle, sub-committee, etc., must be on the footing of a committee or branch department of the committee. Certain of them may express a direct wish to join the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (17), and, provided that the committee gives its approval, will do so, and (at the request of, or in agreement with, the committee) will assume definite functions, will undertake to obey all the instructions of the Party organs, will be endowed with the rights enjoyed by every member of the Party, may be regarded as immediate candidates for membership of the committee, etc. Others will not join the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, but will be regarded as circles formed by Party members or associated with some or other Party group, etc.

In all their *internal* affairs the members of *all* these circles are, of course, equal among themselves, just as the members of a committee are equal among themselves. The sole exception will be that the right of *personal* contact with the local committee (as well as with the C. C. and the C. O.) will be possessed only by the person (or persons) appointed for that purpose by the committee. In all other respects, this person will be on an equality with the rest, who will also have the right of addressing themselves (but not personally) to the local committee and to the C. C. and the C. O. The exception indicated therefore will not be an infringement of equality, but only an absolutely essential concession to the demands of conspiracy. A member of a committee who fails to transmit to the committee, the C. C. or the C. O., the communications of "his" group will be guilty of a direct infringement of his Party duties. Furthermore, the degree of conspiratorialness and definition of organization of the various circles will depend upon the character of their functions, and the organizations will therefore be of the most varied character (from the most "strict", narrow and closed type of organization to the "loosest," widest, open and indefinite type). For instance, the distributing groups require the utmost conspiratorialness and military discipline. The propagandist groups need to be equally conspiratorial, but with a far less degree of military discipline. Workers' groups for reading legal literature, or for discussions on trade union needs and problems require to be still less conspiratorial and so on. The distributing groups should belong to the R. S. D. L. P. and be acquainted with a certain number of its members and responsible persons. A group for studying trade union conditions of labor and for drawing up trade union demands is not obliged to belong to the R. S. D. L. P. A group of students, officers or clerks engaged in self-education *with the cooperation* of one or two members of the Party, should sometimes even not be acquainted with the fact that they belong to the Party, etc. But in one respect we must *absolutely* demand the *maximum definiteness* in every branch of groups, namely, that each Party member working in these groups is formally responsible for the conduct of their affairs and is obliged to take *every* measure in order that the composition of each of these groups, the whole *mechanism* of its work and the character of that work should be *known* to the C. C. and the C. O. That is necessary not only in order that the centres may have a *complete* picture of the whole movement, but that the selection for various Party posts may be made from the widest possible circle of people, that (through the intermediary of the centre) each group may serve as a lesson for all the groups of a similar character in Russia, and that adequate warning may be given in the event of the appearance of provocateurs or doubtful persons—in a word, it is necessary from every point of view.

How is this to be done? By regular reports to the committee, the transmission of as large a number of as much of the contents as possible of these reports

to the C. O. by arranging that members of the C. C. and the local committee should visit the circles, and, finally, that the contacts with the circles, i. e. the names and addresses of several members of each circle, should be transmitted for safe-keeping (and to the Party bureaus of the C. O. and the C. C.). Only when reports are regularly made and contacts transmitted may it be said that a Party member participating in a circle is fulfilling his duties; only when the Party as a whole is in a position to *learn* from every circle which is carrying on practical work, will arrests have lost their terror; for if contacts are maintained with the various circles it will always be easy for a delegate of the C. C. to find a substitute *immediately* and have the work renewed. The arrest of a committee will then not destroy the whole machine, but only remove the leaders, to replace whom there will always be candidates ready. And let it not be said that the communication of reports and contacts are impossible under conspiratorial conditions: one has only to desire it and it is always, and *will always*, be possible to hand over (or transmit) reports and contacts as long as we have committees, a C. C. and a C. O.

We have arrived at a very important principle of all Party organization and all Party activity: while as far as the intellectual and practical *leadership* of the movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is concerned, the greatest possible decentralization is required, as far as keeping the Party centre (and therefore the Party as a whole), informed regarding the movement and as far as responsibility to the Party is concerned, the *greatest possible decentralization is required*. The leadership of the movement should be entrusted to the smallest possible number of uniform groups of professional revolutionaries who have been trained in the school of experience. The greatest possible number of diverse and heterogeneous groups of every section of the proletariat (and other classes of the population) should take part in the movement. The Party centre must always have before it not only exact information regarding the activities of each of the groups, but also the *fullest possible facts regarding its composition*. The leadership of the movement must be centralized. We must also, (and for that very reason, for without information we cannot have decentralization) *as far as possible, decentralization responsibility to the Party* on the part of every individual member and every participant in the work and of every circle belonging to, or associating itself with, the Party. This decentralization is an essential condition of revolutionary centralization and *an essential corrective to it*. When centralization has been fully established and we have a C. O. and a C. C., it will be possible for every group, however small, to communicate with them—and not only will it be able to communicate with them, but *regularity* of communication will be established by years of experience—and the possibility of grievous consequences resulting from the chance unfortunate composition of a local committee will be removed. Now, when we are seriously endeavoring to effect real unity in the Party and to create a real leading centre, we must particularly bear in mind *that the centre will be impotent* if we do not introduce the *maximum of decentralization* both as far as responsibility to the centre and keeping it informed of all the wheels and inner wheels of the Party machine are concerned. This decentralization is only the reverse side of the *division of labor* which is generally recognized to be one of the most urgent practical needs of our movement. The official recognition of a given organization as the leading organization, the setting up of a formal C. C. is not enough to make our movement a real united movement, or to create a strong fighting Party if the Party centre is *cut off* from direct practical work by the local committees of the old type, i. e. by such as are, on the one hand, made up of a great number of persons each of which carries on every kind of work, does not devote himself to certain definite functions, is not responsible for some special duty, never carries a well-considered and well-prepared piece of work to an end, and spends an enormous amount of time and energy in simply running to and fro—and, on the other hand, embrace a great mass of student and workers' circles, half of which are altogether unknown to the committee, and the other half are huge unspecialized, accumulating no professional experience, nor making use of the experience of others, and, like the committee itself, engaged in endless conferences about everything in general, in elections and in the drawing up of statutes. In order that the centre may be able to work properly, the local committees must be *re-formed*; they must become specialized and "business-like" organizations which will be capable of achieving real "improvements" in some one or other practical sphere. In order that the centre should do more than discuss, argue and wrangle (as has been the case hitherto) but really conduct the orchestra, it is necessary that it should know

who is playing which fiddle and where; who has learnt, or is learning to play a certain instrument, and how and where; who is playing a false note (that is, when the music happens to go wrong) and where and why, and who must be transferred, and where to in order that the discord be corrected, etc. Let it be said openly, at the present moment we either know nothing about the *real internal* work of a given committee, except from its proclamations and general correspondence, or we know about it from friends or personal acquaintances. It is ridiculous to think that this is good enough for a huge Party which is capable of leading the Russian working class movement and which is preparing itself for an attack upon the autocracy. The number of members of the committees must be cut down; each of them, wherever possible, must be entrusted with a definite special and responsible function, for which it must account; a small special directing centre must be set up; a network of executive agents must be developed to connect the committee with every large factory and works, to conduct the regular distribution of literature and to supply the centre with an exact picture of how the distribution is being carried out and of the whole mechanism of the work; and finally, numerous groups and circles must be formed which will take various functions upon themselves or unite persons who desire to work with the Social Democratic Party, to help it and to become Social Democrats, and which will keep the committee and the centre constantly informed of the activities (and the composition) of the circles. That is the way in which the St. Petersburg, and all the other committees of the Party must be reorganized; and that is why the question of the statutes is of such little importance.

PROPAGANDIST GROUPS

. . . I now pass to the question of the propagandist groups. To organize such in every district is hardly possible and hardly desirable, in view of our poverty of propagandists. Propaganda should be carried on by the Committee as a whole and must be strictly centralized, and my idea of the matter is therefore as follows: the Committee charges certain of its members to organize a propagandist group (which will act as a branch department of the Committee or be *one of the Committee institutions*). This group, making conspiratorial use of the *services* of the district groups, will conduct propaganda *throughout the whole town*, and in every locality "within the competence" of the Committee. If necessary, this group may set up a sub-group, and, so to speak, transfer certain of its functions, but only with the sanction of the Committee, and the Committee shall always and unconditionally possess the right of detailing its delegate to each group, sub-group, or circle which has any contact at all with the movement. . .

By the way, while on the subject of propagandists, I should like to say a few words in criticism of the usual practice of *overloading* this profession with people of little capacity for it and thus lowering the level of propaganda. Almost every student without any selection is regarded as a propagandist, and the whole of our *youth* demand that they should "be given circles." This tendency must be fought, because it is doing a lot of harm. As a matter of fact, capable propagandists well-grounded and trained in theory *are very rare* (to become such a propagandist requires a fair amount of training and accumulation of experience); they must therefore be specialized, we must put them wholly on this work and take great care of them. We must arrange several lectures a week for them; we must be able when necessary to send them to other towns, and, in general, arrange for various towns to be toured by capable propagandists. The mass of young beginners should rather be put on practical jobs; these are rather neglected in comparison with the amount of circle attending which is done by the students and which is optimistically called "propaganda." Of course, serious practice jobs also require considerable training, but nevertheless, work in this sphere can more easily be found even for "novices". . .

VARIOUS GROUPS

In the same way, and after the type of branch department of the Committee or Committee institution, all the other groups serving the movement should be organized—the university students and high school students groups, the groups, let us say, for assisting government officials, transport groups, printing groups, passport groups, groups for arranging conspiratorial meeting places, groups for tracking spys, military groups, groups for procuring arms, organization groups, such as for running income producing enterprises, etc. The whole art of conspiratorial organization consists in making use of *everything and everybody* and

finding work for everybody, at the same time retaining the *leadership* of the whole movement, not by force, but by virtue of authority, energy, greater experience, greater versatility and greater talent. We say this for the sake of those who usually object that too strict centralization, which is absolutely impossible to any large extent and which is even directly harmful to revolutionary work carried on under an autocratic government. Statutes gives us no guarantee; that can be provided only by measures of "fraternal co-operation," beginning with the resolutions of each and every sub-group, their appeals to the C. O. and the C. C. and ending (if the worst comes to the worst *with the overthrow* of incapable authorities. The Committee should try to achieve the greatest possible division of labor, remembering that the various kinds of revolutionary work demand various capacities and that a person who is absolutely useless as an organizer may be invaluable as an agitator, or that a person who does not possess the endurance demanded by conspiratorial work may be an excellent propagandist and so on. . .

EXHIBIT No. 14

[Source: Programme of the World Revolution, by N. Bucharin; a booklet published by the Contemporary Publishing Association, New York: 1920]

PROGRAMME OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

(By N. Bucharin)

Contemporary Publishing Association, New York. 1920

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF CAPITAL, THE WORKING CLASS, AND THE POORER ELEMENTS OF THE VILLAGE POPULATION

In all countries, except in Russia, Capital is predominant. Whatever State one takes, whether semi-despotic Prussia, or Republican France, or so-called democratic America, everywhere power is wholly concentrated in the hands of big capital. A small group of people, landowners, manufacturers and the richest bankers, hold millions and hundreds of millions of town workers and rural poor in slavery bondage, compelling them to toil, sweating them and throwing them on the street as soon as they become useless and worn out and incapable of being a source of further profit to Lord Capital.

This terrible power of the bankers and manufacturers over millions of toilers is given to them by wealth. Why does a poor man who is thrown on the streets have to starve to death? Because he possesses nothing but a pair of hands which he can sell to the capitalist should the capitalist want them. How is it that a rich banker or business man can do nothing, and yet lead an easy life free of care, getting a solid income and taking in profit daily, hourly, and even by the minute? Because he possesses not only a pair of hands, but also those means of production without which work is impossible nowadays, factories, land, machines, railroads, mines, ships and steamers, and all kinds of apparatus and instruments. All over the world, except in present-day Russia, this wealth accumulated by man belongs only to capitalist and landowners who have also become capitalists. And it is no wonder that in such a state of affairs a group of men, having in their hands all that is indispensable, the most necessary things, dominate the rest who possess nothing. Let us take the instance of a poor man from the country coming to town to seek work. Who does he go to? To the proprietor, the man who owns a factory or works. And this same proprietor becomes the complete master of the man's life. If his, the master's loyal servants, directors and bookkeepers, have calculated that it is possible to squeeze more profits out of fresh workers than out of the old ones, then he "gives a job." If not, he tells him to "pass along." At the factory the capitalist is monarch of all he surveys. He is obeyed by all, and his directions are implicitly carried out. The factory is extended or reduced at his will. At his command, through foremen and managers, workmen are employed or dismissed. He decides how long they are to work and what pay they are to get. And all this happens because the factory is his factory, the works his works, they belong to him, are his *private property*. It is this right

of private property over the means of production that is the cause of the terrible power which is in the hands of capital.

The same thing holds good with regard to land. Take the freest and the most democratic country—the United States. Thousands of workers cultivate land that does not belong to them, land owned by landowning capitalists. Here everything is organized on the plan of a large factory; there are tens and hundreds of electric ploughs, reaping machines, reaping and sheaf-binding machines, at which hired slaves toil from dawn till night. And just as at the factory, they work not for themselves, but for a master. This is because land itself as well as the seeds and machines, in a word, everything, except the working hands, is the *private property of the capitalist master*. He is autocrat here. He commands and conducts the business in such a way as to convert the very sweat and blood into shining yellow metal. The workmen, grumbling sometimes, obey, and go on making money for the master because he possesses everything, while the worker, the poor agricultural laborer, possesses nothing.

But sometimes it so happens that the landowner does not hire laborers, but lets his land on lease. Here in Russia, for instance, the poor peasantry, holding small allotments hardly enough to pasture a hen, were obliged to rent land from the landowners. They cultivate it with their own horses, ploughs and harrows. But even here they were mercilessly fleeced. The greater the peasant's need for land, the greater was the rent charged by the landowners, thus holding the poor peasant in real bondage. What enabled him to do that? The fact that the land was his, the landowner's land; the fact that the land constituted the *private property of the landowning class*.

Capitalist society is divided into two classes: those who work a great deal and feed scantily, and those who work little or not at all, but eat well and plentifully. That is not at all in accordance with the Scriptures, where it says: "He that does not work, neither shall he eat." This circumstance, however, does not prevent the priests of all faiths and tongues from lauding the capitalist order; for these priests everywhere (except in Soviet Republic) are maintained by increment derived from private or church property.

Another question now arises. How is it possible for a group of parasites to retain private ownership over the means of labor, so indispensable to all? How has it come about that private ownership by the idle classes is maintained to the present day? Where does the reason lie?

The reason lies in the perfect organization of the enemies of the laboring class. To-day there does not exist a single capitalist country where the capitalists act individually. On the contrary, each one of them is infallibly a member of some economic organization. And it is these economic unions that hold everything in their hands, having tens of thousands of faithful agents to serve them, not out of fear, but as a matter of conscience. The entire economic life of every capitalist country is at the complete disposal of special economic organizations; syndicates, trusts, and unions of many banking concerns. These combines own and direct everything.

The most important industrial and financial combine is the Bourgeois State. This combine holds in its hands the reins of government and power. Here everything is weighed and measured, everything is premeditated and arranged in such a manner as to crush instantly any attempt at rebellion on the part of the working class against the domination of capital. The State has at its disposal forces (such as spies, police, judges, executioners, and trained soldiers, who have become soulless machines), as well as mental influences which gradually pervert the workers and poorer elements of society, imbuing them with fallacious ideas. For this purpose the bourgeois State utilizes schools and Church, aided by the capitalist press. It is a known fact that pig-breeders can breed such stock as are incapable of moving owing to the vast accumulation of fat; but such pigs are extremely suitable for slaughter. They are bred artificially on special fattening food. The bourgeoisie deals with the working class in exactly the same way. It is true it gives them little enough substantial food—not enough to get fat on. But day by day it offers to the workers a specially-prepared mental food which fattens their brains and make them incapable of thought. The bourgeoisie wants to turn the working class into a herd of swine, docile and fit for slaughter, not capable of thinking and ever subservient. This is the reason why, with the help of schools and the Church, the bourgeoisie tries to instill into the minds of children the idea that it is necessary to obey the Authorities, as they hold their power from heaven (and the Bolsheviks, instead of prayers, have drawn on themselves the curses of the Church, because they have refused to grant any State subsidies to these cas-

socked frauds). This is also the reason why the bourgeoisie is so anxious to circulate its lying press far and wide.

The *powerful organization* of the bourgeois class enables them to retain private property. The rich are few in number, but they are surrounded by a large number of faithful, devoted and handsomely-paid servants: ministers, directors of works, directors of banks, and so on; these latter are again surrounded by a still greater number of retainers who get paid less, but who are entirely dependent on them, and are educated along the same lines. They are themselves on the look-out for such posts, should they be lucky enough to attain them. These again are followed by minor officials, agents of capital, etc., etc. It is just as the Russian nursery tale has it: "Grandad holds on to the turnip, grandma on to grandad, grandchild on to grandma," and so on; in short they follow one another in an interminable chain united by the general organization of the bourgeois State and other industrial combines. These organizations cover all countries with a net out of which the working class struggles in vain to get free. Every capitalist State is in reality one vast economic union. The workers toil—the masters enjoy themselves. The workers carry out orders—the masters lord it over them. The workers are deceived—the masters deceive them. Such is the state of things called capitalistic, which the capitalists and their servants—the priests, intellectual classes, mensheviks, socialist revolutionaries, and the rest of that fraternity, are inviting the workers and peasants to obey.

CHAPTER II

PLUNDERING WARS, THE OPPRESSION OF THE WORKING CLASSES, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE FALL OF CAPITALISM

In every capitalist country small capital has practically vanished; of late it has been eaten up by the big sharks of capitalism. At first, a struggle went on between the individual capitalist for customers; at the present time when there are only a few of them left (as the small fry is absolutely ruined), the remaining ones have united, organized, and have it their own way in their country, just as in olden times the barons had full power over their own domains; a few American bankers own the whole of America, just as formerly a single capitalist owned his factory. A few French usurers have subjugated the whole French people; 5 of the biggest banks hold the fate of the German people in their hands. The same thing happens in other capitalist countries. It may therefore be said that the present capitalist States, or as they are called, "Fatherlands," have become huge factories owned by an industrial combine, just as formerly a single capitalist owned his particular factory.

It is not surprising that such combines, unions of the various capitalist countries, are now carrying on among themselves the same sort of struggle which was formerly carried on between individual capitalists; the English capitalist State is fighting the German capitalist State, just as formerly in England or in Germany respectively one individual manufacturer was struggling against another. Only now the State is a thousand times bigger, and the struggle for the increase of profits is being waged by means of human life and human blood.

In this struggle, which has spread over the whole globe, the first to perish were small weak countries. At the beginning it is always the small colonial people that perish. Weak, uncivilized tribes are dispossessed of their lands by the great plundering States. A struggle ensues for the *division* of the remaining "free" lands, i. e., lands not yet looted by the "civilized" States. Then begins a struggle for the re-division of that which has already been looted. It is quite evident that the struggle for the re-division of the world must be bloody and furious as no war before it. It is conducted by monstrous giants, by the biggest States in the world, armed with perfected death-dealing machines.

The world war which broke out in the summer of 1914 was the first war of the final *re-division* of the world between the monsters of "civilized" robbery. It has drawn into its whirlpool four of the chief rival giants: England, Germany, America and Japan. And the struggle is being carried on to decide which of these plundering unions will put the world under the domination of its bloody iron heel.

This war has everywhere vastly deteriorated the position of the working class, which was bad enough as it was. Terrible calamities have fallen on the workers: millions of the best men were simply mown down on the battlefields;

starvation was the fate of others. Those who dare to protest are menaced with severest punishments. Prisons are filled to overflowing; gendarmes with machine guns are held ready against the working classes. The rights of the workers have vanished even in the most "free" countries: the workers are even forbidden to strike; strikes are looked upon in the same light as treason. The Labor and Socialist Press is stifled. The best workers, the most loyal fighters for the revolution, are compelled to hide and build up their organizations secretly, just as we used to do in the time of the Czar, furtively hiding from crowds of spies and police. No wonder that all these consequences of the war have made the workers not only groan, but *rise* against their oppressors.

But now the bourgeois States, which are responsible for the great slaughter, are in their turn beginning to decay at the root and fall. The bourgeois States have "stuck," so to speak. They have stuck in the bloody swamp they have created in their hunt after profit, and there is no way out. To go back, to return empty-handed is impossible. The policy of the war has led them into a blind alley from which there is no exit. And that is why the war is still continuing without either coming to an end or achieving any definite result. For the same reason the decaying capitalist order is beginning to totter, and will sooner or later have to make way for a new order of things, under which the imbecility of the world war for the sake of gain will have become impossible.

The longer the war lasts the poorer the combatant countries become. The flower of the working class has either perished or is lying eaten alive by lice in the trenches, busily at work in the cause of destruction. Everything has been demolished in the course of the war: even brass door handles have been confiscated for war requirements. Objects of primary necessity are lacking because the war, like the insatiable locust, has devoured everything. There is no one to manufacture useful articles any longer; what there is, is being gradually used up. For nearly four years factories that previously turned out useful things are manufacturing shells and shrapnel instead. And now, without men, without producing what is indispensable, all the countries have reached a state of decline where people are beginning to howl like wolves with cold, hunger, poverty, want and oppression.

In German villages, where formerly electricity was used, they now burn dried wood chips for lack of coals. Life is coming to a standstill with the general growth of poverty of the people. In such well-kept towns as Berlin and Vienna, the streets are not traversable at night because of the robberies that take place. The press is wailing over the insufficiency of police. They refuse to see that the growth of crime is the consequence of the growth of pauperism, despair and exasperation. Cripples returning from the front find sheer starvation at home; the number of hungry and homeless, notwithstanding the number of various relief organizations, is constantly growing, because there is nothing to eat.

The harder the position of the warring States, the more friction, quarrels and misunderstandings arise between the different sections of the bourgeoisie, who formerly went hand in hand for the sake of their mutual aims. In Austro-Hungary, Bohemians, Ukrainians, Germans, Poles and others are fighting each other. In Germany, with the conquest of new provinces, the same bourgeoisie (Estonian, Lettish, Ukrainian, Polish) which welcomed the German troops, are now quarreling furiously with their liberators. In England, the English bourgeoisie is in mortal conflict with the enslaved Irish bourgeoisie. And in the midst of this tumult and general disorganization is heard the voice of the *laboring class*, before which history has laid the problem of *putting an end to war and of overthrowing the yoke of capitalism*. Thus approaches the hour of the decay of capitalism and the communist revolution of the working class.

The first stone was laid by the Russian October Revolution. The reason why capitalism in Russia became disorganized before it did in any other country, was that the burden of the world war was heaviest for the young capitalist State of our country. We had not the monstrous organization of the bourgeoisie which they have in England, Germany or America; and our bourgeoisie could not therefore cope with the demands laid on it by the war. Nor could they withstand the mighty onset of the Russian laboring class and of the poor elements of the peasantry who, in the October days, knocked the bourgeoisie out of their seats and put at the head of the Government the party of the working class—the Communist Bolsheviks.

Sooner or later the same fate will overtake the bourgeoisie of Western Europe, where the working class is joining more and more the ranks of the communists. Everywhere, organizations of native "bolsheviks" are growing; in Austria and America, in Germany and in Norway, in France and in Italy. The programme of the communist party is becoming the programme of the universal proletarian revolution.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL SHARING, OR COOPERATIVE COMMUNIST PRODUCTION

We already know that the root of the evil of all plundering wars, of oppression of the working classes and of all the atrocities of capitalism, is that the world has been enslaved by a few State organized capitalist bands, who own all the wealth of the earth as their private *property*. The capitalist ownership of means of production—this is the reason of reasons which explains the barbarity of the present order of things. To deprive the rich of their power by depriving them of their wealth, by force, that is the paramount duty of the working class, of the Labor Party, the party of communists.

Some think that, after depriving the rich of their possessions, these should be religiously, justly and *equally* divided between everybody, and then all will be well. Everyone, they say, would have just as much as everyone else; all would be equal, and freed from inequality, oppression and exploitation. Thanks to this equal share-out, general division and allotment of all the riches amongst the poor, everybody will look after himself, will own all things convenient for his use, and the domination of man over man will vanish.

But this is not the point of view of the Communist Party. The Communist Party considers that such equal sharing would lead to nothing good, and to no other result than confusion and a return to the old order.

Firstly, there are quite a number of things which are impossible to divide. How, for instance, would you divide the railway? If one man gets the rails, another the steel plate, a third one of the screws, and a fourth begins smashing up the carriages to light his stove, a fifth breaks a mirror, to have a piece of glass for shaving purposes, and so on—it is plain that this kind of division would not be fair at all, and would only lead to an idiotic plundering and *destruction* of useful things. It is just as impossible to divide a machine. For, if one takes a pinion, another a lever, and the rest other parts, the machine will cease to be a machine, and the whole thing will go to ruin. And the same thing holds good with regard to all complicated machinery, which is so important as a means of further production. We have only to think of telegraph and telephone apparatus, and the apparatus at chemical works, etc. It is evident that only an unintelligent man or a direct enemy of the working class would advise this kind of sharing.

This, however, is not the only reason why such a sharing is harmful. Let us suppose that by some kind of miracle, a more or less equal division was attained of everything taken from the rich; even that would not lead to any desirable result in the end. What is the meaning of a division? It means that instead of a few large owners there would spring up a large number of small ones. It means not the *abolition* of private ownership, but its dispersion over a large area. In the place of large ownership there would arise ownership on a small scale. But such a period we have already had in the past. We know very well that capitalism and large capitalists have developed out of the competition between one small owner and another. If we bred a number of small owners as a result of our division, we should get the following result: part of them (and quite a considerable part) would, on the very next day, get rid of their share on some market or other (say the Soukharew Market in Moscow), and their property would thus fall into the hands of wealthier owners; between the remaining ones a struggle would ensue for the buyers, and in this struggle, too, the wealthier ones would soon get the upper hand of the less well-to-do. The latter would soon be ruined and turn into proletarians, and their lucky rivals would amass fortunes, employing men to work for them, and thus be gradually transformed into first-rate capitalists. And so we should, in a very short time, return to the same order which we have just destroyed, and find ourselves once again before the old problem of capitalist exploitation.

Dividing up into small property-holders is not the ideal of the workers or the agricultural laborer. It is rather the dream of the small shopkeeper oppressed by the big one, who wants to become a large shopkeeper himself. How to become a 'boss', how to get hold of as much as possible and retain it in his greedy

clutch—that is what the shopkeeper is aiming at. To think of others and consider what this may result in is not his affair so long as he gets an extra sixpence clinking in his pocket. He is not to be frightened by a possible return to capitalism, for he is cherishing a faint hope that *he himself*, John Smith, may become a capitalist. And that would not be so bad for him.

No; there is an entirely different road along which the working class should go, and is going. The working class is interested in such a reconstruction of society as would make return to capitalism impossible. Sharing of wealth would mean driving capitalism out of the front door only to see it return by the back door. The only way out of this dilemma is a cooperative labor (*communist*) system.

In a communist order, all the wealth belongs not to individuals or classes, but to society as a whole, which becomes, as it were, one great labor association; no one man is master over it. All are equal comrades. There are no classes; capitalists do not employ labor, nor do workers sell their labor to employers. The work is carried out jointly, according to a prearranged labor plan. A central bureau of statistics calculates how much it is required to manufacture in a year; such and such a number of boots, trousers, sausages, blacking, wheat, cloth, and so on. It will also calculate that for this purpose such and such a number of men must work on the fields and in the sausage work respectively, such and such a number in the large communal tailoring workshops, etc., and working hands will be distributed accordingly.

The whole of production is conducted on a strictly calculated and adjusted plan, on the basis of an exact estimate of all the machines, apparatus, all raw material, and all the labor power in the community. There is also an exact account kept of the annual requirements of the community. The manufactured products is stored in communal warehouses, from whence it is distributed amongst the workers. All work is carried out only in the largest works and on the best machines, thereby saving labor. The management of production is conducted along the most economical lines; all unnecessary expenditure is avoided, owing to work being carried out on one general plan of production. We do not have here the kind of order that allows one kind of management in one place and another kind of management in another; or that one factory, for example, should not know how things are done at another factory. Here, on the contrary, the whole world is weighed and accounted for. Cotton is only grown where the soil is most suitable. The production of coal is concentrated in the richest mines; iron foundries are built in the neighborhood of coal and ore; parts where the soil is fit for wheat, will not be employed for building monstrous city edifices, but will be used for sowing wheat. Everything, in short, is arranged in such a manner that each kind of production should be carried out in a place most suitable for it, where work could be done most successfully, where things could be obtained easiest, where human labor would be most productive. All this can be attained only by working on a single plan and by organizing the whole community into one vast labor commune.

People in this *communistic* order do not benefit at one another's expense. There are no rich here, no parvenues, no bosses and no bottom dogs; society is not divided into classes of which one rules over the other. And there being no classes means that there are not two sorts of people (poor and rich), gnashing their teeth against one another, the oppressor against the oppressed, and vice versa. For this same reason we have no such organization as the State, because there is no dominating class requiring a special organization to keep their class opponents under their heel. There is no Government to rule men, and there is no power of one man over another. There is administration of things only, management of machines; there is the power of human society over Nature. Mankind is not divided up into hostile camps; it is united by common labor and by a common struggle against the elements. The political barriers that divide nations are done away with. Separate fatherlands are abolished. The whole of humanity, without distinction of nationality, is bound together in all its parts and organized into one united whole. All peoples form one great united labor association.

CHAPTER IV

AN ANARCHIST OR A COMMUNIST ORDER

There are people who call themselves Anarchists, that is to say, adherents to an order of things where there is no Government. They affirm that the

Bolshevik-Communists are on the wrong path, because they wish to preserve order, and that any kind of power or authority, and any kind of state, means oppression and violence. We have seen that such an opinion of communism is not right. A communist order of life is an order in which there are neither workers nor capitalists, nor any kind of State. The difference between an anarchist and a communist order is not in the fact that there is a State in one and none in the other. No; there is no State in either of them. The real difference is in the following:—

Anarchists think that human life will be better and freer when they subdivide all production into small labor-commune organizations. A group or association, say, of ten men is formed who have united by their own free will. Very well. These ten men begin to work on their own account and at their own risk. In another place there has arisen a similar association; in a third another. In time all these associations enter into negotiations and agreements with one another concerning the things which are lacking in each respective union. Gradually they come to an understanding and "free contracts" or agreements are drawn up.

And now all production is carried on in these small communes. Every man is free at any time to withdraw from the commune, and each commune is free to withdraw from the voluntary union (federation) of these small communes (labor associations). Do anarchists reason rightly? Any worker acquainted with the present system of factory machine production will see that this is not right. Let us explain why.

The future order is meant to save the working class from two evils. In the first place from the subjection of man by man, from exploitation from the evil of one man oppressing another. This is attained by casting off the yoke of capital and depriving the capitalists of all their wealth. But there is yet another problem, that of shaking off the yoke of Nature, of mastering Nature, of organizing production in the best, most perfect way. Only then will it be possible for each man to spend but a little time in the manufacture of food products, boots, clothes, houses, etc., and to spend the rest of his time for developing his mind, for studying science, for art, for all that which makes human life beautiful. Prehistoric man lived in groups in which all were equal. But they led a brutal existence, because they did not subject Nature to themselves, but allowed Nature entirely to subject them. Although with the capitalists *production on a large scale* humanity has learned to control Nature, the working class still live like beasts of burden, because the capitalists hold them in his clutches, owing to the existence of economic inequality. What follows? That economic equality should be united with production on a *large scale*. It is not enough to do away with capitalists. It is indispensable that production should be organized, as we have already said, on a large scale. All small, inefficient enterprises must disappear. The whole work must be concentrated in the largest factories, work and estates. And not in such a way that Tom should not know what John is doing, nor John know what Tom is doing; this kind of management is all wrong. What we want is a united *plan* of work. The more localities such a plan embraces the better. The world must ultimately become one labor enterprise, where the whole of humanity, in accordance with a strictly worked out, estimated and measured plan, would work for its own needs, on the best machines, at the biggest works, without either employers or capitalists. *In order to advance production, we must on no account subdivide the big production which capitalism has left us as a heritage.* It should, on the contrary, be still more *widened*. The wider and larger the general plan, the bigger the scale on which production will be organized, the more will it be guided by the estimates and accounts of the statistical centres. In other words, the more *centralized* industry will be, the better: for then the less labor will fall to the share of each individual, the freer will each man be, the greater the scope for mental development in human society.

But the future state of society propagated by the anarchists is just the opposite of this. Instead of enlarging, centralizing or regulating production, it subdivides it, and consequently *weakens* the domination of man over Nature. There is no general plan, no large organization. Under an anarchist order it will be even impossible to utilize large machines to the fullest extent, to reconstruct railroads, according to a general plan, to undertake irrigation on a big scale. Let us give an example. A great deal is being spoken of substituting steam plant by electricity, and of utilizing waterfalls, etc., for obtaining electric motor power. In order to distribute correctly the electrical energy obtained, it is of course necessary to estimate, weigh and measure where and

how much of this energy is to be directed, so as to derive the greatest possible advantage therefrom. What does that mean, and how is it to be made possible? It is only possible when production is organized on a large scale, when it is concentrated in one or two great centres of management and control. And, on the other hand, it is *impossible* under an anarchist order of small, disseminated communes but loosely held together. In this way we can see that, as a matter of fact, production cannot be properly organized in an anarchist State. This in its turn results in a long working day, i. e., dependence to a great extent on Nature. An anarchist order would only serve as a bridle retarding the progress of humanity. That is why we, communists, are fighting against the teaching spread by the anarchists.

Now it is plain why anarchist propaganda leads to a *sharing* of wealth instead of a communist construction of society. A small anarchist commune is not a vast collaboration of men, but a tiny group, which can even consist of as few as two or three men. At Petrograd there exist such a group—"The Union of Five Oppressed". According to the anarchist teachings it might have been "A Union of *Two* Oppressed". Imagine what would happen if every five men or every couple of men began *independently* to requisition, confiscate, and then start work at their own risk. There are in Russia about a hundred million of the laboring population. If they were to form "unions of five oppressed," we should have in Russia twenty millions of such communes. Imagine what a Babel would ensue if these twenty million little communes began acting independently! What chaos and anarchy we should have! Nor would it be surprising that if such groups began, independently of each other, to usurp the wealth of the rich, nothing but a sharing-out would result. And sharing-out leads, as we have seen above, to the reign of capital all over again, to violence and oppression of the laboring masses.

CHAPTER V

TO COMMUNISM THROUGH PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

How is the communist order to be instituted? How is it to be attained? To this the Communist Party gives the following answer: Through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Dictatorship means a power of iron, a power that shows no mercy to its foes. The dictatorship of the working class means the governing power of the working class, which is to stifle the bourgeoisie and the landowners. Such a government of the workers can only arise out of a Socialist revolution of the working class, which destroys the bourgeois State and bourgeois power, and builds up a new State on the ruins—that of the proletariat itself and of the poorest elements supporting it.

This, in fact, is the reason why we stand for a workers' State, whilst the anarchists are against it. That means to say that we, communists, want a workers' government which we **MUST HAVE PROVISIONALLY, UNTIL THE WORKING CLASS HAS COMPLETELY DEFEATED ITS OPPONENTS, THOROUGHLY DRILLED THE WHOLE OF THE BOURGEOISE, KNOCKED THE CONCEIT OUT OF IT, AND DEPRIVED IT OF THE LAST SHRED OF HOPE EVER TO RISE AGAIN TO POWER.**

And so you, communists, are for force, we may be asked. Certainly, we shall reply. But we are for **REVOLUTIONARY FORCE**. First of all we think that by mere gentle persuasion the working class will never attain anything at all. The road of compromise, as preached by the mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries, will lead nowhere. The working class will achieve liberty in no other way except through a revolution, that is to say, through the overthrow of the power of capitalism, through the destruction of the bourgeois State. But every revolution is a form of violence against former rulers. The March revolution in Russia was force against the oppressors, landlords and the Czar. The October revolution was force, of the workers, peasants and soldiers, against the bourgeoisie. And such force against those who have oppressed millions of the toiling masses is not wrong—it is sacred.

But the working class is compelled to use force against the bourgeoisie even after the bourgeoisie has been overthrown in an open revolutionary fight. For, as a matter of fact, even after the working class have destroyed the government of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie does not cease to exist as a class. It does not vanish altogether. It continues to hope for a return to

the old order, and is therefore ready to form an alliance with anyone, except the victorious working class.

The experience of the Russian revolution of 1917 fully confirms this. In October the working class excluded the bourgeoisie from the government. But, nevertheless, the bourgeoisie was not completely crushed: it acted against the workers, mobilizing all its forces, striving to crush the proletariat again, and to achieve its own ends by hook or by crook. It organized sabotage; that is, counter-revolutionary officials,—clerks, and civil servants who did not wish to be subjected to workmen and peasants, abandoned their posts en masse. It organized the armed forces of Dutoff, Kaledin, Korniloff; it is at present, whilst we are writing these lines, organizing the bands of Esaul Seminoff for a campaign against the Siberian Soviets; and lastly *it is calling to its aid the troops of the foreign bourgeoisie*, German, Japanese, British, etc. Thus the experience of the Russian October revolution teaches us that the working class, even after its victory, is compelled to deal with the mightiest of external foes (the plundering capitalistic States) who are on their way to aid the overthrown bourgeoisie of Russia.

If we seriously consider the whole world at the present time, we shall see that it is only in Russia that the proletariat has succeeded in overthrowing the power of the bourgeois State. The remainder of the world still belongs to big-capital robbers. Soviet Russia, with its worker and peasant Government, is a small island in the midst of a tempestuous capitalist ocean. And even if the victory of the Russian workers is to be followed by a victory of the workers of Austria and Germany, there will still be left big vulture-like capitalist States. If all capitalistic Europe breaks up and fails under the blows of the working class, there will still be left the capitalistic world of Asia, with Japan like a beast of prey at its head. Then we have the capital of America, at the head of which stands the monstrous plundering union called the United States of America. All these capitalist States will not give up their position without a fight. They will fight with all their might to prevent the proletariat from getting possession of the whole world. The mightier the onslaught of the proletariat, the more dangerous the position of the bourgeoisie; the more necessary it becomes for the bourgeoisie to concentrate all its forces in the struggle against the proletariat. The proletariat, having conquered in one, two, or three countries, will inevitably come into collision with the rest of the bourgeois world that will attempt to break by blood and iron the efforts of the class that is fighting for its freedom.

What follows? It follows that *prior* to the establishment of the communist order and *after* the abolition of capitalism, in the interval between capitalism and communism, even after socialistic revolutions in several countries, the working class will have to endure a furious struggle with its inner and external foes. And for such a struggle a strong, wide, well-constructed organization is required, having at its disposal, all the means of fighting. An organization of this kind is the *Proletarian State*, the power of the workers. The proletarian State, similar to other States, is an organization of the dominant class (the dominating class is here the working class), and an organization of *force over the bourgeoisie*, as a means of putting an end to the bourgeoisie and getting rid of it.

He who is afraid of this kind of force is not a revolutionist. The question of force should not be regarded from the point of view that every kind of force is pernicious. The force practised by the rich against the poor, by capitalists toward workers—such force acts against the working class and aims at supporting and strengthening capitalistic plunder. But the force of workers against the bourgeoisie aims at freeing millions of working men from slavery; it means redemption from the rod of capital, from plundering wars, from savage looting and destruction of all that mankind has been building up and accumulating for ages and ages. That is why, in the making of revolution and the forming of a communist order, the iron rule of a proletarian dictatorship is indispensable.

It should be clear to everyone, that during the transition period, the working class will have to (and must now) strain all its energy in order to emerge victorious in the battle with its numerous enemies, and that no other organization can defeat the enemies of the working class except one that embraces the working class and the poorer peasantry of the whole country. How is it possible to ward off foreign imperialists unless one holds in one's hands government power and an army? How is it possible to fight against counter-revolution unless one holds in one's hands arms (as a means of coercion), prisons for

confining counter-revolutionaries (a means of coercion), and other means of force and subjection? How is it possible to make capitalists conform to the workers' control, requisition, etc., if the working class possesses no means for compelling others to obey? Of course some may say that a few "Unions of Five Oppressed" would be sufficient. That is nonsense.

The peculiarities of a *transition* period call for the necessity of a Workers' State. For even when the bourgeois will be defeated all over the world, accustomed as it is to idleness, and imbued with feelings of hostility towards the workers, it will do its best to avoid work, to try and injure the proletariat in every way. The bourgeois must be made to serve the people. Only an authorized government and compulsory measures can do that.

In backward countries like Russia there still exists a multitude of small and medium property-holders, sweaters, usurers, and land-grabbers. All these are against the poorest elements of the rural population and still more against the town laborers. They follow in the wake of big capital and of the ex-state owners. It is needless to say that the workers and the poorest of the peasants must crush them should they rise against the revolution. The workers have got to think how to organize a new plan of work, systematize the work of production taken out of the hands of the manufacturers, help the peasants to organize rural economy and a fair distribution of bread, manufactured goods, iron products, and so on. But the sweater-land-grabber, grown fat on the war, is stubborn; he does not intend to act in the common interest. "I am my own master", he says. The workers and the poor elements of the peasantry must compel him to obey just in the same way as they are compelling the big capitalists to obey; the ex-landlords and ex-generals and officers.

The more precarious the position of the workers' revolution is, and the more enemies it is surrounded by, the more ruthless should be the workers' government, the heavier should be the hand of the revolutionary workers and of the poorest elements of the peasantry, and the more energetic should be the dictatorship. State government in the hands of the working class is an axe held in readiness against the bourgeoisie. In a Communist order, when the bourgeoisie has ceased to exist, and with it class divisions and every kind of external as well as internal danger, then the axe will be needed no longer. But in the transition period, when the enemy is still showing his fangs, and is ready to drown the whole working class in a sea of blood (let us recall to mind the shooting of the Finnish workmen, the executions at Kiev, executions of workmen and peasants all over the Ukraine and in Lithuania!), and we will agree that to go unarmed, to act without this axe of State government, would be an act of folly.

Two parties are clamouring against the dictatorship of the working class. On the one side are the Anarchists; these, being against every kind of government, are therefore against the government of the workers and peasants. To these we can say, "If you are against the workers using means of force *against the bourgeoisie*, then get you to a convent!"

On the other side, against the dictatorship of the workers we have the Mensheviks and the Right Socialist Revolutionaries (though they were themselves formerly in favor of it). These are against encroaching upon the liberty. . . . of the bourgeoisie. They are backing up the purse-proud bourgeois to get for him that which he once possessed, and enable him peacefully to saunter along the Nevsky Prospect in Petrograd or the Tverskaya to Moscow, etc. They maintain that the working class is "not yet ripe" for a dictatorship. To them we can say, "You, sirs, defenders of the bourgeoisie, go to the bourgeoisie whom you love so much, but leave the working class and the poor peasantry alone!"

Just because the Communist Party is an adherent of the most rigid iron dictatorship of the workers over capitalists—small sweaters, late landowners, and all other similar delightful relics of the old bourgeois order—it is for that very reason the extremest and most revolutionary of all existing groups and parties. "Through a mercilessly firm government of the workers, through a proletarian dictatorship—to Communism!" This is the war-cry of our party. *And the programme of our party is the programme of proletarian dictatorship.*

CHAPTER VI

A SOVIET GOVERNMENT OR A BOURGEOIS REPUBLIC?

Our attitude towards the necessity of dictatorship leads us, as an inevitable result, both to our struggle against an antiquated form of a parliamentary bourgeois republic (sometimes called "democratic"), and to our attempts at

setting up instead a new form of State administration—a *government of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies*.

The mensheviks and the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries are staunch supporters of the Constituent Assembly and a parliamentary republic. They loudly abuse the government of the Soviets. And why? First, because they are afraid of the power of the workers, and desire to retain all power in the hands of the bourgeoisie. But the communists who are striving to realize the communist (socialist) order must inevitably fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie. That is where the difference lies. And for this very reason the parties of mensheviks and socialist revolutionaries are at one with the party of the bourgeoisie.

What is the essential difference between a parliamentary republic and a republic of soviets? It is, that in a soviet republic the non-working elements are deprived of the franchise and take no part in administrative affairs. The country is governed by Soviets, which are elected by the toilers in the places where they work, as factories, works, workshops, mines and in villages and hamlets. The bourgeoisie, ex-landowners, bankers, speculating traders, merchants, shopkeepers, usurers, the Korniloff intellectuals, priests and bishops, in short the whole of the black host have no right to vote, no fundamental political rights. The foundation of a parliamentary republic is formed by the Constituent Assembly, while the supreme organ of the Soviet Republic is the Convention of Soviets. What is the principal difference between the Convention of Soviets and the Constituent Assembly? Anybody with the least intelligence can easily answer this question. Although the mensheviks and the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries do, as a matter of fact, try to muddle things by inventing various pompous names such as, for instance, "Master of the Russian Land," still truth will out. The Constituent Assembly differs from the Convention of Soviets inasmuch as into the former are elected not only the laborers, but also the bourgeoisie and all the bourgeois hangers-on. It consequently differs from the Convention of Soviets in that in the Constituent Assembly may sit not only workers and peasants, but also bankers, landowners and capitalists; not only the labor party (the communists), not only the left wing of socialist revolutionaries, and even not only the socialist traitors such as the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries, but also the constitutional democrats (the party of traitors to the people), the Black Hundred and the Octobrists. This is the crowd for whom these honorable compromisers are demanding enfranchisement. When they clamor for the necessity of a "popular," "all-national" Constituent Assembly, they do not consider the Soviets as all-national, because the *Russian bourgeoisie* is lacking to complete the full representation of the Russian people. To supplement working-class representation with this crowd of parasites, to give these enemies of the people all rights, to give them seats next to themselves in parliament, to transform the class government of workers and peasants into a class government of the bourgeoisie under the pretext of admitting all nationalities—this is the task of the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries, of the mensheviks, of the constitutional democrats, in a word of big capital and its petty bourgeois agents. The experience of all countries shows that where the bourgeoisie enjoy all the rights, it invariably deceives the working class and the poorest peasantry.

By holding the press, newspapers and magazines firmly in its grasp, possessing as it does vast riches, bribing officials, exploiting the services of hundreds of thousands of their agents, threatening and intimidating the more downtrodden of their slaves the bourgeoisie succeed in preventing power from slipping from their hands. At first sight it appears as if the whole nation were voting, but in reality this screen is used by domineering financial capital, which arranges matters to suit itself, and even boasts of "allowing the people to vote" and of preserving all kinds of "democratic liberties." This is the reason why, in all countries where there is a bourgeois republic (take, for instance, France, Switzerland, and the United States), notwithstanding universal suffrage, the power is completely concentrated in the hands of the leading bankers. And so we see why the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries and the mensheviks are striving to overthrow the power of the Soviets and to summon the "Constituent Assembly." In granting votes to the bourgeoisie they intend to prepare for a transition to a similar order of things as exists in France and America. They consider that the Russian workers are not "ripe" to hold the government in their own hands. But the party of the communists-bolsheviks, on the contrary, holds that dictatorship of the workers is essential at the present moment and that there can be no talk whatever of any transfer of government. The bourgeoisie must be deprived of every possibility of deceiving the people. The

bourgeoisie must be set aside and firmly prevented from taking any part in the government of the country, because the present is the time of acute struggle. We must strengthen and widen the dictatorship of the workers and the poorer elements of the peasantry. That is why the State government of Soviets is indispensable. Here we have no bourgeoisie whatever, and no landowners. Here the State is governed by the organizations of workers and peasants which have grown up together with the revolution and have borne the whole burden of the great struggle on their own shoulders.

But this is not enough. An ordinary republic does not only represent the power of the bourgeoisie. A republic of this kind can never, by reason of its composition, become inspired with the spirit of the workers party. In a parliamentary republic every citizen hands in his vote once in every four or five years, and there his part in this matter ends. All the rest is left to deputies, ministers and presidents, who manage everything. There is no connection whatever with the masses. The masses of the laboring people are only tools exploited by the officials of the bourgeoisie, taking no real part in the government.

Quite a different matter is a Soviet republic, corresponding to a dictatorship of the workers. Here the whole administration is based on an entirely different principle. A Soviet government is not an organization of officials independent of the masses and dependent on the bourgeoisie. The Soviet government and its organs are supported by general organizations of the working class and the peasantry. Trade unions, works and factories committees, local soviets of workmen and peasants, soldiers' and sailors' organizations—all these support the central Soviet Government. From the Central Soviet Government thousands and millions of threads spread in all directions: first these threads go to district and provincial Soviets, then to the town Soviets, from these to the township Soviets, from these again to the factories and works, uniting hundreds of thousands of workers. All the higher institutions of the Soviet Government are organized on the same lines. Take, for instance, the Supreme Council for Public Economy. It is composed of representatives of central committees of trade unions, of factories and works committees, and other organizations. Trade unions in their turn unite whole branches of production; they have branches in various towns and are supported by the organized masses at factories and works. To-day at every factory there is a factory and works committee, which is elected by the workers of that factory; these factory and works' committees being again united. And these, too, send their representatives to the Supreme Council for Public Economy, which draws up economic plans and directs production. Thus, here, too, the central organ of the control of industry is composed of representatives of workers, and is supported by mass organizations of the working class and of the poorest elements of the peasantry. This, then, is an entirely different plan from that of a bourgeois republic. The bourgeoisie is not only deprived of rights, and there is not only a question of the country being governed by representatives of workers and peasants. The great thing is that the Soviets govern the country, keeping in constant touch with the large unions of the workers and peasants, and thus the wide masses are all the time taking part in the administration of the Workers' and Peasants' Government. In this way each organized workman exercises his influence. He takes part in the government of the state not only by electing trusted representatives once a month or two. No. The trade unions, say, work out a plan for organizing production; these plans are then considered by the Soviets or by the Council for Public Economy, and then, if they are practicable they obtain the full force of law, after being approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets. Any given trade union, any works' and factories' committee, can in this way take a part in the general work of creating a new order of life. In a bourgeois republic the more indifferent the masses are, the happier is the government, because the interests of the masses are opposed to those of the capitalist state. If, for instance, the masses of the United States should take matters into their own hands—that would mean the end of the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois State is based on the deception of the masses, keeping them half-awake, by the method of depriving them of any active part in the everyday work of the state, by summoning them once every few years "to vote", and by deceiving them with their own vote. It is entirely different thing in a Soviet republic. The Soviet republic, embodying the dictatorship of the masses, cannot even for a minute tear itself away from these masses. Such a republic is the stronger in proportion to the greater activity and energy manifested by the masses and the more work accomplished at works and factories, in the towns

and in the provinces. It is not a matter of mere chance, therefore, that the Soviet Government in issuing its decrees addresses the masses with the demand that the workers and poorest peasants themselves should carry these decrees into execution. That is why the significance of various workers' and peasants' organizations entirely changed after the October revolution. At first they were weapons of class struggle against the governing capitalists and landowners. Take, for example, the trade unions and some small peasants' Soviets. At first they were compelled to carry on a struggle for higher pay and a shorter working day in the towns, and for depriving the landowners of the land in the rural districts. At the present time, when the government is in the hands of the workers and the peasants, these organizations are becoming wheels in the machinery of state government. At present, the trade unions are not only fighting with the capitalists, but are taking an active part in the organization of production, as organs of a labor government, as part of the Soviet State, in the *administration* of industry; and in the same way the village and peasants' Soviets not only have to carry on a war with village sharks or sweaters, with the capitalists and landowners, but are also working to establish a new land system; that is to say, they have the *administration* of the land in their hands as organs of a workers' and peasants' government; they are as screws and nuts in the huge machine of state administration, where the power is in the hands of the workmen and peasants.

In this way, through the workers' and peasants' organizations, the widest sections of the laboring masses have been gradually called to the work of government. There is nothing like this in any other country. Nowhere but in Russia has the victory of the working class and the establishment of a workers' government yet been achieved; no other country has yet a *proletarian dictatorship*, nor a *Soviet Republic*, nor a *Soviet* state.

It is very clearly understood that the Soviet Government corresponding to the proletarian dictatorship, does not suit those groups of the population that are interested in a return to capitalist slavery, instead of going ahead to a communist order. It is also clear that they cannot possibly say frankly and openly, "we want the whip and the stick for the workers."

Here, too, a certain amount of deceit is required. Such *deceit* is the specialty of the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries and of the mensheviks who are shouting about "a struggle for a democratic republic," about the Constituent Assembly, which they declare will save us from all evils, and so on. But as a matter of fact the real question here is to *transfer the government to the bourgeoisie*. And in this fundamental question no agreement can possibly be arrived at between us, communists, and the various mensheviks, right wing socialist revolutionaries, the followers of the "Novaya Zhizn," and the rest of that fraternity. They stand for capitalism, whilst we stand for a movement towards Communism. They—for a government of the bourgeoisie, we—for a dictatorship of the workers; they—for a parliamentary bourgeois republic, where capital will reign, we—for a Soviet Socialist Republic where all the power belongs to the workers and the poorest elements of the peasantry.

Until the present time, prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917, the dictatorship of the proletariat was only written about. But no one seemed to have quite a clear idea as to how this dictatorship was to be realized. The Russian Revolution evolved the actual form of the dictatorship—that of the Soviet Republic. And therefore, at the present moment, the best sections of the international proletariat are inscribing on their banners the motto of a Soviet republic and of a Soviet government. And therefore, too, our task now consists in strengthening the Soviet government by all the means in our power, and in clearing it of various undesirable elements, in attracting to the task of reconstruction a greater number of capable comrades, elected by the working and peasant masses. Only such a government, a government of the Soviets, a government of the workers and peasants, is what the workers and peasants can and should defend.

Should our workers and peasants suffer defeats, should the Constituent Assembly be really summoned, should the place of the Government of the Soviets be taken by an ordinary bourgeois republic after the manner of the French and American Republic, then the worker should not only not be under any obligation to defend it, but should make it the task of his life to overthrow such a republic. For it is his duty to defend the government of the workers and not the government of the bourgeoisie. With regard to the government of the bourgeoisie, he has but one obligation, and that is to overthrow it.

CHAPTER VII

FREEDOM FOR THE WORKING CLASS AND THE POOREST ELEMENTS OF THE PEASANTRY;
RESTRICTIONS FOR THE BOURGEOISIE

(Freedom of Speech, Press, Unions, Meetings, etc., in the Soviet Republic)

Since we have a dictatorship of workers and peasants whose aim is to crush the bourgeoisie completely and to put down any attempt at reviving the bourgeois government, it is plain that there can be no question of freedom, in the wide sense of the word, for the bourgeoisie, just as there can be no question of allowing the bourgeoisie the right of franchise, nor of transforming the Soviet Government into a republican bourgeois parliament.

The party of the Communists (bolsheviks) are overwhelmed on all sides by shouts of indignation and even threats: "You stop newspapers, you make arrests, you prohibit meetings, you suppress the freedom of speech and of press, you revive despotism, you are violators and murderers," and much more to the same effect. It is this question of "freedom" in the Soviet Republic that should be thoroughly discussed in detail.

First of all, let us take an example. When the revolution broke out in March of last year (1917), Tzarist ministers were arrested (Sturmer, Protopopoff and others). Did anyone protest? No! And yet these arrests, just as any other arrests, were an infringement of *personal freedom*. Why was this infringement universally approved? And why do we still say at the present moment: "Yes, that was the right thing to do?" Simply because it was the arrest of dangerous counter-revolutionaries. And in a revolution, more than at any other time, we should remember the eleventh Commandment: "Be on the look out!" If you are not, if you set all the enemies of the people free, if you do not keep them under control, there will be nothing left to remember the revolution by!

Another example. When Sturmer and Goremikin were being arrested, the Black Hundred press was closed. This was a deliberate infringement of the *freedom of the press*. Was it justifiable? Most certainly! And no reasonable being will dispute that this was just what should have been done. And why? Again, because at a time of revolution, when there is a life and death struggle going on, the enemy should be deprived of his weapons. And the press is such a weapon.

Prior to the October revolution, several Black Hundred societies ("The Two-Headed Eagle" and a few others) were closed down at Kiev. This was an infringement of the *freedom of association*. But it was the right thing to do, because the revolution cannot permit the free organization of unions against the revolution.

When Korniloff was advancing on Petrograd, a number of generals struck, refusing to obey the orders of the Provincial Government. They declared they would support Korniloff to the last. Was it possible to *sanction such freedom of generals' strikes*? Surely for such strikes the Black Hundred generals should have been subjected to the severest punishment.

What does all this mean? We see now that infringement of freedom is necessary with regard to the *opponents of the revolution*. At a time of revolution we cannot allow freedom for the enemies of the people and of the revolution. That is a sure, clear, irrefutable conclusion.

After March and before October neither the mensheviks nor the right socialist revolutionaries, nor the bourgeoisie, once raised their voices against the usurpation of power by violence in March, or against the suppression of freedom (of the Black Hundred press), or speech (Black Hundred), etc. They never once raised their voices against all this, because it was carried out by the bourgeoisie, Goutchkoff, Milukoff, Rodzianko, and Tereschenko, and their loyal servants Kerenky and Tzeretelli, who had usurped power in March.

By October things had changed. In October the workers rose *against* the bourgeoisie who had trodden upon their necks in March. In October the peasants supported the workers. It clearly follows that the bourgeoisie grew to hate the workers' revolution, and in its mad hatred behaved no better than the landowners.

All the large property owners united against the working class and the poorest peasantry. They gathered around the so-called party of the people's freedom (in reality the party of the people's treason) against the people.

And it is easy enough to understand that when the people succeed in getting the upper hand over their enemies the latter, in impotent fury, cry, "usurpers," "violators," and so on.

The following is now clear to the workers and peasants. The party of the Communists not only allows no freedom (such as liberty of the press, speech, meetings, unions, etc.) for the *bourgeois enemies of the people*, but goes still further and demands of the government to be always ready to close the bourgeois press, to break up gatherings of the enemies of the people to forbid their lying and libeling, and sowing panic; the party must mercilessly suppress all attempts of the bourgeoisie to return to power. And this is what is meant by *dictatorship of the proletariat*.

When there is a question of the press, we first ask *which* press—the bourgeois or the workers' press; when there is a question of gatherings, we ask *what* gatherings—workers' or counter-revolutionary; when a question arises of strikes, the first question for us is whether it is a strike of the workers against the capitalists, or a sabotage instigated by the bourgeoisie or the bourgeois intellectuals against the proletariat. He who makes no distinction between these two things is groping in the dark. The press, meetings, unions, etc., are weapons of class struggle. And in a revolutionary epoch they are the weapons of *civil war*, together with munition stores, machine guns, powder and bombs. The great question is: which class is using them as a weapon against the other. The workers revolution cannot possibly grant freedom for the organization of such risings as those of Korniloff, Dutoff, or Milukoff against the working masses. Neither can it allow full freedom of organization, of speech, press, and of meetings of the counter-revolutionary bands who are stubbornly carrying on their own policy, and only lying in wait for a chance of throwing themselves upon the workers.

As we have already seen, the right wing socialist revolutionaries and mensheviks, declaring their motto to be "the Constituent Assembly," are only anxious for votes for the *bourgeoisie*. And just in the same way when they violently abuse destruction of freedom they are anxious for the freedom of the *bourgeoisie*. The bourgeois press, bourgeois leaders, the counter-revolutionary bourgeois organizations are not to be touched—this is the real position of these gentlemen.

But, they will say, you yourselves used to close both menshevik and socialist revolutionary newspapers; the party of the Communists has more than once encroached on the liberty of worthy individuals, who in their time (in the reign of the Tzar) suffered imprisonment. How can we justify that? This question may be answered by another: when Goltz, the right wing socialist revolutionary, organized a rising of Junkers and officers against the soldiers and the workers—what were we to do? Pat him on the head for it? When Roundneff, the right wing socialist revolutionary together with colonel Rjabtzeff, the right wing socialist revolutionary, in October armed the Moscow White Guards, consisting of the sons of the bourgeoisie, houseowners, and other gentry, the gilded youth, and in union with the officers and junkers tried to suppress by machine guns and drown in blood the October rising of workers and soldiers—what could we do? Decorate them with medals for their feats? When the menshevik organ "Forward" (which ought really to be named "Backward") and the socialist revolutionist "Labor" lied to the Moscow workers at the critical moment of the struggle, that Kerensky had taken Petrograd (which they did to break up the unanimity of the workers), were we expected to praise them for these provocatory tricks?

What follows from all this? It follows that when the socialist traitors and socialist traitors' organs begin to serve the bourgeoisie too fervently, or when they cease to differ in their line of action from the Black Hundred cadet organizers of pogroms—then they should and must be treated in the same way as their beloved teachers and benefactors. At the present moment there are many such, who, although having fought against the Tzar and landowners, now cry at the top of their voice when the workers seize the wealth of the bourgeoisie. For what they have done in the past we render them our thanks. But if at the present moment they do not in any way differ from the Black Hundred horde, then they can hardly expect us to encourage them.

But whilst the bourgeoisie and all the other enemies of the proletariat and poorest peasantry require a bridle to restrain them, the proletariat and peasantry, on the other hand, need complete freedom of speech, of association, and of the press, etc., not only in word, but in fact. Never, under any government, was there such a number of workers' and peasants' organizations as there are now

in the Soviet Government. Never did any government support such a vast number of workers' and peasants' organizations as does the Soviet Government. This is because the Soviet Government is the government of workers and peasants themselves, and it is no wonder therefore that such a government supports all other working class organizations as far as it lies in its power. We repeat, the Communists carry all this freedom into effect instead of merely proclaiming it before the world. Here is a little example: the freedom of the workers' press. Under the pressure of the working class even the bourgeoisie might agree to a greater or smaller amount of freedom for the workers' press. But the workers have no means; all the printing works are in the hands of the capitalists. Paper is in the hands of the capitalists, who have bought up everything. The workers have the right to a free press, but they are unable to make use of it. We, Communists, on the other hand, approach the owners of printing works and of paper works, and we say to them: "the proletarian government is about to confiscate your works and declare them to be the property of the workers' and peasants' government, and to place them at the disposal of the workers"; let them now put their right to a free press into execution. Of course the capitalists will set up a howl at such proceedings, but it is the only way to attain real freedom of the workers' press.

Another question may be put to us: why did the bolsheviks never before speak of the complete destruction of the freedom of the bourgeois press? Why were they formerly on the side of a bourgeois democratic republic? Why did they themselves side with the Constituent Assembly without ever expressing themselves in favor of depriving the bourgeoisie of the franchise? In a word, why have they changed their attitude now in connection with these questions?

The reason is very simple. The working class at that time was not yet powerful enough to storm the bourgeois fortress. It needed time to prepare, to gather strength, to enlighten the masses, to organize.

It lacked, for instance, a press of its own uninfluenced by the capitalist class. But it could not come to the capitalists and their government and demand: "close your newspapers. Messrs Capitalists, and start newspapers for us workers." They would be laughed at; it would be ridiculous to put such demands to capitalists. It would be equivalent to expecting the latter to cut their hands off with their own knife. Such demands are only made when a position is being taken by storm. Previously there was no such time. And that is why the working class (and our party) said: "Long live freedom of the press (the whole press, the bourgeois press included)!" Or take another instance. It is evident that employers' associations, such as throw workers on the street, keep black lists, etc. These are very harmful to the working class. But the working class could not demand the suppression of employers' associations and full liberty for labor union. To do this it was necessary first to destroy the capitalist government, and the workers were not strong enough to do that. That is why at that time our party demanded the freedom of association (not only workmen's), but unions in general.

Now times have changed. There is no question now of a lengthy preparation for the battle: we are now living in the period after storm, in the period after the first great victory over the bourgeoisie. Now there is only one other problem before the working class: to finally and irretrievably *break up* the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

That is why the working class, acting in the name of the liberation of the whole of humanity from the atrocities and terrors of capitalism, must carry out this task to a definite end and with unswerving firmness. No indulgence for the bourgeoisie and no leniency—but complete liberty and the possibility of realizing this liberty, to the working class and poorest peasants.

CHAPTER VIII

BANKS, THE COMMON PROPERTY OF THE WORKERS. NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS

We have seen above that the cause of all evils in a capitalist society lies in the fact that all the means of production belong to the landowners and capitalists. We have also seen that the only way out of this is to take the means of production out of the hands of the capitalist class (whether they be individual capitalists, or trusts, or a bourgeois State) and to transfer them into the hands of the working class. This can be done and is being done, now that the workers and peasants possess such a strong weapon as is their Workers' Soviet Government.

It is perfectly understood that the first thing to be done in this direction is to deprive capital of its most essential and most important means of control; to take the principal economic fortresses of capital. The second is to begin with that which is not only easier to take, but easier also to organize and have control and account over, and which can be arranged in the smoothest way. We already know that the task of the working class and the poor peasantry does not consist in depriving the rich of their wealth, distributing this wealth among themselves, robbing and sharing the spoils. No: it consists in constructing society on the basis of labor, working according to a definite plan, and organizing the production and distribution of products. Hence it follows that the working class must first of all take possession of those organizations which have up till now existed only for the profit of the capitalist, and divert them to their own uses, putting them on a different footing, thus making them serve not capitalists and landowners, not speculators and sharks, but the laboring mass.

That is why our party has put forward the demand (since carried into execution) for the *nationalization of banks*, that is to say, for the transfer of banks into the hands of the workers' and peasants' Government.

It is generally believed that the chief significance of banks lies in the fact that their vaults are packed with piles of gold and heaps of paper money and valuables, for which reason the Communists are so eager to get the banks. But in reality this is not the case.

Modern banks are not only filled with money bags. Banks as a matter of fact, represent the *pinnacle of capitalist organization which rules industry*. The industrial capitalists make profits uninterruptedly, and capital flows to them in a continuous stream. What does the capitalist do with the profit acquired? A part of it is saved for eating, drinking and dissipation. Another part, considerably larger, is saved for extending his business at any given moment: he can only do so when a large enough "balance" has accumulated, a sum big enough, let us say, to build a new factory or set up a new plant. Until that happens he deposits his money into the bank so as not to have "dead" capital on his hands. He deposits it and gets definite interest on it. The question now is, does this capital remain in the bank, increasing *there* of itself? Certainly not. The bank transacts business with this money. It either establishes enterprises, or shares purchases in enterprises just being formed. The dividend it obtains on its shares are considerably higher than the sums it pays to its clients.

The difference goes to form the profit of the bank. This difference accumulates, is again involved in transactions, and in this way the capital of the bank increases. Gradually the banks become the real heads of industrial enterprises; some enterprises are entirely owned by them, others, only partly. Experience has shown that it is enough to own thirty or forty per cent. of the total shares to become practically the controller of the whole enterprise. And that is what really happens. For instance, two banks manage and direct the entire industry of America. In Germany four banks hold in their hands the whole economic life of the country. The same thing to a certain extent held good for Russia. The great majority of big enterprises in Russia were limited companies.

Russian banks, too, were the owners of a large number of shares of these enterprises, so that the limited companies were in the closest union and in complete dependence on the banker—were, in fact, under their heel. Seeing that one bank rules over many industrial enterprises, it is evident that a number of the largest banks are in reality the main directors of industry, the centre as it were, in which the threads of various enterprises meet. That is why *confiscating the banks*, depriving private persons of control over banks, and transferring them into the hands of the workers' and peasants' government, in a word, the nationalization of banks, should become a question of paramount importance to the working class. In response to this, the bourgeoisie, together with its press and the rest of its suite, have, of course, raised the cry of alarm: "the bolsheviks are robbers! The bolsheviks are thieves! Do not allow them to plunder the national wealth and the national savings!" But the reason for all this clamor is self-evident: the bourgeoisie felt that the nationalization of banks was a transfer to the working class of the main fortress of capitalistic society—and therefore the first decisive step towards the destruction of their gain and exploitation. Once the proletariat has laid its hand on the banks, that means that it has already taken into its hands to a great extent *the reins of industry*.

On the other hand, it is not hard to see that without the nationalization of banks it would have been impossible to weaken the power of the capitalist in works and factories. The modern factory depends on the bank; either the

bank simply owns the whole factory or a part of its shares. In some cases it allows the factory credit in one form or another. Let us now suppose that the workmen of a certain factory have taken everything under their own control. If the bank of the factory is a private concern belonging to the bourgeoisie, the whole factory must stop work; it will simply be informed by the bank that there will be no further credit. And that is equivalent to cutting off a fortress from supplies. Under such conditions the workers would inevitably have to surrender and bow the knee to the master. That means, that in nationalizing the banks the Soviet Government simultaneously acquires the power of directing and managing finance, and various bonds and certificates which serve as substitutes for money; and thereby the bank, instead of hindering the transfer of industry into the hands of the working class, on the contrary lends its assistance in such transfer. The power that in the hands of the bankers was directed against the workers, now under these new circumstances becomes a power helping the working class, and directed against the *capitalists*.

The next task consists in uniting the different and formerly private banks into our national bank, to unite the work of the banks or, as it is called, to *centralize the banking business*. In that case the transfer of industry into the hands of the working class would convert the national bank into the principle counting house; an institution affecting mutual "payments" between different enterprises and separate branches of production. Let us suppose that the coal, steel, and iron industries depended on the Central bank. Each one of these has to utilize the products of the others; the steel foundries must receive their coal from the coal mines, the steel works must get their steel from the foundries, and so on. It is evident that since all these enterprises depend entirely upon the bank, all kinds of "payments" can be settled by the mere transfer of accounts; banks become simply counting houses for central book-keeping, where the relations between the various sections of industry are made clear. In accordance with these relationships the banks support ("finance") industry, supporting it with financial supplies.

Ultimately should we be successful in duly organizing the whole business (and that is what our party and the Soviet Government, at the head of which our party stands, is striving for) it would result in the following state of things: they are united by means of central national banks, at which the threads of the separate enterprises meet, grouped according to their respective specialties. The bank keeps an exact account of these enterprises and of all transactions effected between them which mutually counterbalance as one branch of production supplies products for another. In the bank, the book-keeping department of communal production, the general position of production is in this manner neglected. The centralized and nationalized banking business (that is to say, the united banking business that is in the hands of the workers' and peasants' State) is converted into a *communal book-keeping department of the socialist co-operative production*.

CHAPTER IX

INDUSTRY TO BELONG TO THE WORKING CLASS. (NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY)

Although the most important step towards obtaining the means of production from the hands of exploiters is, as we have seen above, the proletarian nationalization of banks, nevertheless, if industry, in factories and works, the power of the capitalists will still be maintained, no very desirable results would have been achieved. These enterprises would draw such sums as they required from the bank, and the capitalists would calmly go on exploiting their workers, and would even manage to beg for State subsidies to be spent on all kinds of things. And therefore a transition to a Communist order, which is unattainable without the nationalization of banks, is just as unattainable without the proletarian nationalization of all large industrial enterprises.

In this direction, too, the working class and our party are taking such steps to enable us not only to break with the old, taking the reins of production out of the hands of capitalists, but to create a new standard of relations. That is why the nationalization of industry must begin with large enterprises, namely, in the first place with the so-called syndicate.

What is syndicated industry (industries united in syndicates)? Syndicates are huge industrial combines. When capitalist owners of various enterprises see that it is not worth their while to compete for each others clients, and that it is far more profitable to form a close union for the purpose of jointly fleecing the public, they organize syndicates or still closer combines of manufacturers,

namely—trusts. When promoters are not united in such unions, each one tries to bring down the prices of his rival; each one wishes to win over his competitor's client, and this can only be done if he sells goods cheaper, thus ultimately ruining his rival, who is unable to withstand the competition. This sort of struggle between the rich manufacturers invariably leads to the ruin of the smaller man; the big sharks of capitalism and the richest manufacturers come out victorious. Let us now suppose that in some one branch of industry (say the metallurgic) three or four big firms remain. If one of them is stronger it carries on the struggle until the rest are ruined. But supposing that their powers are approximately the same, then it is evident that a mutual struggle is fruitless: it will result in the exhaustion of all the rivals to an equal extent. In such cases we generally see an attempt to come to an understanding; they organize a union of these enterprises and make an agreement not to sell their goods below a fixed price; they distribute the orders among themselves, or appoint one firm to do business in one part of the country and another firm in another; in a word, they amicably divide the market between themselves. As the firms united into a syndicate usually supply much more than half products required for a given area, that means that the syndicate dominates over the market, and that the directors of the syndicates can fix very high prices and fleece their buyers like sheep. But once they join a union it is natural that they are compelled to form a joint board of management for the formerly separate enterprises and to keep a strict account of all the goods produced, to organize the distribution of orders, in a word, they are compelled to organize production. Not for the people, not for the sake of the buyer's advantage. Oh, no! Only for their own profits and gains, and for the sake of overcharging the worker and fleecing the buyer; that is the real purpose for which capitalists form their unions.

It has now been made clear why the working class must first of all proceed to nationalize those branches of production which are syndicated. It is because such branches have already been organized by the capitalists, and such production, even when organized by capitalists, is easiest to deal with. It is, of course, necessary somewhat to modify the capitalist organizations, ridding them of the most obdurate enemies of the working class; we must strengthen the position of the workers in such a way that everything should be subjected to the workers; and, in the process, abolish certain things altogether. Even a child can understand why such companies are easiest to conquer. Here the same thing is repeated as in the case of Government railroads; being organized by a bourgeois Government, their management was, for that very reason, worked on a principle of *centralization*, and it was easier for the Workers' Government to take them into its own hands.

In Western Europe (especially in Germany) and in the United States of America, practically the whole of production during the time of the war has fallen into the hands of the plundering bourgeois Government. The bourgeoisie decided that it would never attain a victory unless the war was conducted in accordance with the latest dictates of science. And modern warfare demands not only expenditure of money, but necessitates all production to be organized for the purpose of the war, a strict account being registered of everything, so that there be no waste and all things be correctly distributed. All this is possible when there is a central united management. It is needless to say that production is not organized for the benefit of the working class, but only for the purpose of conducting the war and of affording the bourgeoisie still more chances of enriching themselves. No wonder, then, that at the head of this system of penal servitude there stand generals, bankers, and the greatest exploiters. Nor is it surprising that the working class in those countries are oppressed and turned into white slaves or serfs. But, on the other hand, if the workers there succeed in shattering the machinery of the bourgeois State, it will be quite easy for them to take possession of the means of production and arrange it on a new plan; they will have to drive the generals and bankers out, and put their own men everywhere; but they will be able to use that apparatus for checking and control that has been created for them by the vultures of capitalism. That is why it is infinitely harder for the Western European workers to *begin* destroying the most powerful of bourgeois States, but it will be also much easier to conclude the task, having at their disposal the means of production organized by the bourgeoisie.

The Russian bourgeoisie, seeing that its power was not very secure, and that the proletariat was near a victory, was afraid to start decisively along the road traced by the Western European bourgeoisie. It understood that, together with the Government power, organized production would fall into

the hands of the working class. And therefore the Russian bourgeoisie did not care to improve its organization, but, on the contrary, strove to disorganize, and at the time of Kerensky, had recourse to sabotage as a means of ruining production.

However it is to be noted that, even prior to the war, in Russia, partly owing to foreign capital, the most important spheres of industry were already syndicated. This especially applies to the so-called heavy branches of industry (coal mining, metallurgic industry, etc.). It is this heavy industry that must be nationalized first (and this is already being done: production in the Ural district, for instance, being practically entirely nationalized). After that, *the whole of big production* should be nationalized. Together with the transfer of big industry into the hands of the Workers' Government, the less important industries will also become dependent on the Government, because very many lesser industries depended to a great extent on the greater ones even before any nationalization took place. Sometimes these smaller firms are no more than branches of the larger concerns, depending on them for orders. In other cases they supply their products to the larger concerns; in others they depend on the banks, and so on. Together with the nationalization of banks and of large industry, they immediately become dependent in some way or other upon nationalized production. Of course, there will still remain a number of small owners and proprietors of small home industries, etc. There are a great number of such in Russia. But, nevertheless, the *basis* of our industry is not the above named workshops, but the large scale industry, and the nationalization by the Workers' Government of this kind of production deals capitalism an irreparable blow. The banks and large scale industry are the two main fortresses of capitalism. Their expropriation, that is to say, their seizure by the working class and the Workers' Government, marks the end of capitalism and the beginning of Socialism. The means of production, that principal basis of human existence, is thereby taken out of the hands of a small number of exploiters and transferred into the hands of the working class and the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

The Mensheviks and the Right Wing Socialist Revolutionaries, who do not wish to deviate one step from capitalism, and who are going hand in hand with the bourgeoisie, are opposed to any kind of nationalization by the Soviet Government. That is because they are fully aware, as well as the bourgeoisie, that by nationalization a severe blow is dealt into the very heart of the capitalist order, so dear to them. They deliberately deceive the workers with tales of our "immaturity" for Socialism, of our industry being in a backward state, of it being quite impossible to organize, and so on.

We have already seen that this is not the case at all. The backwardness of Russia is not in the small number of large enterprises—on the contrary, we have quite a number of such. Its backwardness consists in the fact that the *whole* of our industry occupies too little place in comparison with the vast areas of our rural districts. But in spite of this we must not belittle the importance of our industry, for it is a significant fact that the working class is carrying all the vital elements of the Revolution along with it.

There is another curious circumstance to be noted. All the time when the Government was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, Mensheviks and Right Wing Socialist Revolutionaries, these latter drew up a programme of Government regulation of industry. They did not then lament over the backwardness of our country. At that time they considered it possible to organize industry. What is the reason for such change in opinion? It is simple enough. The Mensheviks and Right Wing Socialist Revolutionaries hold it necessary for the *bourgeois* State to organize production (in Western Europe this would be agreed to by Wilhelm, George and President Wilson); the party of the Communists, on the contrary, wants production to be organized by a *proletarian* Government. The thing is indeed simplicity itself. It is the same story all over again. The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries want to revert to capitalism; the Communists are going ahead to Socialism and Communism, and the most important step on the road towards Communism they consider to be the nationalization of banks and the nationalization of large-scale production.

CHAPTER X

COMMUNAL CULTIVATION OF PUBLIC LAND

The October Revolution accomplished that for which the Russian peasants had been striving during many centuries. It deprived the landowners of the

land and transferred it into the hands of the peasants. The question now is how to allot this land. And here, too, we Communists must take up the same position as we did regarding the question of arranging industrial production. Unlike a factory, land can, of course, be divided. But what would be the result of dividing up land into private allotments amongst individual peasants? The result would be that the man who had managed to save up a little money, being stronger and richer, would soon become a "personality" and turn into a shark, a land-grabber or a usurer; then he would aim still higher and begin buying up the land of those who were getting poorer. Before long the village would be again divided into big landowners and poor peasants, the latter having no alternative but to go to town in search of work or hire himself out to the rich landowner.

These new landowners would not, it is true, belong to the gentry, being only rich peasants, but the difference is after all a small one. The exploiting peasant landowner is a real vampire; he will sweat the poor worker even harder than the representative of the degenerating, impoverished, and thoroughly incapable nobility.

This shows us that the plan of dividing or sharing the land offers us no way out of the dilemma. The only solution is in a communal *national* holding of land; in land being declared the common property of the laborers. The Soviet Government has made a law of socialization of land; the land has in fact been taken from the landowners, and it has become the common property of the toiling people.

But that is not enough. We must aim at such an arrangement as would ensure the land being not only owned in common, but also be *cultivated* in common. If that is not done, then no matter what you proclaim or whatever laws you publish, the result will be most unsatisfactory. One man will fuss about on his allotment, another on his, and if they continue to live apart without mutual aid and common work, they will gradually come to look upon the land as their private property, and no laws from above would be of any use. *Common cultivation* of the soil is what should be aimed at.

In agriculture, just as in industry, it is easiest to carry on production on a large scale. With large-scale production it is possible to use good agricultural machines effecting a saving of all kinds of material, to arrange the work according to one single plan, to put every workman to the most suitable job, and to keep a strict account of everything, thus preventing undue waste of either materials or labor-power. Our task, therefore, does not at all consist in making every peasant a manager of his own small allotment, but in making the poorer peasants join a common scheme of work on the largest possible scale.

How is this to be done? This can and must be done in two ways; first, *co-operative cultivation of what were formerly big estates*; and secondly, *by organizing agricultural labor communes*.

In the estates of former landowners where the land was not leased to the peasant as a whole, and where there existed the private direction of the landlord, the estate was, of course, ever so much better managed than the peasants'. The evil was that the entire profits fell into the hands of the landowners, who oppressed the peasants. And here again there is one thing clear to the Communists; just as there is no sense whatever in the factory workers plundering the factory plant, to share them between themselves, and ruining the factory, so would it be equally senseless for the peasants to act in the same manner on the land. On the big private estates there is often much that is valuable: horses, cattle, different kinds of implements, stocks of seeds, reaping and other kinds of agricultural machines, and so on. In other estates, again, there are dairies, cheese churns, quite large works in fact. And it would be senseless to plunder all that and drag it away to the different cottages. The village exploiters would be interested in that, knowing that sooner or later all these things would fall into their hands again, as they would buy up the poor men's shares.

The exploiting country shark clearly understands that such a *sharing* will in the end be to his "benefit." But the interests of the poorest peasantry, of the proletariat, and of all those who eked out a poor living independently by selling their labor power, lie in quite another direction. For the poorest peasants it is far more profitable to deal with "the large estates in just the same way as the workers are dealing with the factories," that is, to take them under their control and management, to cultivate the former landowner's estates in common, and not plundering and carrying off the machines and plant, but using jointly such machines and plant that formerly belonged to the landowners and have now become the property of the laborers. They could call to their aid agricultural experts,

competent men, to help them cultivate the land not in a casual way, but properly, so that it should yield not less than when it belonged to the landlord, but much more. It is not difficult to seize the land; neither did it prove difficult to seize private estates. It had to be done. In spite of all that the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks did to dissuade the peasants (pointing out the lawlessness of such an action, and saying that the whole thing would be useless and result only in bloodshed, and so on), the peasants, in spite of everything, took the land, and the Soviet Government helped them to do it. It is a far harder task for the workers to retain the land, defending it from the exploiting village sharks whose eyes are already lighting up with greed at the prospect of seizing it. At this point the poorest peasants should remember that they must carefully guard the safety of communal property. For now the wealth that was formerly the landowner's has become the property of the whole community. It should be improved for the benefit of all the workers. Things should be organized in such a manner that the delegates of the poorest peasantry and of the laborers and those of the regional Soviets and their land departments, should have charge of everything, so as not to allow any waste, and should lend their assistance in the joint cultivation of the land. The more ordered the joint production in such estates will be, the better it will be for the workers. All this means that the land will yield better crops, the village exploiters will be foiled, and the peasant will be trained in co-operative production, the latter a most important principle of Communism.

But it is not enough to preserve the estates of the former landowners and cultivate them on new principles. We must strive to organize *large joint agricultural labor communes* by uniting separate allotments. For now the Government is in the hands of the workers and peasants. That means that this Government will, as far as it lies within its power, assist the peasants in any useful undertaking. It is only necessary for the poorest peasants and semi-proletariat, as well as the late farm hands, to manifest greater activity, more personal initiative. The weak, poverty-stricken peasants, working each one by himself, can achieve nothing; they will hardly be able to exist. But they will attain a great deal once they begin to unify their allotments, jointly purchasing machinery with the aid of the town workers, and in this manner cultivating the land in common, on a basis of common interests.

The town Soviets and economic organizations of the workers will assist such labor agricultural communes, supplying them with iron and manufactured goods, and they will help them by recommending land experts and competent men. And thus gradually the once poor peasant, who has never seen anything beyond his native town, will begin to be transformed into a comrade, who, hand in hand with others, will march along the road of communal labor.

It has now been made clear that to organize matters in this direction we must have a solid organization of the poorest elements of peasantry. This organization must accomplish two principle tasks; the first is the struggle with the country sharks, usurers, former inn-keepers, in a word, with the former bourgeoisie; the second is the organization of agricultural production and the control over the distribution of land, the organization of labor communes and the management of the estates of former landowners with a view to their best possible utilization; in other words, they must set before themselves the great task of a new reconstruction of land. The poorest peasantry should form such organizations in the shape of regional Soviets, and should introduce into them special departments such as, for instance, a food supply department, a land department, and others. The land departments of the peasants' Soviets should form the chief support of the poorest elements of the peasantry in connection with the land question. To arrange matters on a firmer basis it would be best to construct these Soviet organizations in such a way that the local and neighboring factory workers should also have their representatives. Workmen are a more experienced set of people than the peasants, they are used to joint business organizations, and are also more experienced in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The factory workers will always help the village poor against the rich, and therefore the former will ever find in them their staunchest allies.

The village poor should not allow themselves to be duped. They have fought and struggled for the land, and they have finally won it from the landlords. They must see that they do not lose it again! They must see that they do not let it slip through their fingers! The danger is there if they are going to work in the direction of sub-dividing the land and sharing it out into private lots. The danger will vanish if the rural poor, together with

the working class, go along the road of *joint* production on as large a scale as possible. Then we shall all proceed at top speed towards Communism.

CHAPTER XI

WORKERS' MANAGEMENT OF PRODUCTION

Just as in connection with the land, the leading part in the management in the various localities is gradually transferred to the organizations of poorest peasantry and the different peasant Soviets and their departments, so is industrial management gradually being transferred (which is exactly what our party expects) into the hands of the workers and peasants' government.

Prior to the October revolution and in the period immediately following upon it, the working class and our party put forward the demand for a *workers' control*, that is to say, for workers' supervision over factories and works to prevent the capitalists from making secret reserves of fuel and raw materials, to see that they did not cheat or speculate, damage goods or dismiss workers unjustly. A workers' *supervision* was instituted over production, as well as over the sale and purchase of products, raw materials, their storage, and the financing of enterprises. However, a mere supervision proved inefficient. Especially did this prove insufficient when the *nationalization* of production took place and the various privileges of the capitalists were destroyed, and when enterprises and whole branches of industry were transferred into the hands of the workers' and peasants' government. It is easy to see that a mere *supervision* is quite inefficient, and that what is required is not only a workers' control but *workers' management* of industry; workers' organizations, works' and factories' committees, trade unions, economic branches of the Soviets, of workers' deputies, and finally organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Government (such as special committees, Soviets of public economy, and so on). These are the organizations that should not only supervise but should also *manage*. There is another thing that attention should be drawn to here.

Some of the workers who are not sufficiently imbued with the class-spirit argue as follows: we are here to take our factory into our own hands, and there is an end to the matter. Before, the factory was the property of, say, Mr. Smith: now it is the property of the workers. Such a point of view is, of course, wrong, and closely resembles dividing. Indeed, if a state of affairs came about in which every factory belongs to the workers of *only that particular factory*, the result would be a competition between factories: one cloth factory would strive to gain more than another, they would strive to win over each others customers; the workers of one factory would be ruined whilst those of another would prosper; these latter employ the workers of the ruined factory, and, in a word, we have again the old familiar picture; just as in the case of the sharing out capitalism would soon revive.

How are we to fight against it? It is evident that we must build up such an order of workers' management of enterprises as would train the workers in the idea that every factory is the property not only of the workers of *that particular factory*, but of the *whole working people*. This can be attained in the following way. Every factory that works should have a board of management composed of *workers* in such a way that the majority of members should belong not to that factory in question, but should consist of workers delegated by trade unions of the special branch of industry, by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and finally by the local Soviet of Public Economy. If the board is composed of workers and of employees (the workers must be in the majority, as they are more reliable adherents to Communism), and if the majority of workers should belong to other factories, then the factory will be managed in the manner required for furthering the interests of *all workers* as a class.

Every worker understands that works and factories cannot do without book-keepers, mechanics, engineers, etc. Therefore another task of the working class lies in enlisting these into their service. So far the working class could not produce such specialists from their own midst (but they will be able to do so when plans of general education will have been carried out successfully, and a special higher education will have become accessible to everybody), until that time, of course, we shall have, willy-nilly, to pay higher wages to ordinary specialists. Let them now serve the working class just as they formerly did the bourgeoisie. Formerly they were under the control and supervision of the bourgeoisie; now they will have to be under the supervision and control of the workers and employees.

To ensure a smooth running of the wheels of industry it is indispensable, as we have already explained, to have one general plan. It is not enough for every large factory to have its own board of management consisting of workers. There are many factories and many branches of production; they are all bound to one another, all inter-dependent: if the coal mine yields little coal the result will be that factories and railroads will be brought to a standstill; if there is no petrol, navigation is impeded; if no cotton, there will be no work to do for the textile factories. It is consequently necessary to form such an organization which should embrace all production, based on a general plan, and united with workers' boards of management of other works and factories; should keep an exact account of all requirements and reserves, not only of one town or of one factory, but for the whole country. The necessity for such a general plan is especially evident in the case of railroads. Any child can understand that the disorganization in the working of railroads causes incredible calamities: in Siberia, for instance, there is a super-abundance of bread, whilst Petrograd is on the verge of famine. Why is this? Because the bread is beyond the reach of the inhabitants of Petrograd, as it is impossible to transport it. To ensure regular traffic it is necessary that everything be strictly registered and correctly distributed. And this is only possible under one uniform plan. Let us imagine that one mile of the railroad is under one management, another is under a different one, and a third under a third, and so on, all working independently of each other. An indescribable muddle would be the result. Such a muddle could be avoided only by conducting the railway through a single centralized management. Hence the necessity arises for such workers' organs and labor organizations, as would unite entire branches of production to each other, forming one complete whole, and which would also unite the work done in different parts of the country, as, for instance, Siberia and the Ural districts, the northern provinces, the centre, and so on. Such organs are in the course of construction; they are the district and regional Soviets of Public Economy, special committees uniting whole branches of production or commerce (as, for instance, Centro-textile, Centro-sugar, and so on), and over all the rest we have, as a central organization, the Supreme Council (Soviet) of Public Economy. All these organizations are connected with the Soviets of the workers' deputies and work in unison with the Soviet Government. Their staff is mainly composed of representatives of *workers' organizations*, and they are supported by trade unions, works' and factories' committees, unions of employees, and so on.

In this way gradually a *workers' management* of industry is being formed from the top of the ladder to the bottom. In the respective localities we have works' and factories' committees and the workers' board of management, and above those the region and district committees, and Soviets of Public Economy, and at the head of all these organizations we have the Supreme Council of Public Economy. The task of the working class now lies in enlarging and strengthening by all possible means the workers' management of industry, educating the vast masses of the people in this direction. The proletariat taking production into its own hands, not as the property of separate individuals or groups, but as the property of the whole working class, should concern itself with supporting the central and district workers' organizations by thousands of branches, at the various works and factories. If the higher organs of workers boards of management in the localities of production are not supported by the local ones, they will hover, as it were, in mid air, and become transformed into bureaucratic institutions devoid of any live revolutionary spirit. But, on the other hand, they will be enabled to cope with the terrible existing disorganization if they are supported on all sides by the vital forces of the workers in every locality, and every command of the workers' central organization will be responded to and executed not as a matter of form, but as a matter of duty by the workers' organizations and by the working masses in their respective localities. The more the masses discuss matters for themselves, the more keen their interest in the election of their boards, the more work carried on at the works and factories, the greater the part they take in the business of doing away with all kinds of disorder and dishonesty—the sooner will the working class possess itself not only in word but in deed of the whole industrial production, thus realizing not merely a political, but even an *economic dictatorship of the working class*, that is to say, the working class will become the actual master not only of the army, the courts of justice, schools and other departments, but it will also be at the head of the management of *production*. Only then will the might of capital be completely rooted out, and the possibility for capital ever again to crush the working class under its heel be completely destroyed.

CHAPTER XII

BREAD—ONLY FOR THE WORKERS. COMPULSORY LABOR SERVICE FOR THE RICH

A transition to the communal order means a transition to an order where there will be no class difference between people, and where all will be *communal workers* and never hired laborers. It is necessary to pass immediately on to the organization of such an order. And one of the first steps in this direction on a parallel with a proletarian nationalization of banks and of industry, is the introduction of *labor service for the rich*.

There are at present many people who do nothing, create nothing, but consume that which others have made. And more than that, there are people who not only do no work, but whose whole activity is directed at hindering and interfering with the work of the Soviet Government and the working class. The workers saw with their own eyes the instance of the sabotage attempted by the Russian intellectuals, teachers, engineers, doctors and others of the "learned professions." It would be superfluous to mention the bigger game such as directors of factories and banks, the late high officials, etc. They all made efforts to disorganize and destroy at the root the work of the proletariat and the Soviet Government. The task of the proletariat consists in *compelling* these bourgeoisie, former landowners, and numerous intellectuals of the well-to-do classes to *work* for the common good. How is this to be done? By means of introducing *labor record books* and *labor service*. Every one of the above-named class should receive a special book in which an account is kept of his work, that is to say, of his compulsory service. Fixed entries in his book entitle him to buy or receive certain food products, bread in the first place. Anyone who refuses to work, supposing he sabotages (an ex-official, a former manufacturer or landowner who cannot possibly accustom himself to the idea of the loss of land on which he has lived for years and has become a frenzied enemy of the workers), if such an individual refuses to work there is no corresponding entry in his book. He goes to the store, but is told, "There is nothing for you. Please to show an entry confirming your work."

Under such a system the mass of idlers who fill the Nevsky Prospect of Petrograd and the main street of other big towns, will have to set to work against their will. It is perfectly understood that the carrying into execution of this kind of labor service will be hindered by many obstacles. The upper and upper-middle classes will, on the other hand, make every endeavor to evade this compulsory service, and on the other hand, try by every means within their power to hinder such an order. To arrange matters so that certain food products should be obtained only on producing a corresponding entry in the labor book, and that such products should not be distributed in any other way, is not an easy matter. The rich who possess money (and money means merely counters for obtaining products) have also a thousand possibilities of deceiving the Soviet Government and duping the workers and poorest peasantry. These possibilities must be destroyed by a well-regulated organization for supplying products.

Of course labor service for the rich should only be a transitory stage towards *general labor service*. The latter is necessary not only because the productiveness of our trade and agriculture can be increased by enlisting the service of all members of society fit for work, but also because a strict *account* of labor power and a proper distribution of such over the various branches of production and the different undertakings is necessary. Just as in war time it is necessary, on the one hand, to mobilize all the forces, and on the other to keep account of and properly organize them, so in the *war with economic disorganization* it is necessary to draw all the useful sections of the population into the work, register and organize them into one great army of labor with a labor discipline and a proper understanding of its duties.

At the present moment in Russia, in consequence of the economic disorganization and shortage of raw material which has been intensified by the occupation of South Russia and Ukraine by the forces of German Imperialism, there is a considerable amount of unemployment. As a result we are faced with the following situation: we know that we can only win through by the aid of human labor power, from the fact that only labor can increase the productivity of our industry and agriculture; and of this human labor power we have plenty. But in spite of that there is no opportunity to apply this labor power. There is already a large amount of unemployment as a result of the shortage of fuel and raw material. Where then shall we place these people whom the Workers'

and Peasants' Government intends to compel to work? It is true that one of the most important questions is the organization of public works and construction of such things of supreme social importance as railways, grain elevators, and the opening of new mines. But it is evident that this work could not at once absorb the large surplus of labor that exists.

Thus it will be necessary *from the very first* to limit ourselves to *registering the working hands*, noting their respective *compulsory service* only at the request of the Soviet Government, or working class bodies superintending the management of production. Let us illustrate this by an example. Supposing that for surveying new mines in Siberia engineering specialists are required. The metallurgic department of the Soviet of Public Economy puts forward a demand for such. The department for registering labor power examines its lists and finds the people who correspond to the kind required, and these are then *obliged to go* where the above-mentioned departments choose to send them.

Naturally, as the organization of production becomes more ordered, and the demand for labor increases, so will compulsory service be carried into effect; that is to say, all persons capable of work will be compelled to do their share of work.

Compulsory labor service in itself is not a new idea. At the present moment, in practically all the warring countries, the Imperialist Governments have introduced labor service for their population (in the first instance, of course, for the oppressed classes). But the labor service introduced in Western Europe is as far removed from that which ought to be introduced by us as is heaven from earth. In the Imperialist States such service means the complete *subjugation* of the working class, its complete enslavement to financial capital and the plundering Government. And why is that? Simply because the workers do not govern *themselves* but are governed by generals, bankers and big syndicalists and bourgeois politicians. The worker there is a mere pawn in their hands. He is a serf whom his master can dispose of as he pleases. No wonder that compulsory service in the West at the present time means a new contribution, a new *feudal* levy, the institution of a new system of military *hard labor*. It is introduced there for the purpose of enabling the capitalists, whose pockets are being filled by the labor of the workers, to carry on an interminable plundering war.

Our workers *themselves* must, through their own organizations, introduce and carry out compulsory labor-service on the basis of *selfgovernment* by the workers. There is no bourgeoisie over them here. On the contrary, the workers are *now* placed over the bourgeoisie. Controlling, accounting, and distributing labor power is now the concern of the *workers' organizations*, and as compulsory labor service will affect the rural districts, it will become the concern of the peasants Soviets, which will stand over the village bourgeoisie, subjugating it to their rule. All the organs dealing with labor will be purely workers' organs. This is quite natural: if the administration of industry is to become a workers' administration, the management of labor must also be in the hands of the workers, for that is only *part* of the management or administration of production.

The working class, which wishes to take the lead in the economic life of the country (and which will do so in spite of any obstacles), the class that is becoming master of all the wealth, is confronted with this main question—the *organization of production*. The organization of production demands in its turn the solution of two principal problems: the organization of the means of production (accounting, controlling, and correct distribution of fuel, raw material, machinery, instruments, seeds, etc.), and the organization of labor (accounting, controlling and correct distribution of labor power). In order to utilize thoroughly *all* the forces of society, compulsory labor service, which will sooner or later be introduced by the working class is indispensable. Idlers must vanish; only useful social workers will remain.

CHAPTER XIII

A SYSTEMATIC DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS. THE ABOLITION OF TRADE, PROFITS, AND SPECULATION. CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNES

It is impossible to take possession of production properly without taking control of the distribution of products. When products are wrongly distributed there can be no proper production. Supposing that the largest branches of industry are nationalized. As we have seen above, one branch of production works for another. To make production systematic it is necessary that each branch should

be supplied with as much material as it requires; one enterprise getting more, another less. That means that each product should be distributed regularly, according to plan, in correspondence with the demands of the branches in question. The various organs of supply, that is to say, such working organizations as deal with distribution of products, must be in direct communication with the organs dealing with its production. Only then can the work of production run smoothly.

But there are some products that are directly used by the consumer. Such as bread, for instance, many food products, the greater part of clothing materials, many india rubber products (no factory buys goloshes, which enter into direct use of the consumer), and so on. Here an equally strict account and a just distribution of these products among the population is necessary. And such a just distribution is absolutely impossible without a definite plan being carried into execution. First, the quantity of goods must be registered, then the demand for them, and after that the products must be distributed according to these calculations. The best instance of the necessity of an organized plan is the food question, the question of bread. At present the bourgeoisie, the village sweaters, the Right Social Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, the well-to-do land grabbing peasants, have all raised a hue and cry about repealing the bread monopoly, and that speculators, big and small, the wholesale dealers and *mysochniki*¹ should be allowed to carry on their trade as they like. It is easy to understand why the tradesmen are interested in the repeal of the bread monopoly; in some way or another this monopoly hinders them from fleecing the consumer. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the present state of things is absurd; the rich calmly go on eating white bread, buying it in smuggler fashion; that they have black bread in plenty there is no question. They just pay considerably more and get everything they want. Who helps them in this? The speculators, of course. What they are anxious about is not to feed the population, but to grab a little more money, to stuff a little more into their pockets, and it is, of course, the rich, not the poor, that can give more. That is why the speculators bring bread not to those localities where it is most needed, but to where they get paid most. And, so far, it has not been possible to put an end to this. Hence it is clear that to organize a systematic distribution of bread, the bread monopoly must be left intact, as well as the food committees and the boards of food, and further, this monopoly must be carried out in the strictest manner, speculators must be dealt with without mercy, private traders must be made to understand that they dare not make money out of a national calamity, disturbing the general plan. The trouble at the present time is in the fact that the bread monopoly is imperfectly carried out, while contraband private trading is thriving, and not in the fact that there is a monopoly. And that, at a time when there is so little bread, when the Germans have occupied the richest provinces; at a time when in many places grain stored for seeds has been eaten up, when the fields remain uncultivated and people are *starving!* Every piece of bread is precious, every pound of flour and grain is priceless. And just for this very reason everything must be strictly registered, so that not a crumb be wasted, and that all the bread be distributed evenly, and that the rich should not be privileged in any way. This, we repeat, can be done and will be attained if the workers only set to work promptly, if they aid the working organizers in their task, if they help to catch speculators and cheats.

Unfortunately, there are quite a number of people not filled with class spirit, who make purchases at their own risk independently of the working organizations, thereby also increasing the disorganization of the general plan. Each one thinks to himself: "No matter what you say, I can mind my own business best"—and off he goes to buy bread. Later on, conflicts are apt to arise on the way, on account of this very bread, and then he complains: "They don't give you a chance to look after yourself." As a matter of fact the whole affair looks somewhat like this: let us imagine a train going, packed full; some passengers are standing in the corridors, others lying on the floors—in a word there is not enough room to drop a pin. Then all of a sudden one man smells something burning, raises a cry of "fire," and dashes like mad towards the door, pushing people aside. The people, panic stricken, try to break open the door, a wild scuffle ensues, they bite and hit each other, break one another's ribs, trample children underfoot. The result is—dozens of killed, wounded, maimed. Is that right? It might all have been quite different. If reasonable people had been found to reassure the crowd,

¹The term "mysochnik" comes from a Russian word which means a sack, and is applied to petty food speculators who carry flour, bread, etc., from the country into the towns in sacks.

to calm it, everyone would have walked out in *order* without a *scratch!* Why did everything happen in the way it did? Because each one thought: he will act for himself, the others are "no concern of mine." But in the end it is he who gets his neck broken first.

The very same thing takes place with those who buy bread independently, infringing the regulations of the workers' food organizations. Each one thinks that he will make things easier for himself. But what is the result? Every such purchase upsets the systematic registering of the stock in hand; owing to these purchases the regular delivery of bread becomes impossible. One locality, for instance, where there is absolute starvation, must have bread delivered at the expense of another, where things are comparatively better. But, instead some people from the latter locality buy up all the bread and take it with them. The former locality is thus left to starve to death. What follows? As the organized *public* purchases have become disorganized there appears on the scene the marauding speculator. He at once begins to try his hand at private purchases. In this manner the unintelligent poor, lacking in class consciousness, not understanding things themselves, aid and abet the vampire speculator, whose real place is on the gallows. Now we can understand why these speculating gentry exploit the natural dissatisfaction of the hungry against the Soviet Government, and why the greatest scoundrels and sweaters often stand at the head of risings against the Soviets in small provincial towns. Workers should understand once and for all that salvation is not to be attained by a return to the *olà* order, but by ways which lead forward towards the destruction of speculation towards the annihilation of private trade, towards the social distribution of products by the workers' organizations.

The same holds good concerning a whole series of other products. The working class ought not to suffer in order that the rich may get everything for extra prices, but, on the contrary, must put an end to the profiteering speculators who, like the hungry ravens, come flocking from all directions. A just, regulated distribution of products, on the basis of registering the demands and reserves, is one of the fundamental tasks confronting the working class. What does this mean? It means the *nationalization of trading*, that is, in other words, the *abolition of trading*, for the transition to social distribution cannot exist side by side with dealers and agents who live like parasites and completely upset the work of supply. Not back to "free private trading," that is to say, to "free" robbery, but towards an exact, regulated distribution of products by workers' organizations—this should be the watchword of the intelligent workers.

In order to carry out this plan into execution more successfully a compulsory union of the whole population into *co-operative communes* must be aimed at. Only then can products be justly distributed, when the population that is to get them is united and organized into large groups, whose demands can be exactly estimated. If the population, instead of being united and organized, is scattered, it becomes extremely difficult to carry out this distribution in a more or less orderly way; it is difficult to calculate how much of each article is needed, what and how much is to be delivered, how, that is, through what agency the distribution is to be effected. Let us imagine that the population is united into *co-operative communes* according to their parishes. Every town or parish, say, is united into one *co-operation* which is in its turn united with the house committees. Then a given product is first distributed to such communes, and these, having calculated beforehand what product and of what quality they require, they distribute it through their agents, among the different consumers.

In uniting the population into such *co-operative communes* the already existing *co-operative societies* will be of great importance. The wider the sphere of work of the co-operatives, the wider the circle of the population included, the more organized will the distribution of products become, and the more frequently will these co-operatives be changed into organs of *supply for the whole population*. Compulsory communes around already existing co-operatives; such, in all probability, will be the most convenient form of the organization of distribution, by the aid of which it will be ultimately possible to supplant trade and do away once for ever with *private profit*.

To make the task of a regular distribution of products still easier, we must aim at changing our private system of *domestic economy* into a social one. At present every family has its own kitchen, every family, independently of others, buys provisions, dooming woman to slavery, turning her into an eternal cook who sees nothing from dawn till night except kitchen utensils, brushes, dusters, and all kinds of refuse. An immense amount of labor is absolutely wasted. If we united and organized housekeeping, beginning with the supply and prepara-

tion of food (by means of joint purchases of provisions, cooking, construction of large model restaurants, etc.), it would be much easier to keep an account of the demands of various households, and besides the saving of money thus effected, the regular general distribution would be greatly assisted.

One of the most vital questions for the consumer, and a very painful one for the town laborers, is the *housing question*. The poor are here mercilessly exploited. And on the other hand landlords used to make heaps of money on the business. The expropriation of this kind of property, a transfer of houses and of various kinds of residential premises, their registering and the regular distribution of flats and rooms, the transfer of this work into the hands of the local workers' committee and of the organs of the Soviet Government is a difficult but grateful task. We have had enough of the lording of the better classes! The worker, the poor toiler, has also a right to a warm room and to a living as befits a human being.

In this way must economic life gradually be organized. The working class must organize production. The working class must organize distribution. The working class to organize consumption—food, clothes, and housing—there is an account kept of everything, everything is distributed in the most reasonable way. There are no masters—there is the self administration of the working class.

CHAPTER XIV

LABOR DISCIPLINE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF THE POOREST ELEMENTS OF THE PEASANTRY

To organize production so that life should be possible without masters, to organize it on a fraternal basis, is a very good thing, but it is easier said than done. We meet with numberless difficulties: in the first place we are now standing face to face with the heritage of the unfortunate war—a ruined country. The working class is now obliged to clear up the mess made by Nicholas Romanoff and his servants—Sturmer, Sukhomlinoff, Protoppopoff, a mess which was later increased by Gutchkoff and Rodzianko with their servants—Kerensky, Tzeretelli, Dan, and the rest of the treacherous company. Secondly, the working class are now compelled to organize production whilst repelling the blows of their greatest enemies: on the other hand, those who are attacking them with savage hatred from without, as well as those who are attempting to destroy the Workers' Government from within.

In order to emerge victorious under such conditions, to conquer once and for ever, the workers must struggle against their own inertia. Whilst organizing a *labor army*, it is at the same time imperative to create a *revolutionary labor discipline* in this army. The fact of the matter is that there are still such individuals among the workers who do not yet believe that they have now become masters of the situation. We want them to understand that at the present time the State Exchequer belongs to the workers and the peasants: the factories are national factories, the land is the land of the people, forests, machinery, mines, factory plant, houses, everything has been transferred into the hands of the working class. The administration over all this is a *workers' administration*. The attitude of the workers and peasants towards all this wealth cannot now be the same as it was before; before it belonged to the *masters*, now all this wealth belongs to the *people*. The masters used to sweat the workers to the utmost. The landowner who lived like a lord fleeced the poor peasant and farm laborer as bare as he could. Both the worker and the farm laborer were therefore right when they did not consider themselves bound to do their best under the master's whip, for the sake of strengthening the might and power of their tormentors. This is why there can be no question whatever of a labor discipline when the whip of the capitalist is brandished over the workmen's head and the whip of the landowner over that of the peasant and farm laborer. Things are quite different now. These whips have now been destroyed. The working class is now working for itself, it is now not making money for the capitalists, but working in the *people's* cause, in the cause of the toiling masses which were previously held in bondage.

But nevertheless, we repeat, there still are workers lacking class spirit who do not seem to see all this. Why is that? Because they have been slaves too long. Slavish servile thoughts ever crowd in their brain. Perhaps they think, at the bottom of their hearts, that they cannot possibly exist without God and a master. And consequently they use the revolution to their own ends, trying to fill their pockets, to grasp where they can, and what they can, never stopping to

think of their labor duties nor of the fact that slovenliness and cheating at work at present is a *crime against the working class*. For labor does not now serve to enrich a master; labor now supports the workers—the poverty-stricken classes who are now at the helm of State. The indifferent workman now does not injure directors or bankers, but members of workers' administration, workers' unions, and the Government of the workers and peasants. To handle machinery carelessly, to break tools, to try and get little work done in the ordinary working hours for the purpose of working overtime and receiving double pay—by all this it is not the master who is cheated, it is not the capitalist who is harmed, but the *working class as a whole*. The same thing applies to the land. He who steals farming implements which have been registered by the farm laborers and peasants, robs the society and not the landowner, who has been driven out a long time ago. The man who cuts down timber despite the prohibition of the peasants' organizations is thereby robbing the poor. Any man who, instead of cultivating the land taken from the landowner, is engaged in bread speculation or secret distilling, is a cheat and a criminal against the workers and peasants.

Now it is quite evident to everyone that, for setting in order and organizing production, it is necessary for the workers to organize themselves and create their own labor discipline. At the factories and works the workers must themselves see to it that every comrade should turn out as much as is required. Professional workers' unions and the Soviets of the workers are in direct supervision of production. They may, when possible, shorten the working day, and we mean to aim at such excellent organization of production as to make it possible for each set of workmen to work only six instead of eight hours. But these very same workers' organizations, as well as the workers' Government and the working class as a whole, may and should expect of their members the most conscientious devotion to their work. The workers' organizations, especially labor unions, should themselves fix the average output, that is to say, the amount of work that must be performed by every workman during one working day: he who does not execute the required quantity, allowance of course being made for sickness and weakness, is *sabotaging*, undermining the work of constructing a new social order, and hinders the working class in its progress towards perfect Communism.

Production is a vast machine, every part of which must be in perfect harmony with the other, all working equally well. An imperfect tool in the hands of a good workman is worthless, and so is a good tool in the hands of an inefficient one. What we want is a good tool and a good workman.

Therefore we should strain our powers to the utmost to organize the supply of fuel and raw material, to organize transport and to distribute this fuel and raw material properly, at the same time taking measures for self-discipline and a proper training of the working masses to conscientious labor.

It is more difficult to do this in Russia than in any other country. The working class (and this applies in a still greater degree to the peasantry) have not gone through a long stage of organized training as the Western European and American workers have. We have among our number many workers who are only just becoming workers, who are only just getting *accustomed to collective social work*, who are only now learning that to say "other people's business is no concern of mine" is not the proper sentiment for a workman to express. This kind of workman will always tend to disturb the harmony of social labor. The more we have of the kind who still nurse the idea of becoming their own masters, or saving a little money and starting a shop, the harder will be our task of carrying through real labor discipline. But for this very reason must those in the vanguard of the revolution, pioneers and labor organizations, grow more and more determined to establish and strengthen such discipline. If this is a success will become possible to organize everything else and for the working class to emerge victorious out of the difficulties created by the war, by disorganization and sabotage, and all the barbarity and atrocities of the capitalist order.

CHAPTER XV

THE END OF THE POWER OF MONEY. "STATE FINANCE" AND FINANCIAL ECONOMY IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC

Money at the present time represents the means of obtaining goods. Thus those who have much money can buy many things; they are rich. However low the rate of money falls, it is always easier to live for the man who has much of it. The rich classes who even now have an abundance of money can live at their

ease. In towns, traders, merchants, capitalists and speculators; in the country the "kulaks" (rich peasants), the sharks and sweaters who have fattened on the war to an incredible degree, having saved hundreds of thousands of roubles. Things have reached such a pitch that some buried their money in the ground in boxes or glass jars.

The workers' and peasants' State, on the other hand, is in need of money. Additional issues of paper money depreciates its value: the more paper money is printed the cheaper it gets. And yet the works and factories must be maintained by these paper tokens; workers must be paid, the administration must be kept going, the employees must get their wages. Where is the money to come from? To get the money it is necessary first of all to *tax the rich*. An *income and property tax*, that is to say, a tax on big profits and on large property, must be the principal tax; a tax on the rich, a tax on those who receive a surplus income.

But at the present time, when everybody is living through a revolutionary fever, when it is difficult to arrange for the regular imposition of taxes, any means of obtaining money is reasonable and admissible. For instance, the following is quite an excellent measure. The Government declares that up to a certain date all money must be exchanged for new, and that the old money has lost its value. That means that everybody must empty his boxes and jars and cupboards and bring his hoard to the bank to be exchanged. And here the following system should be carried out; the savings of poor people must be untouched, a new rouble being paid for every old one; but beginning with a certain sum a part must be deducted for the benefit of the State. And the larger the amount of money saved up, the greater will be the sum retained. Let us propose the following scheme: up to 5000 the exchange is to be a rouble for a rouble; of the following 5000 a tenth part is deducted; from the third 5000 a seventh part; from the fourth a fourth part; from the fifth a half; from the sixth three-quarters; and beginning with a definite sum, *the whole is confiscated*.

Thus the power of the rich would be considerably undermined, additional means for the needs of the Workers' State would be obtained, and everybody would be more or less equalized with regard to income.

In a time of revolution the imposition of *contributions* on the bourgeoisie is justifiable. It is certainly not at all advisable for one local Soviet to tax the bourgeoisie according to one system, whilst the other does so in accordance with another system, and a third according to a third. This would be as bad as if there were varying forms of levying taxes in a given locality.

We must strive towards a uniform system of taxation, suitable for the whole Soviet Republic. But if in the meantime we have not been able to build up such machinery, contributions are admissible. There is a Russian proverb which says: "When you can't get fish, a lobster will do." We must bear in mind that the duty of the party and of the Soviets, as well as that of the working class and the poorest peasantry, consists in uniting and centralizing on one definite plan, the collection of taxes, thereby *systematically* driving the bourgeoisie out of their economic stronghold.

We must, however, note that the more successful the organization of production on new labor principles, the more will the importance of *money* decrease. Formerly, when private enterprises were the dominating institution, these private enterprises sold their goods to one another. The tendency now is for various branches of industry to unite and become different departments of general social production. Products may be exchanged between the different departments simply by a process of book-keeping without the need of using money at all. This method is actually in process between the different branches of capitalistic trusts or combines.

Combined enterprises are those which embrace several varying branches of production. In America, for instance, there are enterprises which own metal works, coal mines, iron mines, and steamship companies. One branch of the enterprise supplies the other with raw materials or transports its manufactured products. But all these separate branches represent but part of *one enterprise*. It is, of course, understood that one part does not *sell* its products to another branch of the enterprise, but distributes it according to the orders of the central head office of the various departments. Or let us take another example: the works of one department transfer the half-finished product to another, yet *within* the works no kind of purchase and sale transaction takes place. The same sort of things will be established in the general plan of production. The main branches of production will be organized into huge social enterprises under the management of the workers. A systematic distribution of the necessary means

of production will take place between the different branches; this will include fuel, raw materials, half-finished products, auxiliary materials, and so on. And that will mean that money will lose its importance. Money is important only when production is unorganized; the more organized it becomes the smaller becomes the part played by money, and the need for it gradually decreases.

What about the workers' pay? we shall be asked. The same thing will hold good here. The better production is organized by the working class, the less will social workmen be paid in money and the more they will be paid in kind, that is to say, in products. We have already spoken of co-operative communes and of labor registers. Products required by workers will be issued without any money whatever, simply upon the evidence that such and such a man has worked and is working; they will be given out by the co-operative stores in accordance with such entries in the labor registers. This, of course, cannot be organized all at once. It will be long before we are able to organize this into proper working order. It is a new plan that has never been worked before, and is therefore exceptionally difficult to carry out. But one thing is clear: in proportion as the workers come into possession of production and distribution, the need of money will become less and less, and subsequently will gradually die out altogether.

An "exchange" of goods must then begin between town and country, without the agency of money; municipal industrial organizations send out textile, iron and other goods into the country, while the village district organizations send bread to the towns in exchange. Here, too, the importance of money will be lessened in proportion as the town and country labor organizations of the workers and peasants become more closely united.

But at present, *at this very moment*, the workers' Government needs money, and needs it badly. That is because the organizations of production and distribution is only just getting into working order, and money still plays a most important part. Finances, including income and expenditure of State money, are at present of the utmost importance. And that is why the question of *taxes* is so acute at the present time; they must be exacted by every means. The confiscation of surplus incomes of the town and country bourgeoisie is inevitable, as is also periodical taxation.

But in the future taxation will also become obsolete. To the extent that production becomes nationalized, so capitalists' profits cease: as there are no more landowners the so-called land tax is abolished. Property holders are deprived of their houses, and thus another source of taxation is gone. Superfluous wealth is confiscated, the rich are losing their main support, and the whole population is gradually becoming employed by the proletarian State organizations. (Later on, with complete Communism, when there is no State, people, as we have seen, will become equal comrades, and the very memory of the division of society into bourgeoisie will vanish.)

When such a state of things exists it will be much simpler to deduct the necessary taxes immediately from salaries than to deduct considerable sums in the way of taxes or dues. It is not worth while spending both time and money on the senseless transaction of giving with one hand and taking away with the other.

We have seen, on the other hand, that when production and distribution are thoroughly organized, money will play no part whatever and as a matter of course no kind of money dues will be demanded from anyone. Money will have *generally* become unnecessary. Finance will become extinct.

We repeat that that time is a long way off yet. There can be no talk of it in the near future. For the present we must find means for public finance. But we are already taking steps leading to the abolition of the money system. Society is being transformed into one huge labor organization or company to produce and distribute what is already produced without the agency of gold coinage or paper money. The end of the power of money is imminent.

CHAPTER XVI

NO TRADE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN BOURGEOISIE AND FOREIGN IMPERIALISTS. (NATIONALIZATION OF FOREIGN TRADE)

At the present time every country is surrounded by other countries on which it depends to a considerable extent. It is very difficult for a country to manage without foreign trade, because the country produces more of one product than another, and vice versa. Blockaded Germany is now experiencing how hard it is to do without a supply from other countries. And should England, for instance, be surrounded by as close a ring as is Germany, it would have perished long ago.

The Russian industry, nationalized by the working class, cannot possibly dispense with certain goods from abroad, and on the other hand, foreign countries, especially Germany, are badly in need of raw material. We must not forget even for a minute that we live in the midst of rapacious capitalist States. Naturally enough these plundering States will try to obtain everything that they require to further their aims of plunder. And the Russian bourgeoisie, that has been so hedged in and persecuted in Russia, will be very glad to enter into direct contact with foreign imperialists. There is no doubt whatever that the foreign bourgeoisie could pay the Russian speculators even more than does our own home-made, true-Russian patriotic bourgeoisie. A speculator, as we know, sells to him who pays the most. And so we have only to give our bourgeois the chance of exporting goods abroad, and foreign plunderers the possibility of arranging their little business affairs here, and the Socialist Soviet Republic would have little cause to rejoice at the results.

Formerly, when the question of foreign trade arose, the discussion confined itself to two points: whether high import duties on foreign goods were necessary or whether they should be abolished altogether; that is to say, Protection or Free Trade. During the last years of the reign of capital, capitalists were very active in carrying out the policy of Protection. Thanks to this the trusts received additional profit. Having no competitors or rivals within the country, they were the monopolists of the home market, the high wall of import duties protected them from foreign competitors. In this way, by the aid of high duties, the syndicalists, that is the biggest sharks of capital, could fleece their countrymen shamelessly. Making use of this double extortion of their countrymen, the syndicalists began to export goods abroad at extremely cheap prices in order to displace or remove their rival syndicalists of other countries from their path. Naturally these cheap prices were only temporary. As soon as they had removed their rivals they immediately raised the prices in the newly-conquered markets. It was in order to carry out this policy that they required high customs tariffs. In raising a cry about the *defence* of industry the syndicalists were really clamoring for a means of *attack*, for means of economic conquest of foreign markets. And as always happens in such cases, these professional imposters on the people were disguising their plunder by a pretence of guarding the national interests.

A few Socialists seeing this, put forward the demand for Free Trade between the different countries. That would have meant everything being left to the chances of a free economic struggle between individual bourgeoisie. But this war cry was left to hover in mid-air; it was simply of no use to anybody. For what syndicalist would reject a proposition of additional profit? And since he received this additional profit only owing to his being immune from foreign competition thanks to the high customs tariff, how do you expect this syndicalist to reject such high duties? First of all *it is imperative to overthrow the syndicalists*. Our first object is a Socialist Revolution. This is how the question was answered by true Socialists, by Communist Bolsheviks, as we now call them. And a Socialist Revolution means the institution of such an order where everything is in the hands of *an organized State of the working class*. We have seen what harm private trade causes within the country: the harm done by this kind of trade between different countries is not less. In other words, abolishing Free Trade within the country whilst establishing it abroad is sheer nonsense. Equally absurd, from the point of view of the working class, is the system of taxation of foreign capitalists. A *third* way out is wanted, and this consists in the *nationalization of foreign trade by the proletarian State*.

What does this mean? It means that no one who lives upon Russian soil has a right to make business agreements with foreign capitalists. If anyone is caught at it, he should be fined or imprisoned. The whole of the foreign trade is carried on by the Workers' and Peasants' Government. The latter carries out all transactions whenever occasion arises. Supposing American machines are being offered in exchange for certain goods or for a certain amount of money or gold, whilst some Germans offer the same machines at a different price and on different terms. The workers' organizations (Government Soviet organizations) consider whether it is necessary to make the purchase and of whom it should be more advantageous to buy. In accordance with their decision the machines are bought in the place and upon terms which are the most profitable. Products bought in the manner are distributed to the population without any profits being made out of them, because the transaction is carried out not by capitalists to make money out of the workers, but by the workers themselves. In this manner the domination of capital would be abolished in this department as well. The

workers must take the business of foreign trade (as they have done and are doing) into their own hands and organize it so that not a single swindler or speculator or shop-keeper should be able to evade the workers' watchfulness.

It is clearly understood that capitalist smugglers should be dealt with mercilessly. They should be made to forget all their tricks. The management of economic life is at present the business of the working class. It is only by the aid of a further *strengthening* of this order that the working class can attain its final liberation from the remnants of the accursed capitalist order.

CHAPTER XVII

SPIRITUAL LIBERATION—THE NEXT STEP TO ECONOMIC LIBERATION. (THE CHURCH AND THE SCHOOL IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC)

The working class and its party, the party of Communist Bolsheviks, are struggling not only for economic freedom but also for spiritual liberation of the toiling masses. Economic liberation itself will be the easier attained the sooner the workman and the farm laborer get their brains cleared of all the rubbish with which the landowners and the manufacturing bourgeoisie have stuffed them. We have already noticed before how cleverly the dominating classes have hitherto bound the workers with their newspapers, journals, pamphlets, priests, and even the school, which they cleverly converted from an organ of enlightenment into an institution for dulling the minds of the people.

One of the agencies in achieving this object was the belief in God and in the Devil, spirits good and evil (angels and saints), in short, in *religion*. A great number of people have grown accustomed to believe in all this, whilst if we analyze these ideas and try to understand the origin of religion and why it is so strongly supported by the bourgeoisie, it will become clear that the real significance of religion is that it is a *poison* which is still being instilled into the people. It will also become clear why the party of the Communists is a strong antagonist of religion.

Modern science has proved that the original form of religion was the worship of the souls of dead ancestors. This worship began at a time when the so-called elders—that is to say, the richer, more experienced and wise old men of the tribe who already had some power over the rest, had attained great importance. In the early stages of human history, when men were still living in herds, like semi-apes, people were indeed equal. It was only later on that elders or heads of tribes began to have command over the whole tribe: they were the first to be worshipped. The worship of the spirits of the dead rich—this is the basis of religion: and these "sacred" idols were later on changed into a terrible God who punishes and forgives, judges and governs. Let us analyze why people have come to accept such an explanation of everything that takes place around them. The reason is that people judge of things that are little known to them by comparing them with things with which they are familiar: they weigh and measure things on a scale that is concrete and comprehensible. A well-known scholar quotes the following instance. A little girl, brought up on a private estate where there was a poultry farm, constantly had to do with eggs: eggs were ever present before her eyes. Once, when she saw the sky strewn with stars, she told a story of how the heavens were sprinkled with a vast number of eggs. Such instances may be quoted endlessly. The same thing holds true as regards religion. People saw that there are those who obey and those who are obeyed. They constantly witnessed the following picture—the elder (and later on the prince) surrounded by his followers, more experienced, wiser, stronger and richer than the others, orders others and reigns over them: the others act according to his wish: he is obeyed by all.

This kind of thing witnessed daily and hourly appeared to explain all that takes place in the world. There is on the earth, they said, one commander and those who obey him. Consequently, they reasoned, the whole world is built up on the same scheme. There is a master of the world, a great, strong, terrible master upon whom everything is dependent, and who punishes her servants severely for disobedience. This master over the world is God. And so the idea of a god in the heavens arises only in those cases when people are accustomed to the power of the elders over the tribe.

It is an interesting fact that all the names given to God confirm the same origin of religion. The Russian words for God and for rich are of the same origin; thus "Bog" (God) and "Bogat" (rich) are derived from the same root. God is great, powerful, and rich. God is called Lord or Master. What does "Lord" signify

but the contrary to servant or slave? In prayers we have: "We are thy servants." God is further called the "Heavenly King." All the other titles point in the same direction: "sovereign," "ruler," and so on. And so, what does "God" really mean? It means, as we are told, a rich, strong master, a slave owner, a "heavenly king," a judge—in short, an exact copy, a reproduction of the earthly power of the elders, and later on of the princes. When the Jews were governed by their princes, who punished and tortured them, there arose the teaching of a cruel and terrible God. Such is the God of the Old Testament. He is a vicious old man, who chastises his subjects severely. Let us now consider the God of the Greek Orthodox Church. The teachings concerning this god arose in Byzantium, in the country which served as a model of despotism. At the head stood a despotic monarch surrounded by his ministers; these, in their turn, were surrounded by high officials; next followed a whole host of avaricious officials. The Greek orthodox religion is an exact model of this system. The "Heavenly King" sits above. Around him are gathered the most important saints (for instance, Saint Nicholas, the Holy Virgin, something after the style of an empress, the wife of the Holy Ghost), these are ministers; next comes a hierarchy of angels and saints in the order of officials in a despotic government. These are the so-called "ranks of angels and arch-angels": cherubs, seraphs heralds and various other "ranks" or "offices." The word "rank" itself shows that we have to do with *officials* ("rank" and "official" are words which have the same root in the Russian language). These "ranks" are represented on images in such a way as to show that he who stands higher in rank is better dressed, has more laurels, that is to say, he has more "orders," just the same as on our sinful earth. In a despotic State the official invariably demands "a bribe", else he will do nothing for you; and just in the same way it is necessary to light a candle before the image of the saint or he will get angry and not deliver your message to the highest official—to God. In a despotic State there are special officials whose express mission is to act as intercessors, for a bribe," of course. Here in the orthodox religion there are also special saints—"intercessors," or intermediaries, especially women. For instance, the Holy Virgin is, so to speak, a professional female "intercessor." Of course, she does not perform her services free of charge; she expects to have more churches built in her name than anyone else, and a great number of surplices have to be bought for her images, ornamented with precious stones, and so on.

In short, we see that the belief in God is a *reflection of the commonest everyday relations*: it is the belief in *slavery*, which people are made to believe exists not only on the earth, but in the whole universe. We understand, of course, that in reality there is nothing of the kind; and it is clear to everybody that such legends hinder the development of humanity. The progress of Man is possible only when he finds *natural* explanations for all phenomena. But when, instead of a logical reason, people invent a god or saints or demons or devils, then, of course, we can expect nothing sensible. Here are a few more instances. Some religious people believe that thunder is caused by the Prophet Elijah taking a ride in his chariot; and therefore, when they hear thunder they take off their hats and make the sign of the cross. In reality this electricity which causes thunder is perfectly well known to science, and by this same power we run trams and carry on them many things we desire. A logical line of reasoning shows us that we can convey manure with the aid of the "Prophet Elijah," and that he makes a good carman. Let us suppose that we believed in the Prophet Elijah version. In that case we should never have invented trams. That means that, owing to religion, we should for ever have remained in a state of *barbarism*. Another instance. War breaks out, people perish in millions, oceans of blood are shed. A reason explaining this must be found. Those who do not believe in God think, reason, and analyze; they see that the war is conducted for plundering purposes and for filthy aims; and therefore they say for the workers of all countries, "To arms against your oppressors!" "Down with capital!" We see quite a different attitude in the case of a religious man. Sighing like an old woman, he reasons as follows: "God is punishing us for our sins. O Lord, our heavenly father! Thou art chastising us justly for our transgressions." And if he is very pious, and Greek Orthodox into the bargain he makes it a point to use one particular kind of food on definite days (this is called fasting), to beat his forehead against stone floors (this is called penance), and to perform a thousand other idiotic things. Equally foolish things are done by the religious Jew, the Moslem Turk, the Buddhist Chinese, in a word by everyone who believes in God. Hence it follows that really religious people are incapable of fighting. Religion, as we have shown, not only leaves people in

a state of *barbarism*, but helps to leave them in a state of *slavery*. A religious man is more inclined to suffer anything that happens resignedly, for everything, as they believe, "comes from God" ("from on high"); he considers himself bound to submit to the authorities and to suffer, for which he will be repaid a hundred-fold in the life to come. Little wonder, then, that the dominant classes in capitalist States look upon religion as a very useful tool for deceiving and stultifying the people.

At the beginning of the chapter we saw that the power of the bourgeoisie is sustained not only by bayonets but also by dulling the *brains* of the slaves. We also saw that the bourgeoisie poisons the minds of its subjects on an *organized* plan. For this purpose there is a special organization, namely, the *Church* organized by the State. In nearly all capitalist countries the church is just as much a State institution as is the police; and the priest is as much a State official as is the executioner, the gendarme, the detective. He receives a *Government salary* for administering his poison to the masses. This is the most dangerous part of the whole affair. Were it not for this monstrously firm and strong organization of the plundering capitalist State, there would be no room for a single priest. Their bankruptcy would be swift enough. But the trouble is that the bourgeois States support the whole church institution, which in return staunchly supports the bourgeois Government. At the time of the Tzar the Russian priests not only deceived the masses, but even made use of the confessionals to find out what ideas or intentions their victims entertained towards the Government; they acted as spies while discharging their "sacred duties." The Government not only supported them, but even persecuted by imprisonment and exile and all other means, all so-called "blasphemers" of the Greek Orthodox Church.

All these considerations explain the programme of the Communists with regard to their attitude to religion and to the Church. *Religion must be fought, if not by violence, at all events by argument. The Church must be separated from the State.* That means that the priests may remain, but should be maintained by those who wish to accept their poison from them or by those who are interested in their existence. There is a poison called opium; when that is smoked, sweet visions appear; you feel as if you were in paradise. But its action tells on the health of the smoker. His health is gradually ruined, and little by little he becomes a meek idiot. The same applies to religion. There are people who wish to smoke opium; but it would be absurd if the State maintained at its expense, that is to say, at the expense of the people, opium dens and special men to serve them. For this reason the Church must be (and already is) treated in the same way; priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, abbots and the rest of the lot must be refused State maintenance. Let the believers, if they wish it, feed the holy fathers at their own expense on the fat of the land, a thing which they, the priests, greatly appreciate.

On the other hand, freedom of thought must be guaranteed. Hence the axiom that religion is a private affair. This does not mean that we should not struggle against it by freedom of argument. It means that the State should support no church organization. As regards this question, the programme of the Bolshevik Communists *has been carried out all over Russia*. Priests of all creeds have been deprived of State subsidy. And that is the reason why they have become so furious and have twice anathematized the present Government, i. e., the Government of the workers, by excommunicating all workers from the church. We must note this. At the time of the Tzar they knew well enough the text in the Scripture which says, "There is no power but from God," and "The powers that be are to be obeyed." They willingly sprinkled executioners with holy water. But why have they forgotten these texts at a time when the workers are at the head of the Government? Is it possible that the will of God does not hold good when there is a Communist Government? What can the reason be? The thing is very simple. The Soviet Government is the *first* Government in Russia to attack the pockets of the clergy. And this, by the way, is a priest's most sensitive spot. The clergy are now in the camp of the "oppressed bourgeoisie." They are working secretly and openly against the working class. But times have changed, and the masses of the laboring class are not so prone to become the easy prey to deceit they were before. Such is the great educational significance of the Revolution; revolution liberates us from *economic* slavery, but it also frees us from *spiritual* bondage.

There is another vital question concerning the mental education of the masses. It is the question of the school.

At the time of the domination of the bourgeoisie the school served more as an organ of educating the masses in a spirit of *submission to the bourgeoisie* than as a medium of real education. All primers and other appurtenances of study were permeated with the spirit of slavery. Especially was this the case with history books. These did nothing but lie in describing the feats of the Tzars and other crowned scoundrels. Next to these, an important part in the schools was played by the clergy. Everything aimed at one object: to mould the child so that it should emerge not a citizen but a *subject*, a slave, capable if the occasion requires to kill his fellow-men should they rise against the capitalist Government. Schools were divided into grades; there were schools for the common people and others for the better classes. For the latter there were colleges and universities, where the sons of the bourgeoisie were taught various sciences with the final object of teaching them how to manage and subjugate the rabble; for the rabble there was the lower school. In these, more than in the others, was the influence of the clergy predominant. The object of this school, that gave very little knowledge but taught the children a great deal of religious lies, was to prepare people to suffer, obey, and be resignedly submissive to the better classes. The common people had no access whatever to the higher schools, that is to the universities, the social higher technical schools, and various other institutions. And thus an educational monopoly was created. Only the rich or those supported by the rich could enjoy a more or less decent education. For these reasons the intellectuals utilized their position in a very clever manner. And, of course, at the time of the October Revolution they were against the workers; they scented danger of their privileges and rights vanishing if *everybody* had the right to study, and if the "rabble" were given the possibility of acquiring knowledge.

It is therefore necessary in the very first place to make education *general and compulsory*. In order to construct life on new principles it is necessary that a man should be accustomed from childhood to honest toil. For this purpose school children should be taught all kinds of manual labor in the schools. The doors of the high schools should be open to all. The priests should be turned out of the schools; let them, if they wish to, fool the children anywhere they like, but not in a Government institution: schools should be *secular* and not religious. The organs of the local government of the workers have control over the schools, and should not be parsimonious where public instruction and the supply of all the requisites for successful teaching for boys and girls is concerned. At present in some of the villages and provincial towns, some idiotic schoolmasters, aided by the "kulaks" (or rather the "kulaks" aided by these idiots) are carrying on a propaganda, saying that the Bolsheviks are aiming at destroying science, abolishing education, and so on. This is, of course, a most despicable lie. The Communist Bolsheviks have quite different intentions; they wish to liberate science from the yoke of capitalism, and to make all science accessible to the laboring masses. They wish to destroy the *monopoly* (exclusive right) of the rich to education. This is the true foundation of the matter; and it is no wonder that the rich are afraid of losing one of their chief supports. If every workman acquires the qualifications of an engineer, then the position of the capitalist and of the rich engineer is not worth a brass farthing. They will have nothing more to boast of, for there will be many such as they. No undermining of the workers' cause, no amount of sabotage by the old servants of capital will be of any avail. And that is what the right honorable bourgeoisie is afraid of.

Culture for the bourgeoisie, spiritual subjection for the poor—these are the capitalists' war cries. Culture for all, liberation of the mind from the yoke of capital—this is the watchword of the party of the working class, the party of the Communists.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PEOPLE ARMED DEFEND THEIR GAINS

(Army of the Soviet Republic)

"The best guarantee, the best security for freedom, is a bayonet in the hands of the workers." These were the words of one of the creators of scientific Communism, Frederick Engels. Now we can actually see how true this saying is: it has been completely confirmed by the experience of the great Revolution of 1917.

Quite a short time ago even some of our more radical comrades raised the cry of "disarmament." This is what they said: The bourgeoisie is everywhere

building a monstrous, colossal fleet—submarine, marine and aerial; huge armies are growing. Fortresses are being built, colossal cannon and such organs of destruction as armored cars and tanks. All this terrible system of violence must be destroyed. We must demand general disarmament.

But the Bolsheviks argued otherwise. We said: Our war cry is *disarmament of the bourgeoisie* and unconditional and universal *arming of the working class*. And indeed, it would be ridiculous to attempt to persuade the bourgeoisie to surrender its most powerful weapon—its armed forces (composed by the way, of deceived workmen and poor peasants). This violent death-dealing machine can only be destroyed by means of *violence*. Arms are surrendered only by the compulsion of the superior armed force of the other side; and in this fact lies the significance of the armed *resistance* against the bourgeoisie.

For the bourgeoisie the army is a weapon in the struggle for the division of the world on the one hand, and a weapon in the struggle against the working class on the other. The Tzar and Kerensky dreamed of conquering Constantinople as well as the Dardanelles, Galicia, and many another spicy bit by the aid of their army. At the same time both the Tzar and Kerensky (and that means the landowners and the capitalists) were oppressing the working class and the poorest peasantry as much as they could. In the hands of large property owners the army served as a weapon for the division of the world and for the subjection of the poor elements of the population. That is what the army used to be in former times.

How was it possible for the bourgeoisie to make of the workers and peasants (of whom the army is largely composed) a weapon against these very workers and peasants? What enabled the Tzar and Kerensky to do so? Why was it done by Wilhelm and Hindenburg and by the German bourgeoisie, who turned their workers into executioners of the Russian, Finnish, Ukrainian and German revolutionaries? Why were German sailors who revolted against their oppressors shot down by the hand of other German sailors? How is it that the English bourgeoisie is suppressing by means of English soldiers (who are also mostly workers) the revolution in Ireland, a country oppressed and trodden underfoot by cruel English bankers?

To this question the same answer should be given as to that of how the bourgeoisie manages to retain its power in general. We have seen that this is achieved by means of the perfect organization of the bourgeoisie. In the army the power of the bourgeoisie rests on two principles; firstly on the *officer corps*, consisting of nobles and bourgeois; and secondly on the special training and spiritual murder, i. e., on a bourgeois *moulding of the minds of the soldiers*. The officer corps on the whole is a purely class institution. An officer is ideally trained for the work of militarism, to inflict brutal corporal punishment on the soldiers and to cruelly mishandle them. Just glance at one of these brave officers of the Guards or at a Prussian dandy with the face of a prize bull-dog. You can see at a glance that like a circus trainer he has been long and persistently learning how to ill-treat and bully and keep the human herd in a state of mortal fear and blind-obedience.

You can see that, since such gentlemen are picked and chosen from among the bourgeoisie and nobility and sons of landowners and capitalists, it is quite evident that they will lead the army in quite a definite direction.

And now, look at the soldiers: They enter the army as common men, with no common bond, from different provinces, unable to show any united resistance, with minds already tainted by the clergy and the school. They are instantly put up at barracks, and the training begun. Intimidation and teaching of the most anti-democratic notions, a constant system of fear and punishment, corruption by rewards for crime (for instance, for the execution of strikers), all this makes idiots of the men, dummies, who blindly obey their own mortal enemies.

It is evident that with the Revolution, the army entirely resting on the old Tzarist basis, the army driven to slaughter for the purpose of conquering Constantinople even by Kerensky, must inevitably have become disorganized. Do you ask why? Because the soldiers saw that they were being organized, trained and thrown into battle *for the sake of the criminal stupidity of the bourgeoisie*. They saw that for nearly three years they sat in the trenches, perished, hungered, suffered, and died and killed others all for the sake of somebody's money-bags. It is natural enough that when the revolution has displaced the old discipline and a new one *had not yet had time* to be formed, the collapse, ruin and death of the old army took place.

This disease was inevitable. The Menshevik and Socialist revolutionary fools accuse the Bolsheviks of this disaster: "see what you have done! Corrupted the army of the Tzar." They fail to see that the Revolution could not have been victorious if the army had remained loyal to the Tzar and to the generals in February and to the bourgeoisie in October. The soldiers' rising against the Tzar was *already* the result of the disorganization of the Tzarist army. Every revolution destroys what is old and rotten: a certain period (a very difficult one to live through) must pass until the new life is formed, until the building of a new beautiful edifice is begun upon the ruins of the old pig-sty.

Let us give you another example from a different sphere. As the older workers know, in bygone times, when the peasants were only beginning to turn to factory work, the first thing that happened when they came to town was to become desperate "hooligans," "rowdies," "roughs." The word "factory hand" or "worker" were practically words of abuse; and indeed our workers were great hands at ruffianism, obscenity and swearing. Basing their arguments on this state of affairs, all reactionaries fearing any kind of innovation used to propagate a return to serfdom.

What they said was this: As town life depraves workers and as its tendency is to "roughen their characters," what they want is the country, and especially the paternal rod of the landowners. Under these conditions virtue will be sure to thrive. And they sneered ill-naturedly at those who looked upon the working class as the salt of the earth. They used to say to us Marxists, disciples of the great Communist, Karl Marx: "Do you see what you workers are? They are swine, not men. They are blackguards! And you say that they are the salt of the earth! A good whip and a stick—that is what they want; that will teach them to behave themselves."

Many were "convinced" by such arguments. But the truth of the matter is this: when the peasants went to town and broke with the country, the old village ties and traditions were forgotten. In the country they lived according to old traditions, looking up to the old men as if they were oracles, obeying them although they had grown childish with age; they would stay peacefully within the limits of their cabbage patch, never setting foot outside their native town, and would, of course, be afraid of anything new. This is an example of rustic wisdom. Bad as it was, it served as a bridle, and helped to preserve village order. This simplicity vanished rapidly in the towns, where everything was new: new people, new outlooks, and a multitude of new temptations in store. No wonder that the old village morality vanished into thin air, and some time elapsed before a *new* was formed. It was this interval between two periods that came to be a period of depravity.

But during the course of events a new consciousness arose in the new sphere of life; the consciousness of *the solidarity of the proletariat*. The factory united the workers; the oppression of the capitalists taught them to struggle jointly; in the place of the weak, insipid grandfatherly wisdom there arose a new proletarian outlook, infinitely higher than the old. It is this new outlook that is changing the proletariat into the most advanced, most revolutionary, most creative of all classes. We Communists, of course, and not the feudalist landowners proved to be right.

At the present time the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries have taken up the attitude of the feudalist with regard to the army. They are loudly bewailing the disorganization of the army, whilst laying the blame on the Bolsheviks. And just as the feudalist used to call the workers back into the country under the protective wing of the landowner and his whip, just so do the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries now appeal for a return to the old army discipline, to serve under a Constituent Assembly on a basis of a return to capitalism and all its "attractions." But we Communists look ahead. We know that the past is dead, having become rotten as was inevitable, and that, failing thus, the workers and poor peasants could never take the Government into their hands: we know that in the place of the old army a new, more enlightened one, the *Red Army of Socialism*, has arisen.

As long as the *bourgeoisie* stand at the head of Government, and our country is a fatherland of bankers, traders, speculators, police, kings and presidents, so long will the working class have no personal interests in guarding this filthy profit-producing apparatus. A proletarian's duty is to *rise* against this institution. Only miserable lackies and hangers-on to money-bags can say that we must not strike and revolt against the plundering Imperialist Government at a time of war. Of course, such revolts stand in the way of the plundering war business. It is

quite clear that agitation within the country, and more especially agitation in the army, aids disorganization. But how is the domination of Wilhelm, for instance, to be broken without disorganizing the Wilhelm discipline? Impossible. The German martyr sailors murdered by Wilhelm's executioners, certainly aided the disorganization of the army organized after the high-way robbery system. But if the robbers' army is inwardly strong, that would mean death to the revolution. If the revolution is strong, that means death to the robbers' army. The followers of Scheidemann, the German social betrayers, are persecuting Liebknecht as a disorganizer of the army. They are persecuting all the German revolutionists, the German Bolsheviks, as people who are "dealing the valorous army a dastardly blow in the back," in other words, a blow to the cause of plunder. Let the Scheidemanns fraternize with our Mensheviks and such like individuals—they are all of a kidney.

Russia has passed through this period. The revolution of the workers is victorious. The period of decay has passed into the realm of memory. The period of construction of a new order of things is upon us. A Red Army is being built now *not for plunder*, but for the defence of *Socialisms* not to guard the fatherland of profit, where everything was in the hands of capital and the landowners, but to protect the *Socialist* fatherland, where everything has been transferred to the hands of workers; not for the sake of mutilating and ravaging foreign countries, but for the purpose of aiding the *international Communist Revolution*.

It is needless to say that this army must be built on different principles to the old one. The Red Army, we have said, must represent an armed *people* alongside a disarmed *bourgeoisie*. It must be a class army of the *proletariat* and the *poorest peasantry*. It is essentially directed against the bourgeoisie of the whole world, including its own. This is the reason why it cannot include armed representatives of the bourgeoisie. To admit the bourgeoisie into the army would be equal to arming it: it would mean creating a White Guard within the Red Army which might easily disorganize the whole concern, becoming a centre of treason and revolt, and go over into the camp of the imperialist troops of the enemy. Our object is not to arm the bourgeoisie, but to disarm it, depriving it of its last machine gun.

Our second, and not less important task, is to prepare a *proletarian officer corps*. The working class has to defend itself against enemies who are attacking it from all sides. War has been imposed upon it by the imperialist rascals: and modern warfare requires well-trained specialists. The Tzar and Kerensky had such men at their disposal, but the working class and the peasantry have not. Specialists have to be trained. For this purpose we must utilize the knowledge of the old ones; they must be compelled to instruct the proletariat. Then the Socialist Soviet Fatherland will have its own officers and its own *officer corps*. And just as in the Revolution, the more experience and active working class leads after it the poor peasantry, so in the war against the imperialist robbers, the worker-officers will lead the whole mass of the Red Peasant Army.

The Red Army must be created on the basis of universal training of the workers and the poorest elements of the peasantry.

This is most urgent and important. Not a minute, not a second should be lost. Every workman and every peasant must be trained and must be taught how to use arms. Only fools can argue that: "They are a long way off yet; until they come we shall have time to get ready." Russian sluggards often reason like that. All the world knows that the favorite Russian saying is ("avos") "perhaps" or "maybe"; "avos we shall manage." But before you have time to wink, the class foe called landowners and capitalists, arrives on the spot and takes the workman by the collar; and, maybe, when some brave Prussian subaltern (or an English one, who knows?) places our workman against the wall to be shot, the good-natured fellow will scratch his head saying, "What a fool I have been!"

We must look sharp. *Don't let Peter wait for Bill, or Bill for Peter*. Let no one be idle, but all set earnestly to work. Universal military training is the most urgent and most important problem of the day.

The old army was based on the *retreat* of the soldiers. This happened because of capitalists and landowners commanding over millions of soldiers-peasants and workmen, whose interests were contrary to their own. The capitalist Government was thus obliged to turn the soldier into a brainless tool, acting against his own interests. But the *Red Army* of the workers and peasants, on the contrary, is defending its own cause. It must therefore be based only on the *enlightenment and conscientiousness* of all comrades who enter its ranks. Hence the need for special courses, reading-rooms, lectures, meetings and conferences. In their leisure hours the soldiers of the Red Army must take an active part together

with the workmen in the political life of the country, attending meetings and *sharing the life of the working class*.

This is one of the most important conditions for creating a firm *revolutionary discipline*; not the former discipline of the rod, but the new discipline of the class-conscious revolutionary. If the bond between the army and the working class is broken, then the army rapidly degenerates and can easily turn into a band willing to serve the master who pays most. Then it begins to fall asunder, and nothing can save it. And, on the contrary, if the soldiers of the Red Army keep close contact with and *take an interest in their lives*, then they will be exactly what they are meant to be—the armed organ of the revolutionary masses.

One of the best ways of keeping in contact with the masses besides the above-mentioned lectures, political meetings, is the utilization of the soldiers for continuously training the workers in shooting, handling rifles, machine guns, etc. Instead of idling, card playing, and other "recreations," instead of senselessly sauntering about the barracks, they can turn to creative work, which is in uniting the proletariat into one friendly family. In this way an *armed people* is created, as well as an armed peasantry, to keep watch over the great revolution of the workers.

CHAPTER XIX

THE LIBERATION OF NATIONS

(The National Question and International Diplomacy)

The programme of the Communist Party is a scheme not only for the liberation of the proletariat of one country, but for the emancipation of the proletariat of the whole world; for it is a programme of *international revolution*. But it is, at the same time a programme of the liberation of all oppressed countries and nations. The plundering "great Empires" (England, Germany, Japan, America, etc.) have, by dint of robbery acquired ascendancy over untold expanses of land and vast number of people. They have divided our whole planet between them; and no wonder that in these conquered countries the working class and the laboring masses are groaning under a *double yoke*—that of their own bourgeoisie and the *additional* one cast upon them by their conquerors.

Tzarist Russia had also gained by plunder a great deal of territory and many peoples. The present size of "our" Empire is only to be explained in this way. It is quite natural that among many "aliens," including even some sections of the proletariat who did not belong to the "great Russian" nationality, there was a general *lack of confidence* towards the "Moscal," as the natives of Muscovy were formerly called. The nationalist persecution evoked nationalist sentiments; the oppressed part of the proletariat had no confidence in the oppressing nationality as a whole, without distinction of class; the oppressing parts of the proletariat did not sufficiently understand the position of the "alien" proletariat subjected to a *double* burden of persecution. And yet, in order to attain the victory of the workers' revolution along the whole front, *complete and perfect confidence of the various parts of the proletariat towards each other* is imperative. The proletariat of "alien" nations should be made to feel by deed and word that it has a loyal ally in the person of the proletariat of the nation that formerly was the oppressor. Here in Russia the dominating nation used to be the "Great Russian," which conquered in succession the Finns and the Tartars, the Ukrainian and the Armenians, the Georgians and the Poles, the Sivasches and Moravians, the Kirghizes and Bashkirs, and dozens of other tribes. It naturally follows that some proletarians of these peoples foster mistaken notions concerning *everything Russian*. He has been accustomed to being ordered about and abused by the Tzar's officials, and he thinks that *all* Russians and the Russian proletariat as well are like what the former was.

It is for the purpose of instilling a brotherly confidence in the various sections of the proletariat that the programme of the Communists proclaims the *right of the laboring class of every nation to complete independence*. That means to say that the Russian worker who is now at the head of the Government must say to the workers of other nationalities living in Russia: "Comrades, if you do not wish to form a part of the Soviet Republic; if you wish to organize your own Soviets and form an independent Soviet Republic, you can do so. We fully acknowledge your right to do so, and we do not wish to detain you by force even for a single moment.

It is self-evident that only by *such tactics* can the confidence of the proletariat as a whole be won. Let us imagine what would happen if the workers' Soviets

of Great Russia were to attempt by force of arms to coerce the working class of other nations into submission. The latter would mean the complete collapse of the whole of all proletarian movements and the fall of the Revolution. *That is not the right way to act, for, we repeat, victory is possible only on condition of a fraternal union of the workers.*

Let us bear this in mind. The question is not of the right of the *nation* (i. e., of the workers and the bourgeoisie together) to independence, but of the right of the *laboring classes*. That means that the so-called "will of the nation" is not in the least sacred to us. We consider sacred only the will of the *proletariat and the semi-proletarian masses*.

That is why we speak not of the rights of nations to independence, but of the right of the *laboring classes* of every nation to separation if it so desires. During a proletarian dictatorship it is not the constituent Assemblies (all national, embracing all the people of the given territory), but the *Soviets* of workers that decide questions. And if in any out-of-the-way corner there would be simultaneously convened two conferences, the "Constituent Assembly" of the given nation and the Convention of Soviets; and if it so happens that the "Constituent Assembly" expressed itself in favor of separation, and the Proletariat Convention voted against it, even then we should support the decision of the *proletariat* against that of the "Constituent Assembly" by every means, including force of arms.

This is how the Proletarian Party decides questions relating to the proletarians of the various nations living within the boundaries of the country. But our party is confronted with a still more difficult question, that of *its international programme*. Here our way is clear. We must pursue the tactics of universal support of the *International Revolution* by means of revolutionary propaganda, strikes, and revolts in Imperialist countries, and by propagating revolts and insurrections in the colonies of these countries.

In Imperialist countries (and such are all countries except Russia, where the workers have blown out the brains of capital) one of the main obstacles to a revolution is the social-patriotic party. Even at the present moment it is proclaiming the defence of the (plundering) fatherland, thereby deceiving the masses of the people. They are deploring the decay of the (plundering) army. They are persecuting our friends the German, Austrian and English Bolsheviks, who alone persist in refusing with contempt and indignation to defend the bourgeois fatherland. The position of the Soviet Republic is an *exclusive* one. It is the only *proletarian* State organization in the world, in the midst of organized plundering bourgeois States. For that reason alone this Soviet State has a right to be defended; and more than that, it must be looked on as a weapon of the *universal proletariat* against the universal bourgeoisie. The war cry of this struggle is self-evident: the universal war cry of this struggle is the motto of the *International Soviet Republic*.

The overthrow of Imperialist Governments by means of *armed insurrection* and the organization of the international Soviet Republic, such is the way to an *international dictatorship of the working class*.

The most efficient means of supporting the international revolution is the organization of armed forces of the revolution. The workers of all countries who are not blinded by social patriots, the local Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks (of whom there are many in every country) recognize in the Russian Workers' Revolution and in the Soviet Government facts that concern them intimately. Why? Because they understand that the government of the Soviets means the government of the workers themselves. It would be quite different if the bourgeoisie, aided by the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries had overthrown the Soviet Government, convened the Constituent Assembly, and by its means had organized the government of the bourgeoisie, approximately on the same plan as that which existed before the October coup d'état. In that case the working class would have *lost* its country, its fatherland, for it would have lost its power. Then the banks would inevitably have been returned to the bankers, the factories to the manufacturers, and the land to the landowners. The *fatherland of profits* would have revived, and the workers would not have been interested in the least in defending such a fatherland. On the other hand the West European workers would also have ceased to regard bourgeoisie Russia as the bright beacon showing them their way in the difficult struggle. The development of international revolution would have retarded. On the contrary, the organization of *resistance* against international robbers who are fighting against Soviet Russia as its *class* enemies, as owners and capitalists, in a word, as a band of executioners of the *Workers' Revolution*, the organization of the Red Army—these are the factors combining to strengthen the revolutionary movement in all European countries.

The better we are organized, the better we arm the battalions of workers and peasants, the stronger will be the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, and the quicker will the cause of international revolution advance.

The Revolution is inevitable, however its progress is hindered by German, Austrian, French and English Mensheviks. The Russian working masses have broken with the compromisers. The workers of Western Europe will also break with them. (They are, as a matter of fact, doing so already.) The maximum of overthrowing the bourgeois fatherlands, of shattering the plundering Governments, and of establishing workers' *dictatorship*, is steadily gaining ground. Sooner or later we shall have an *International Republic of Soviets*.

The International Republic of Soviets will free hundreds of millions in all nations of their yoke. The "civilized" plundering Empires have cruelly tortured the inhabitants of their colonies by their blood and iron regime. European civilization was maintained by the blood of small peoples mercilessly exploited and robbed in the far-off countries beyond the seas. They will be freed by the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, and by that alone. Just as the Russian Government has announced its refusal to participate in a colonial policy, and has proved its decision by its attitude with regard to Persia, just so will the European working class, after overthrowing the domination of bankers, etc., give complete freedom to the oppressed and exploited classes. That is the reason why our programme, which is that of the international revolution, is at the same time a plan for the complete liberation of all the weak and oppressed. The great class—the working class—has set before itself great problems; and it has not only set them, but is proceeding to solve them in a bloody, painful, heroic struggle.

CONCLUSION

(Why We are Communists)

Up to the time of the last Convention, our party called itself the party of the social democracy. The party of the working class bore the same name all over the world. But the war has been responsible for an unprecedented schism in the social-democratic parties here. Three main tendencies have come to the fore—the extreme right, the centre, and the extreme left wing.

The right social-democrats have proved to be thoroughgoing traitors to the working class. They prostrated themselves in the dust, and are still doing so, before the generals whose hands are covered with the blood of workers. They support the vilest projects and greatest crimes of their Governments. We have only to remember that the German Social-Democrat Scheidemann is supporting the Ukrainian policy of the German generals. They are the real *executioners* of the workers revolution.

When the German workers have won their cause they will hang Scheidemann on the same gallows as Wilhelm. There are a great number of these kind of persons in France and England, as well as in other countries. It is they who deceive the workers by empty words about the defence of the fatherland (the bourgeois, Wilhelm fatherland), and *crush* the workers' revolution at home and *caecute* it in Russia with the aid of the bayonets of their Governments.

The second current is the *centre*. This has a tendency to grumble against its Government, but it is not capable of carrying on a revolutionary struggle. It has not the courage to call the workers into an open fight, and fears beyond everything an armed insurrection, which is the only way of solving the question.

And lastly, there is the third current, the *extreme left*. In Germany Liebknecht and his comrades. They are German Bolsheviks, their policy and views being those of the Bolsheviks.

You will understand what a muddle ensues as a result of all these groups calling themselves by one and the same name. The Social Democrat Liebknecht and the Social Democrat Scheidemann! What have they in common? The one, a mean traitor, an executioner of the revolution; and the other, a brave fighter for the working class. Can you imagine a greater difference?

In Russia, where the revolutionary struggle and the development of the revolution in October caused the question of Socialism and the overthrow of the bourgeois Government to be settled; immediately the dispute between the traitors to Socialism and the adherents of true Socialism was decided by *force of arms*. The Right Socialist Revolutionaries and party of the Mensheviks were on the same side of the barricades as the counter-revolutionary rabble: the Bolsheviks were on the other side, side by side with the workers and soldiers. *Blood* marked a boundary line between us. Such a thing cannot and never will be forgotten.

This is why we were *compelled* to give a different name to distinguish us from the traitors to Socialism. The difference between us is too great. Our ways and means are too far apart.

As regards the *bourgeois* Government, we Communists know but one duty towards it—to blow it up, shattering at one blow this union of plunderers. The Social Democrats propagate the defence of the union of business men, screening themselves by a pretence of defending their fatherland.

But after the victory of the working class, we stand for the defence and protection of the workers' Soviet Government against the sworn enemies, the Imperialists of the whole world. But they, like true traitors to the workers' interests, make it their task to break up the Workers' Government and demolish the Soviets. And in their struggle in this direction they go hand in hand with the united bourgeoisie.

We Communists are eagerly striving onward in spite of all difficulties: we are going towards *Communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat*. But they, like the evil bourgeoisie, hate this dictatorship with all their hearts, libelling and lowering it whenever they can, proclaiming as their watchword: "Back to Capitalism!"

We Communists say to the working class: "There are many thorns upon our path, but we must go onward, undaunted. The great revolution which is turning the old world upside down cannot go smoothly; the great revolution cannot be carried out in white gloves: it is born in pain. These birth pangs must be gone through with infinite patience: when duly born they will serve to free us from the iron grip of capitalist slavery."

And the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries and Social Democrats stand aside, looking on at our mistakes and failings, and draw the conclusion of going back. "Let us return," they say. "Give up everything to the bourgeoisie and content ourselves with a modest helping at capitalist tables."

No! Our road is not the same. These wretches try to scare us by the bogey of civil war. But there can be no revolution without a civil war. Or do they perhaps imagine that in other more advanced countries Socialist revolutions will take place without civil war? The example of Finland has proved the best evidence of civil war in advanced capitalist countries being even more fierce, more bloody, more cruel and frenzied than ours proved to be. Now we can foresee that in Germany, for instance, the war between the classes will be extremely acute. The German officers are already shooting their soldiers and sailors by hundreds for the slightest attempt at rebellion. It is only through civil war and the *iron dictatorship of the workers* that Socialism can be attained. Such is the programme of the Communists.

The domination of the bourgeois Government, organization of production by the working class, a wide road to Communism—such is the programme of the Communist Party.

When we call ourselves Communists we not only draw a line to distinguish ourselves from the social traitors, such as Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, and followers of Scheidemann, and other bourgeois agents. We revert to the old name of the revolutionary party, at the head of which stood Karl Marx. His was the *Communist Party*. The testament of modern revolution up to the present moment is still the "Manifesto of the Communists" written by Marx and Engels. Some eighteen months before his death old Engels protested against the name of "Social Democrat." He said, "This name is not a suitable one for a party which is striving towards Communism and which finally aims at destroying *every form* of government, including a democratic one." What would these great old men, glowing with hatred towards the bourgeois State apparatus, say if they were shown such Social Democrats as Dan, Tzeretelli, Scheidemann? They would have branded them with contempt, as they did those "democrats" who, in tragic and difficult moments of the revolution, directed the muzzles of their revolvers against the working class.

There are many obstacles in our way; and there is at present much that is evil in our midst. For many outsiders have joined us who are selling themselves for money to the highest bidder, intending to fish in troubled waters. And the working class is young and inexperienced. And the fiercest enemies are surrounding the young Soviet Republic on all sides. But we Communists know that the working class is learning wisdom by its own mistakes. We know that it will clear its ranks of all the impurity that has crept in; we know that it will be joined by its loyal and desired ally—the world proletariat. No old womanish wails, no hysterical shrieks will confuse our party, for it has put upon its banner

the golden words written by Marx in the Communist Manifesto: "LET THE GOVERNING CLASSES TREMBLE BEFORE THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION. THE PROLETARIAT HAS NOTHING TO LOSE BUT ITS CHAINS; IT HAS A WORLD TO WIN. PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!" May, 1918.

EXHIBIT No. 15

[Source: A pamphlet published by the Publishing Office of the Third Communist International, Moscow: 1920; American edition, published by the United Communist Party of America]

Workers of the World Unite!

THE CAPITALIST WORLD AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

MANIFESTO OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Publishing Office of the Third Communist International, Moscow 1920. American edition published by the United Communist Party of America

The Second Congress of the Communist International, representing thirty-five countries, met at Petrograd on July 17th, 1920, and continued its sessions in Moscow from July 27th to Aug. 7th. Its purpose was to form a clear idea regarding the international situation, to cast a retrospective glance over the road already traveled, and to establish the milestone of further struggle.

The World Congress of the Communist International unanimously addresses this manifesto to the workingmen and women of the whole world with the profound conviction that its aims are just and its methods correct.

1. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AFTER VERSAILLES

The bourgeoisie of the whole world is looking back wistfully upon the days just past. All the foundations of international and internal relations have been overthrown or shaken. Threatening clouds darken the future of the capitalist world. The old system of alliances and mutual insurance which formed the foundations of international equilibrium and of armed peace has been utterly destroyed by the Imperialist War. The Versailles Treaty has failed to establish any other adjustment in its stead.

Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany in succession have fallen out of the world race. Some of the powerful empires which had themselves previously played a prominent part in the world's plunder have now become the objects of plunder and dismemberment. A new and vast field for colonial exploitation, beginning from this side of the Rhine, embracing the whole of Central and Eastern Europe and stretching as far as the Pacific Ocean, opens itself before the victorious Imperialists of the Entente. How can the Congo, Syria, Egypt or Mexico be compared with the steppes, forests and mountain lands of Russia taken together with the skilled labor power of Germany? The new colonial policy of the victors has worked itself out: the overthrow of the Labor Republic in Russia, the plunder of Russian raw material, the compulsory application of German labor power to work this raw material with the aid of German coal, using the German employer as an armed overseer—and the assembling of the manufactured products and the profits that go with them. The victorious Allies have inherited the program of "organizing Europe", which had been advanced by German Imperialism in the heyday of its military success. Thus when the vanquished bandits of the German Empire are to be put on trial by the Entente rulers, they will certainly be tried by a jury of their peers.

But there are defeated parties even in the camp of the conquerors.

Stupefied by the fumes of a chauvinistic victory which it had won for the benefit of others the French bourgeoisie fancies that it has become the ruler of Europe. But in reality France has never been in such slavish dependence upon the more powerful governments of England and America than she is today. France is dictating Belgium's industrial and military policy, thus converting her weaker ally into a subject province. While she herself is nothing but a larger Belgium in relation to England. For the time being the English Imperialists allowed the

French usurers to have their way within the limits of the continent assigned to them, thus shrewdly diverting from themselves the keen indignation of European and English workers, and turning it upon France. The power of moribund and devastated France is ephemeral and almost farcical. Sooner or later this fact will penetrate into the minds of even the French social-patriots.

Italy has fallen still lower in the scale of international relations. Deprived of coal and bread, deprived of raw material, having its internal equilibrium lost as a result of the war, the Italian bourgeoisie is incapable, though entirely willing, to realize in full measure the rights to plunder and violate even those colonial allotments assigned to it by England.

Japan, torn within her feudal shell by capitalist contradictions, stands on the verge of a great revolutionary crisis which is already paralyzing her imperialist aspirations, in spite of the favorable international situation.

Thus only two great powers remain: Great Britain and the United States.

The English Imperialism has rid itself of the Asiatic rivalry of Czarism and of the menace of German competition. The military power of Britain has reached its apex. England has surrounded the Continent with a chain of subject nations. She has subjected to her control Finland, Esthonia and Latvia, thus depriving Sweden and Norway of the last vestige of independence and converting the Baltic Sea into a British bay. She has no rival in the North Sea. Her supremacy in South Africa, Egypt, India, Persia and Afganistan has converted the Indian Ocean into a British lake. Her domination on the sea makes her likewise mistress of the continent. Her power over the world ends only with the American Dollar Republic and the Russian Soviet Republic.

The United States was absolutely thrown off the path of continental provincialism by the world war. The Monroe doctrine—"America for the Americans"—which was the program of the newly fledged national capitalism, has given place to the imperialism watchword—"Make the Whole World America." Having started with exploiting the war and profiting from the European bloodshed by commercial and industrial deals and exchange speculation, America went on to direct participation in the world war, playing a predominant part in the destruction of Germany and now has its hand in all questions of European and world politics.

Under the banner of the League of Nations the United States tried to extend to this side of the ocean its policy of unifying various nationalities on a federative basis and hitch to its golden chariot the nationalities of Europe and other parts of the world and govern them from Washington. The League of Nations was to be essentially nothing more than a world monopoly of "Yankee and Co."

The President of the United States, the great Prophet of Platitudes, had descended from Mt. Sinai to conquer the world with his Fourteen Commandments. Stockbrokers, ministers and men of business entertained no illusion whatever regarding the meaning of this new revelation. The European "Socialists" on the other hand, baked on the Kautskian oven, got into a religious transport, and danced like King David following in the wake of the Wilsonian ark.

But in coming down to practical questions the American apostle learned that in spite of the excellent exchange rate of the dollar, England still occupies, as heretofore, the first place on all sea routes which connect and divide nations, for she has the strongest navy, the longer cables and the greater experience in world plunder. Another obstacle in Wilson's path was the Soviet Republic and Communism. Thus the American Messiah resentfully deserted the League of Nations, which has become one of England's diplomatic offices, and turned his back upon Europe.

It would be childish, however, to suppose that American Imperialism, its first advance thwarted by England, is going to lock itself up within the shell of the Monroe doctrine. By no means. The United States is planning to create its own international system with its center in North America; both the Republican and Democratic parties stand by the policy of continuing to subject the entire American continent, convert all the countries of Central and South America into colonial dependencies, and thus create a counterpart to the English League of Nations. This end is to be achieved by means of a naval program, which in 3 to 5 years will create a navy surpassing that of Great Britain. This being a matter of life and death for English Imperialism, it results in a frenzied shipbuilding rivalry between the two giants, accompanied by a no less frenzied scramble for petroleum.

France, which had expected to play the part of arbiter between England and the United States, but which has herself like one of the lesser planets been drawn into the orbit of Great Britain, now finds herself unbearably burdened by the League of Nations and is trying to rid herself of it by fanning antagonism between England and the United States.

Thus the greatest Powers are preparing the ground for a new world encounter.

Instead of liberating the small nationalities the War has brought ruination and enslavement upon the Balkan nations, both victors and vanquished, and has Balkanized a considerable part of Europe. Actuated by their Imperialist interests the conquerors adopted the policy of dividing up the devastated great powers into small separate national states. This policy bears not even a trace of the so-called national principle: Imperialism is essentially inimical to national boundaries, even though they be those of great powers. The new petty bourgeois states are nothing more than the by-products of Imperialism; it has created as temporary props for itself, a whole series of small nations, such as Austria, Hungary, Poland, Jugoslavia, Bohemia, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia and others, some of which are openly oppressed while others are officially patronized, but all are treated as vassals. By means of its banks, railways and coal monopolies, Imperialism dominates these nations, dooming them to intolerable economic and national hardships, to endless conflicts and sanguinary strife.

What an overwhelming irony of fate that the reconstruction of Poland, which formed a part of the program of the Revolutionary democracy during the first revolutionary outbursts of the international proletariat, should now be brought about by Imperialism for counter revolutionary ends, and that the "Democracy" of Poland, whose predecessors had died on the barricades of Europe, should be used as a foul and bloody weapon in the murderous hands of the Anglo-French bandits against the first Proletarian Republic in the world!

"Democratic" Czecho-Slovakia has likewise sold itself to French capital, and has furnished White Guard contingents against Soviet Russia and Hungary.

The heroic attempt of the Hungarian proletariat to free itself from the national and economic chaos prevailing in central Europe, and emerge upon the road of a Soviet Federation, which is the only means to salvation, was stifled by the combined forces of capitalist reaction at a time when the proletariat of the more advanced countries of Europe, misled by its parties, proved incapable of doing its duty both toward Socialist Hungary and its own self.

The Soviet Government of Budapest was overthrown with the assistance of the social traitors who after having stayed in power for three and a half days, were themselves overthrown by the unbridled counter-revolutionary canaille, surpassing in its bloody deeds the crimes of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and other Allied agents. But even though temporarily crushed Soviet Hungary is like a beacon light to the toilers of Central Europe.

The Turks are unwilling to submit to the base peace terms dictated by the London tyrants. In order to get these terms fulfilled England has armed Greece and set her against Turkey. Thus both the Turks and the Greeks are given over to mutual destruction, and the Balkan peninsula and anterior Asia Minor are doomed to devastation.

Armenia's part in the Allies' fight against Turkey is analogous to that which Belgium played in the war with Germany, and Serbia in the war with Austria-Hungary. When the Armenian state was formed—without boundary lines and without means of existence—Wilson declined the Armenian mandate offered him by the "League of Nations", for Armenia's soil contained neither petroleum nor platinum. "Liberated" Armenia is now less secure than ever before.

Almost all the newly formed "national" states have their own irritants, their internal national ulcers.

At the same time the national strike within the bounds of the victorious countries has reached its climax. The English bourgeoisie which pretends to be the guardian of the nations of the world is incapable of solving the Irish question at home.

Still more threatening is the national question in the colonies. Egypt, India, Persia are shaken by internal upheavals. The toilers of the colonies are adopting the slogan of the Soviet Federation from the advanced workers of Europe and America.

Official, national, civilized bourgeois Europe—after it emerged from the war and the Versailles peace—is like a lunatic asylum. The petty states artificially dismembered, economically stifled within their boundaries, wrangle and fight with one another over seaports, provinces, and small towns. They seek the protection of the bigger states whose mutual antagonism is increasing from day to day. Italy stands in a hostile position against France and is ready to side with Germany against her as soon as the latter is capable of raising her head. France is rancorous with envy towards England, and would not hesitate to set the whole of Europe on fire if that would only enable her to get back her interests. Assisted by France, England maintains a state of chaotic impotence in Europe, in order that no one

shall be able to interfere with her imperialistic plans against America. The United States allows Japan to involve herself in Eastern Siberia so that she may meanwhile get her navy into a condition to get her the upper hand of Great Britain—provided England should not in her turn attempt to have a trial of strength with America before 1925.

It is in keeping with this state of international relations that the oracle of the French bourgeoisie, Marshal Foch, predicts that the coming war is going to begin where the preceding war left off; aeroplanes, machine guns, mitrailleuses instead of rifles, and grenades instead of the bayonet.

Workers and peasants of Europe, America, Asia, Africa, Australia! This is what you have achieved at the cost of ten millions of killed, twenty millions of wounded and maimed!

II. THE ECONOMIC POSITION

Meanwhile the ruination of mankind is going on.

The war has mechanically destroyed those universal economical ties, the development of which was one of the most important conquests of capitalism. In 1914 England, France and Italy were separated from Central Europe and from the near East, in 1917—from Russia.

During the few years of the war which has destroyed all that has been created by many generations, human labor which had been reduced to a minimum, was applied principally in those spheres where it was necessary to transform the reserves of raw material into goods, chiefly into arms and weapons of destruction.

In those basic branches of economy where man must enter into a direct struggle against the hardness and inertness of Nature, namely fuel and raw materials which have to be excavated and brought out from the bowels of the earth—production progressively died down. The victory of the Entente and the Versailles Treaty have not stemmed the economic process of economic disorganization and decay, but have changed its ways and forms. The blockade of Soviet Russia and the artificial kindling of civil war against her fertile bordering states have been and are causing incalculable damage to the welfare of humanity at large. If Russia had the minimum technical support this country could, under the conditions established by the Soviet form of production, provide two and three times the quantity of provision and raw material to Europe than that which was provided by Czarist Russia;—the International states this in the face of the entire world. Instead of this Anglo-French Imperialism is compelling the Labor Republic to direct all its forces towards defense. In order to deprive the Russian workers of fuel England held firm in its claws that source of fuel,—Baku, from which only an insignificant part of this wealth could be exported. The richest coal basin of the Donetz was periodically devastated by the white guard bands of the Entente. French instructors and sappers have worked hard over the destruction of Russian bridges and railroads. Up to the present moment Japan is robbing and ruining Eastern Siberia.

German technique and the high productivity of German labor—these most important factors in the renaissance of the system of production are now after the Versailles peace, being paralyzed much more than was the case during the war. The Entente is faced with contradictions. In order to extract payment it is indispensable that work be supplied. In order to supply work it is indispensable that life be made possible. To let devastated, dismembered, exhausted Germany live, means to give her the opportunity to become capable of resistance. The policy of Foch of keeping Germany in an ever tightening military vise, which is to prevent Germany's revival—is being dictated by fear of Germany's revenge.

There is a general shortage and a general need. The trade balance not only of Germany alone but also of France and England is of a decidedly passive character. The French State debt has reached the sum of 300 billion francs. It must be mentioned that the reactionary French Senator Gandin de Villaine asserts that two-thirds of this sum has been lost by embezzlement, thieving and general chaos.

The work of re-establishment of the French districts ruined by the war is a mere drop in this sea of devastation. The shortage of fuel and raw material as well as of labor power is the cause of insurmountable obstacles.

France wants gold, France wants coal. The French bourgeoisie points to the innumerable graves of the war cemeteries and demands its dividends. Germany must pay! It must be remembered that General Foch has sufficient negroes for the occupation of German cities. Russia must pay! In order to inoculate the Russian people with this idea the French Government spends billions upon the devastation of Russia; money which was originally collected and intended for the revival of France.

The international financial compact which was to ease the tax burden of France by a more or less complete annulment of war debts did not take place;—the United States gave no evidence whatever of a desire to make Europe a present of 10 billions of dollars.

The issue of paper currency is continuing to an ever growing extent. While in Soviet Russia the extensive introduction of paper currency and its devaluation is, coincident with the development of a systematic communal distribution of products and an extensive introduction of payment in kind, only the result of the gradual death of the commodity-money system of production, in capitalist countries on the other hand, the spread of paper currency signifies the growth of economic chaos and the approach of inevitable collapse.

The Entente Conference travels from place to place seeking inspiration at all the European resorts. Dividends are demanded all round in accordance with the number of men killed in the war. This traveling stock exchange of dead men, an exchange which fortnightly decides the question of whether France should receive 50% or 55% of the contribution which Germany is unable to pay, is a splendid example of the much-advertised "organization" of Europe.

In the process of the war capitalism has become a new thing. The systematic extraction of surplus value in the process of production, which is the basis of economic profits, seems too elementary to the bourgeoisie who have become accustomed to increase their capital twofold and tenfold within a few days, by means of speculation on the basis of international robbery.

The bourgeoisie has lost certain prejudices which stood in its way and has acquired certain habits which it did not possess formerly. The war has accustomed it to the application of the hunger blockade to whole countries, to air raids, to burning cities and villages, to the deliberate distribution of cholera bacilli, to the transportation of dynamite in diplomatic valises, to counterfeiting the paper currency and credit notes of the enemy, to bribery, espionage and contraband to an extent unheard of before. The methods of war have become upon the conclusion of peace trading methods. The principal trading operations are now merged in the activity of the state, which acts like a band of robbers armed with every means of violence. The narrower the universal base of production grows the more furious, cruel and extravagant the methods of acquisition.

To rob and to loot! This is the last word of the policy of capitalism, which has taken the place of free trade and protection. The raid of the Roumanian bandits upon Hungary from which country they exported locomotives and golden rings is a good symbol of the economic philosophy of Lloyd George and of Millerand.

The internal economic policy of the bourgeoisie is remarkable for its fluctuation between the program of further nationalization, regrouping and control on the one hand and protests against State intervention—which has developed during the war,—on the other hand. The French parliament is occupied with the sensible **business of squaring the circle**: viz. the formation of a "united command" on the railway net of the Republic without damage to the interests of the capitalist private railway companies. At the same time the capitalist press is conducting a vicious campaign against "statism", against State intervention which tends to limit private property.

The condition of the American railways, which were disorganized by the state during the war became still worse with the abolition of state control. At the same time the Republican party, in its platform promises to safeguard the economic life from arbitrary state intervention. That old watch dog, Samuel Gompers, the head of American Trade Unions, is conducting a campaign against the nationalization of railways, which is being advocated as a panacea by the fools and charlatans of reformism. As a matter of fact the disjointed violent intrusion of the State vies with speculation in increasing the chaos in the system of capitalist production during the period of capitalist decay. To transfer the principal branches of production and transport from the hands of individual trusts into the hands of the "nation", i. e., into the hands of the bourgeois State, the most powerful and greedy capitalist trust, signifies not the abolition of the evil but its unification.

The fall of prices and the rise of the rate of exchange is but a superficial and temporary state of things caused by the continuing disorganization. The fluctuation of prices does not affect the principal facts, namely the shortage of raw material and the fall of productivity. Having passed through a period of extreme tension due to the war, the working masses are incapable of working at the former rate and under pre-war conditions. The destruction within a few hours of values which it had taken years to create, the rabid, stupendous gambling of

the financial clique, ever rising on the heaped bones and ruins caused by the war,—these object lessons of History are hardly helpful in maintaining an automatic discipline in the wage slavery of the working classes.

Bourgeois economic writers and publicists speak of a "wave of idleness" which is sweeping over Europe, undermining its economic future. The employers are endeavoring to mend matters by granting privileges to the upper strata of the working classes. But that is in vain! In order to revive and to increase the productivity of labor it is indispensable that the worker be fully guaranteed that every blow of the hammer will tend to increase his own welfare and enlightenment, without subjecting him to the danger of extermination. Only a Social Revolution is able to inspire him with this confidence.

The increase of the cost of living is a powerful factor of revolutionary agitation in all countries. The bourgeoisie of France, Italy and Germany and other States is endeavoring to ameliorate by charity the destitution caused by the high prices and to retard the growth of the strike movement. To recompense the agricultural class for a part of its expenditure of labor power the State, steeped in debt, indulges in dishonest speculation and the embezzlement of its own funds, making every effort to delay the hour of settlement. Even if there is a certain category of workers whose standard of life is somewhat higher than it was prior to the war this fact has no real relation to the actual economic position of the capitalist countries. True enough some ephemeral results are often obtained today by cheating out the morrow, but there is little doubt that this will lead to catastrophic destitution and poverty.

And the United States? "America is the hope of humanity"—this phrase of Turgot is being repeated in the person of Millerand by the French bourgeoisie in the hope that its debts will be annulled, in spite of the fact that it itself never acts in this way. But the Government of the United States is not capable of leading Europe out of the economic impasse. During the last six years America has exhausted its reserves of raw material. The adoption of her capital to the requirements of the world war has resulted in a narrowing of her industrial foundations. European immigration has stopped. The counter current of emigration has deprived American industry of hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Germans, Italians, Poles, Serbians, Bohemians, who were withdrawn by war mobilization or were attracted by the vision of a newly acquired fatherland. The shortage of raw material and of labor power hangs over the Republic; owing to this the American proletariat is now entering upon a new revolutionary phase of struggle. America is rapidly Europeanizing.

Nor have the neutral countries escaped the consequences of war and blockade; like liquid in connected retorts,—the economic system of production of inter-connected states, whether large or small, fighting or neutral, victorious or defeated, established a uniform level,—that of poverty, starvation and degeneration.

Switzerland lives from hand to mouth and every unforeseen event menaces its equilibrium.

In Scandinavia the abundant flow of gold does not solve the food problem. Coal has to be begged for in parcels, lat in hand, from England. In spite of starvation in Europe the fishing industry is passing through an unprecedented crisis in Norway.

Spain remains in an extremely critical position as regards the food question owing to her having been drained of men and horses by France. This state of things leads to stormy manifestations and strikes of the starving masses.

The bourgeoisie firmly relies on the agricultural districts. The bourgeois economists assert that the welfare of the peasantry has improved very much. But this is an illusion. It is true that the trading peasantry of all countries had to some extent enriched themselves during the war. Products have been sold by them at high prices, whilst their debts which were made at the period when money was dear, must now be paid with cheap currency. That is its advantage. But it should be mentioned that the whole agrarian economy was dilapidated and disorganized during the war. It is in need of manufactured goods, while prices for these have increased in proportion to the reduced value of money. The demands of state taxes have become great and in the extreme and threaten to devour the peasant with all his land and products. Thus after a period of temporary improvement of the welfare of the small peasantry their condition becomes more and more difficult. Their dissatisfaction with the results of the war will continually increase and because they constitute the permanent army,—the small peasantry has many unpleasant surprises for the bourgeoisie.

The economic restoration of Europe made so much of by her ministers, is a lie. Europe is being ruined and the whole world along with her.

There is no salvation in the capitalist system. The policy of Imperialism does not lead to the abolition of desfitution, but to its intensification owing to the plundering of reserves.

Raw material and fuel are International questions. They can be solved only on the basis of systematic, socialized production.

The state debts must necessarily be annulled. Labor and its products must be freed from the inordinate tribute to the world plutocracy. This plutocracy must be overthrown. All state barriers which tend to subdivide the entire system of production, must be removed. The Supreme Economic Council of the Imperialists of the Entente must be replaced by the Supreme Economic Council of the world proletariat, to effect a centralized exploitation of all the economic resources of mankind.

It is essential to destroy Imperialism in order to give mankind an opportunity to live.

III. BOURGEOIS REGIME AFTER THE WAR

The entire power of the privileged classes has been concentrated upon two questions: to maintain their place in the international struggle, and to prevent the proletariat from becoming the owner of the country. This has led to the fact that the former political groupings of the bourgeoisie have lost their power. Not only in Russia where the banner of the Constitutional Democratic Party, at the decisive moment of the struggle became the banner of all propertied classes against the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution, but even in countries with an older and deeper rooted political culture, the former programs which divided the different strata of the bourgeoisie had lost their sharp distinction before the proletarian revolution broke out.

Lloyd George is the spokesman for the amalgamation of the Conservatives, the Unionists and Liberals for a mutual struggle against the approaching domination of the working class. This old demagogue strives to establish the church as a central electric station which is to feed all the parties of the propertied classes.

In France the recent and notorious epoch of anti-clericalism has now become a mere phantom; the radicals, royalists and catholics have formed a bloc of a national character against the proletariat which is lifting its head. The French Government, being ready to assist every reactionary force, supports the reactionary blackhundred Wrangel and re-establishes diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

Giolitti, neutralist and pro-German, has taken the helm of the Italian Government as the general leader of the interventionists, the neutralists, the clericist, Mazzinists, ready to manouvre with regard to the different questions of foreign and home policy, in order to offer a stiff resistance to the attack of the revolutionary proletarians of town and country. The Government of Giolitti justly considers itself the last stake of the Italian bourgeoisie.

The policy of every German Government and all the government parties since the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns has been an attempt to establish in conjunction with the Entente ruling classes a general basis of hatred of Bolshevism, i. e., a united force against the Proletarian Revolution.

While the Anglo-French Shylock is making endeavors to garrote the German nation — the German bourgeoisie, without distinction of parties, entreats its enemy to loosen the noose just enough to enable it to strangle the vanguard of the German proletariat with its own hands. This is what the periodical conferences and agreements with regard to disarmament and the transfer of war material amounts to.

In the United States the line of division between the Republicans and the Democrats has been wiped out. These powerful political organizations of the exploiters, adapted to the narrow circle of American interrelations, showed their complete lack of policy the instant the American bourgeoisie appeared upon the arena of world plunder. At no other time have the intrigues of individual leaders and cliques—both in the opposition and in the Cabinet,—been marked by such open cynicism as now. But at the same time all leaders, all cliques, the bourgeois parties of all countries, form a general front against the revolutionary proletariat.

At the time when the Social Democratic dullards persist in opposing dictatorship of democracy, the last vestiges of this democracy are being trodden upon and demolished in every part of the world.

Since the war, during which national representation played the part of an ineffective though ostentatious screen for the ruling imperialist clique, the parliaments fell into a state of complete prostration. All questions of importance are now decided without the parliament. Little is changed in this respect by the apparent widening of the parliamentary prerogatives as solemnly proclaimed by the Imperialist jugglers in Italy and in other countries. The actual masters of the fates of states are Lord Rothschild and Lord Weir, Morgan and Rockefeller, Schneider and Lusher, Hugo Stinnes and Felix Deutch, Rizello and Agnelli, the gold, coal, petroleum and metal kings—these are the men who pull the strings and who send their men to parliament to direct their work.

Amusing itself with the procedure of reading thrice insignificant acts the French parliament—most discredited for its rhetoric of lies and the cynicism of its prostitution—unexpectedly learns that the four billion which it had appropriated for the restoration of the devastated provinces in France, had been used by Clemenceau for entirely different purposes, in particular for the further devastation of Russian provinces.

The majority of members of the supposedly all-powerful British Parliament are no more aware of the actual intentions of Lloyd George and Curzon with regard to Soviet Russia, or even with regard to France than are Hindoo hags in Bengal villages.

In the United States, Congress is a docile or grumbling chorus for the President, who is himself the figurehead of the electoral machine, which is in its turn the political apparatus of the trusts. This is so, by the way, to a far greater extent since the war than previously.

Belated German parliamentarism—an abortion of the bourgeois revolution, in itself an abortion of history,—this parliamentarism suffers in its infancy from every illness peculiar to senile decay. "The most democratic" Reichstag of the Republic of Ebert is powerless, not only before the iron Marshal Foch, but even before the Stock Exchange machinations of their own Stinneses, as well as before the military conspiracies of their war clique. German parliamentary democracy is a void space between two dictatorships.

The composition of the bourgeoisie itself underwent a great change during the war. In the general atmosphere of the impoverishment of the entire world, the concentration of capital suddenly made a great step forward. Firms which were formerly in the background now become prominent. Solidity, stability, a tendency to "reasonable" compromise, the maintenance of a certain decorum, both in exploitation and in the utilization of this exploitation—all this was washed away by the waves of the Imperialist flood.

A new class of rich men has come to the foreground. It consists of military contractors, mean profiteers, parvenues, international adventurers, contrabandists, well-clad crooks—all the unbridled canaille hunting for luxury and ready to commit all kinds of atrocities against the Proletarian Revolution, from which they can expect nothing but the gallows.

The existing order, the rule of the rich, stands now fully exposed before the masses. The post bellum period in America, France and England has been marked by an indulgence in luxury which has assumed the nature of a mania. Paris, filled with international patriotic parasites, as admitted by the "Temps", resembles Babylon on the eve of its destruction.

This new bourgeoisie puts its stamp upon politics, courts, the press, art and the Church. All restraint has been thrown to the winds. Wilson, Clemenceau, Millerand, Lloyd George and Churchill do not shrink from the most brazen deceit, the most transparent falsehood, and when exposed they calmly go on to new criminal deeds. In comparison with the policies of the modern bourgeois statesmen, the classic rules of political cunning expounded by old Machiavelli become mere aphorisms of a provincial simpleton. The law courts, which formerly concealed their bourgeois essence under democratic finery, have now openly become the agency of class brutality and counter-revolutionary provocation. The judges of the Third Republic have passed a verdict of not guilty upon the murderer of Jaures without a quiver. The law courts of Germany, which has been proclaimed a Socialist Republic, are encouraging the assassins of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other proletarian martyrs. The courts of Justice of the bourgeois democracies solemnly legalize all the crimes of the White Terror.

The bourgeois press bears the impress of the golden calf like a trade mark. The leading newspapers of the international bourgeoisie represent a monstrous fabrication of lies, slander and moral adultery.

The state of mind of the bourgeoisie is just as feverish and unsettled as are the prices on its markets. During the first few months following the termina-

tion of the war, the international bourgeoisie, especially the French, trembled with fear before the oncoming Communism, measuring the degree of its immediate peril by the enormity of the bloody crimes it had committed. It has, however, sustained the first onslaught. The Socialist Parties and Trade Unions of the Second International, bound by ties of common responsibility to the bourgeoisie, shielded the bourgeoisie and made themselves the object of the first wrathful onslaught of the toilers. The bourgeoisie bought a temporary respite at the price of the utter collapse of the Second International. The counter-revolutionary elections to the French parliament pushed through by Clemenceau, a few months of unstable equilibrium, the failure of the May strike—all this was sufficient to make the bourgeoisie feel confident of the security of its regime. Its class arrogance is as great today as was its fear yesterday.

The only method of persuasion used by the bourgeoisie today is that of intimidation. It believes no more in words, it demands action—arrests, confiscations, raids, executions. Wishing to play up to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois ministers and parliamentarians pose as men of steel. Lloyd George drily recommends to the German ministers to shoot down their Communists, as France did in 1871. It is sufficient for any third rate official to accompany his inane report by defiant threats against the working class, to receive the loud approval of the Chamber.

The official government apparatus has become transformed into a bloody weapon to crush the labor movement. Alongside with it and under its auspices various private counter-revolutionary organizations have been organized and have started to work. They resort to violence in order to break strikes, to provoke disturbances, to trump up charges, to raid revolutionary organizations and wreck Communist institutions, to organize massacres and incendiarism, to murder the revolutionary leaders and perform similar deeds for the purpose of safeguarding private property and democracy.

Scions of the landlords and of the big bourgeoisie, petty bourgeois who have lost their bearings and the declassed elements among which the emigrants of the Russian nobility occupy the most prominent place, form an inexhaustible reservoir for the formation of counter-revolutionary bands. The command of these bands, is in the hands of officers who have gone through the school of the imperialist slaughter.

Following the rebellion of Kapp-Lutwitz, several thousand professional officers of the Hohenzollern army formed themselves into a strong counter-revolutionary detachment, which cannot be overcome by the German democracy, and which could be crushed only by the sledge-hammer of the proletarian dictatorship. The centralized organization of the old regime terrorists obtains its reserves from the white partisan bands formed on the Junker estates.

In the United States the "National Security League", the "Loyal American League", and similar organizations constitute the picked armies of capital, at the extreme wings of which operate ordinary bands of brigands in the person of private detective agencies.

In France the "Ligue Civique" represents a fashionable organization of strike-breakers, while the reformist "Confederation du Travail" has been outlawed.

The officers Mafia of white Hungary and the counter-revolutionary executioners patronized by England, have shown to the proletariat of the world a sample of that civilization and humaneness advocated by Wilson and Lloyd George in opposition to the Soviet government and revolutionary violence.

The "Democratic" governments of Finland and Georgia, Latvia and Esthonia are trying by all means to live up to this Hungarian model.

In Barcelona there is a band of assassins working under the control of the police. And so it is everywhere.

Even in defeated and devastated Bulgaria the officers, without employment, are uniting into secret societies, ready at the first opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism upon the heads of the Bulgarian workmen.

The program of the smoothing over of contradictions, of the cooperation of classes, of parliamentary reforms, of gradual socialization, of national unity, represents a grim jest in face of the bourgeois regime such as it has emerged from the world war.

The bourgeoisie has entirely abandoned the idea of reconciling the proletariat by means of reform. It contents itself with demoralizing the few labor aristocrats by means of bribery and holding the great masses in subjection by blood and iron.

There is not a single serious problem today which is decided by voting. Democracy has left but a memory of itself in the minds of the reformists. The entire

state organization has been reduced to its primitive form, i. e., armed force. Instead of counting the votes, the bourgeoisie counts the bayonets, machine guns and cannons, which will be at its disposal at the moment when the question of power will be finally decided.

There can be no room either for cooperation or for mediation. The only salvation is in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This can be achieved only by the rising of the proletariat.

IV. SOVIET RUSSIA

Amidst the unbridled passions of chauvinism, avarice and destruction, it has been the principle of Communism alone that has manifested a high degree of vitality and constructive force. In the course of historical development the Soviet government has for the first time been established in the most backward and exhausted country of Europe, surrounded by a host of mighty foes. But in spite of all that, it has not only maintained itself in the struggle against such great odds, but it has also demonstrated in reality the great possibilities inherent in Communism. The development and consolidation of the Soviet power in Russia is the most momentous historical event of the period succeeding the foundation of the Communist International.

In the eyes of class society the creation of an army has usually been regarded as the supreme test of industrial and State construction. The weakness or the strength of the army has been regarded as evidence of the weakness or strength of industry and the State.

In the midst of the strife the Soviet power has created a mighty armed force. The Red Army has demonstrated its superiority not alone in the struggle with old bourgeois monarchist Russia, which was endeavoring to reestablish Imperialism by the aid of the White armies of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel, etc., but also in the struggle with the national armies of the "democracies" which world imperialism is planting for its own interests (Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland).

That the Soviet Government has succeeded in maintaining itself during the first three trying years is a miraculous achievement in the field of economy. The reason why it has withstood all pressure and continues to develop is that it has taken the means of production out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, and has transformed them into instruments for the organization of industry. Amid the noise of battle along the endless battlefronts, Soviet Russia has not failed to take advantage of every opportunity of industrial construction. In the interval between the crushing defeat of Denikin and the murderous attack of Poland, the Soviet government began upon a plan of an extensive organization of labor conscription. It inaugurated a precise registration of economic forces and means with a view to their proper application; it attracted military detachments to the accomplishment of industrial tasks, and above all it began to reestablish its transport system.

The monopoly by the Socialist State of the necessities of life, and an indefatigable struggle against speculation have saved the Russian cities from starvation, and made it possible to supply food to the Red Army. The centralization of scattered mills, factories, private railroads and ships has assured the possibility of production and transport.

The concentration of industry and of the means of transportation in the hands of the government leads to the standardizing of the industrial arts and makes them the common property of society. Only under a socialist regime is it possible to fix the minimum number of types of locomotive cars and steamers to be manufactured and repaired, and to carry on standard manufacture en masse of parts of machinery designed by periodic regulations, thus securing enormous advantages in the matter of productivity. Beside the imperialist assaults from abroad nothing stands in the way of Soviet Russia's further economic achievements, and nothing is going to prevent her scientific organization of industry and the introduction of the Taylor system, divested of course, of its capitalistic features of exploitation and sweating.

While in the rest of the world national interests clashing with imperialistic encroachments serve as the source of incessant conflicts, uprisings and wars, socialist Russia has shown how easily a Worker's Government can reconcile national requirements with industry interests by purging the former of chauvinism and the latter of imperialism. Socialism strives to bring about a union of all regions, districts, and nationalities by means of a unified social economy. For an economic centralism freed from the exploitation of one class by another and of one nation by another and, hence, beneficial to all alike can be brought about without any infringement upon the real freedom of national development.

All the oppressed nations and tribes, the peoples of the British dominions, the Egyptians and the Turks, the Hindoos and the Persians, the Irish and the Bulgarians, the nations of central Europe, and of the Balkan states, have all convinced themselves by the example of Soviet Russia that the establishment of a Federation of Soviet Republics will make it possible for all the national units of humanity to live together in friendly cooperation.

As a result of the Revolution Russia has become the first proletarian empire. During the three years of her existence her boundaries have undergone continual changes; they have shrunk under the external military pressure of international imperialism and extended again when that pressure relaxed. The struggle for Soviet Russia has become blended with the struggle against world imperialism.

The attitude towards Soviet Russia forms the touchstone by which all labor organizations are tested. When the German Social Democracy got in control of the government it sought the protection of western imperialism instead of throwing in its lot with the revolution in the East, thus adding another most dastardly treacherous act to those committed by it since August 4, 1914. A Soviet Germany united with a Soviet Russia would have represented a combined force exceeding from the very start all the capitalist states taken together.

The cause of Soviet Russia has become the cause of the Communist International. The International proletariat will not sheathe the sword until a Federation of Soviet Republics of the world, linked together with Soviet Russia will be an accomplished fact.

V. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

All over the world Civil War is on the order of the day. Its watchword is—All Power to the Soviets!

The great masses of humanity have been converted into proletarians by capitalism. Imperialism has thrown these masses out of balance and started them on the revolutionary road. The very meaning of the term, "masses", has undergone a change. Those elements which were regarded as masses in the epoch of parliamentarism and Trade Unionism have now become the aristocracy. Millions and tens of millions of those who formerly lived outside of political life have now become the revolutionary masses. The War has aroused everybody, it has awakened the political interest of the backward strata and aroused in them illusions and hopes which were not fulfilled. The social foundations of the old forms of the labor movement—the craft division of labor, the comparative stability of the standard of living of the upper proletarian strata and the dull, apathetic hopelessness among the lower ranks—all this has irretrievably passed away. New millions have joined the struggle. The women who have lost their husbands and fathers and have been compelled to take their places in the ranks of labor are streaming into the movement. The working youth which has grown up under the storm and stress of the World War meets the Revolution as its native element.

In various countries the struggle is passing through different stages. But it is the final conflict. Not infrequently the waves of the movement rush into the obsolete channels of organization, lending them temporary vitality. On the surface of the stream there are still found, drifted here and there, old time slogans and obliterated mottos. There is still much confusion of mind, vacillation, prejudices and illusions. But the movement as a whole is of a profoundly revolutionary character. It is all-embracing and irresistible. It spreads, strengthening and purifying itself, and eliminating all the old rubbish. It will not halt before it brings about the rule of the world proletariat.

The fundamental form of this movement is the strike. Its prime and potent cause lies in the increase of prices of the necessities of life. Not infrequently it arises out of single local conflicts. It also comes as an expression of the masses' impatience with the parliamentary Socialist squabbles. It originates in the feeling of solidarity with the oppressed of all countries. Its slogans are both economic and political. It frequently combines fragments of reformism with revolutionary Socialist mottos. At times this movement quiets down, ceases, then breaks out again, shaking the foundations of production and keeping the government apparatus under constant strain, and causing the bourgeoisie great anxiety by sending its expressions of greeting to Soviet Russia. The anxiety of the exploiters is well founded, for the spontaneous strike movement is in reality the Social Revolution; it is the roll call and the marshalling of the International Proletariat. The close interdependence between one country and another, which has been so catastrophically demonstrated during the War, lends particular significance to the branches of industry of each country, and puts the railwaymen and

Regarding the fundamental problems of the class struggle, French parliamentary socialism continues as heretofore to demoralize the will of the working class, suggesting to it that the present moment is not favorable for the conquest of power, because France is too exhausted. Yesterday the reason was the war, while prior to the war it was the industrial revival that interfered, and still earlier it was the industrial crisis. Alongside with parliamentary Socialism and on the same level with it comes the garrulous and mendacious Syndicalism of Jouhaux and Co.

The creation of a strong, firmly welded and disciplined Communist Party in France is of vital importance to the French proletariat.

A new generation of workers is being educated and tempered in the strikes and uprisings in Germany. The number of victims this struggle requires is great, inasmuch as the conservative Social Democrats still retain their influence in the Independent Social Democracy, constantly reverting to the Social Democracy of the times of Bebel, failing to understand the nature of the present revolutionary epoch, flinching from civil war and revolutionary terrorism, and lingering in the train of events in the expectation of a miracle which is to come to the assistance of their inefficiency. But the party of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht teaches the German workers in the front line of battle to find the proper road.

The stolidity in the upper ranks of the Labor movement in England is so great that they have not yet even realized the necessity of changing their weapon: the leaders of the British Labor Party stubbornly strive to maintain their position within the Second International. At the time when the march of events during recent years has undermined the stability of economic life in conservative England and has made the toiling masses most susceptible to a revolutionary program,—at this time the official bourgeois State machinery, the Royal power, the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Church, the Trade Unions, the Labor Party, George the Fifth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henderson—remains intact as a powerful automatic brake on the wheel of progress. Only a Communist Party, closely united with the mass organizations and free from routine and schism is able to line up the lowly proletarians against the official aristocracy.

In Italy where the bourgeoisie itself openly admits that the future destiny of the country is in the hands of the Socialist Party, the right wing headed by Turati is striving to force the Proletarian Revolution, which is powerfully developing, into the channel of parliamentary reforms. This internal sabotage represents the greatest menace of the present day.

Workers of Italy, remember the fate of Hungary, which has come down in history as a solemn warning to the proletariat that whilst struggling for power and after the conquest of power it must stand firm, sweeping away all elements of uncertainty and hesitation, and mercilessly crushing all attempts at treachery.

The upheaval caused by the War, which has led to a profound economic crisis, has opened a new chapter in the Labor movement in the United States as well as in the other countries of the American continent. The failure of the Wilsonian bombast and falsehood will destroy at the same time American socialism, which was made up of a mixture of pacifist illusions and businesslike pursuits, which served as a peaceful adjunct to the left wing of the Trade Unions of Gompers. The closest solidification of the revolutionary proletarian parties and organizations of the American continent—from the Alaska peninsula to Cape Horn—into a firmly welded American Section of the International which shall stand up against the mighty enemy—American imperialism, this is the task which must be accomplished, and which will be accomplished in the struggle against all the forces which the Dollar will mobilize in its defense.

The official and semi-official Socialists of various countries accuse the Communists on many occasions, that by their implacable tactics they provoke counter-revolution and assist it to mobilize its forces. These political accusations are nothing more than belated versions of Liberal complaints. The latter always asserted that the independent struggle of the proletariat is driving the propertied classes into the camp of reaction. This is, of course, beyond dispute. Should the working class not encroach upon the foundations of bourgeois domination, the bourgeoisie would have no need to resort to repressive measures. The very idea of counter revolution would have no existence if revolutions were unknown to history. If the uprisings of the proletariat have as their inevitable result the organization of the bourgeoisie for self-defense and counter attack, this only means that Revolution is a struggle of two irreconcilable classes which can end only with the final victory of one of them. Communism rejects with contempt the policy of keeping the masses inert by intimidating them with the club of counter revolution.

In opposition to the disintegration and anarchy of the capitalist world, which is threatening to demolish in its last exertions all human culture the Communist International sets up the united struggle of the international proletariat for the abolition of private property in the means of production, and for the reconstruction of national and world economy on a uniform economic plan instituted and maintained by a society of producers united by common interests and responsibilities. Marshalling millions of toilers in all parts of the world under the banner of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet form of government, the Communist International builds up, organizes, and purifies its own ranks, in the fire of the struggle.

The Communist International is the revolutionary party of the International proletariat. It sweeps aside all those organizations and groups which beguile the proletariat, openly or in disguise, inducing it to kneel before the fetishes screening the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, such as legality, democracy, national defense, etc.

Neither can the Communist International admit into its ranks those organizations which have inscribed in their program the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but which at the same time continue to rely in their tactics upon a peaceful solution of the historical crisis. The mere recognition of the soviet system of government does not settle the question. The soviet organization does not possess any miraculous powers. The revolutionary forces are in the possession of the proletariat itself. The Soviet organization manifests its qualities as an indispensable weapon in the hands of the proletariat only at the time when it rises to conquer the power of government.

The Communist International demands the expulsion from the labor movement of those leaders who are directly or indirectly implicated in political collaboration with the bourgeoisie. We want leaders who have no other attitude towards bourgeois society but one of mortal hatred; who organize the proletariat for an implacable struggle, who are ready to lead the insurgent army to the battle front, who are not going to stop half way, whatever happens, and who will not shrink from resorting to severe measures against all those who may attempt to arrest their progress by force.

The Communist International is the international party of proletarian insurrection and proletarian dictatorship. It has no aims and problems other than those of the working class. The pretensions of petty sects, each of which claims to have its own way leading to the salvation of the working class are foreign and hostile to the spirit of the Communist International. Creating no panacea, the Communist International bases its policy upon the past and present international experiences of the working class; it purges that experience of all fallacies and deviations from the proper course, it generalizes the conquests made and recognizes and adopts only such revolutionary formulas as partake of the nature of mass action.

The labor union, the economic and political strike, the boycott, parliamentary and municipal elections, the parliamentary platform, legal and illegal agitation, auxiliary bases in the army, the cooperative, the barricade—none of these forms of organization and methods of struggle is repudiated by the Communist International, nor is any singled out as a panacea.

The Soviet system of government is not an abstract principle opposed by the Communist to the principle of parliamentarism. The Soviet system is a weapon of the working class which must do away with the parliament, and take its place during the struggle and as a result of the struggle. Carrying on an irreconcilable fight against reformism in the Trade Unions and against parliamentary cretinism and careerism, the Communist International at the same time condemns the attitude of leaving the ranks of the numerous labor organizations or of keeping away from parliamentary and municipal institutions. The Communists must not abandon the masses, which are being deceived and betrayed by the reformist and patriots, but in carrying on an implacable struggle against the latter they must make use of the mass organizations and institutions established by bourgeois society, with a view of overthrowing them the more surely and the more speedily. Under the guise of the Second International, the methods of class organization and of class struggle, which have been almost exclusively of a legal character were, in the final analysis, controlled and directed by the bourgeoisie, which has made its reformist agencies act as a bridle on the revolutionary proletariat. The Communist International, on the other hand, tears this bridle out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, takes hold of the methods and organizations of the working class, gets them all under revolutionary leadership, and puts before the proletariat one single goal: the conquest of power for the abolition of the bourgeois state and for the institution of a Communist society.

In all his activity, whether it be as a leader of a revolutionary strike, as an organizer of illegal groups, as secretary of a Trade Union, as agitator at mass meetings, as deputy, as cooperater, or as barricade fighter the Communist must always remain true to himself as a disciplined member of the Communist party, a devoted fighter, a mortal enemy of the capitalist order together with its economic bases, its forms of government, its democratic falsehood, its religion, and its morality. He must be a self-sacrificing soldier of the Proletarian Revolution, and an indefatigable herald of the new society.

Working men and working women!

There is only one banner on earth under which it is well worth while to struggle and to die. It is the banner of the Communist International.

Signed:

- 1) Russia: Lenin, Zinoviev, Boukharine, Trotsky.
- 2) Germany: Levi, Meyer, Valher, Volfstein.
- 3) Austria: Steinhardt, Thoman, Stremer.
- 4) France: Rosmer, Sadoul, Guilbeaux.
- 5) England: Quelch, Gallagher, Pankhurst, MacLaine.
- 6) America: Flynn, Fraina, Bilan, Reed.
- 7) Italy: Serrati, Bombacci, Graciadei, Bordiga.
- 8) Norway: Fries, Schefflo, Madsen.
- 9) Switzerland: Herzog, Humbert-Droz.
- 10) Denmark: Jorgensen, Nilsen.
- 11) Holland: Wijnkoop, Jansen, Van Leuven.
- 12) Belgium: Van Oeverstraetten.
- 13) Spain: Pestana.
- 14) Sweden: Dahlstrem, Samuelson, Winberg.
- 15) Hungary: Rakoszy, Rudniansky, Varga.
- 16) Galicia: Levitzky.
- 17) Poland: Marcholovsky.
- 18) Latvia: Stutchka, Krastin.
- 20) Czecho-Slovakia: Vanek, Hula, Sapotozky.
- 21) Esthonia: Vakman, Pegelman.
- 22) Finland: Rachia, Lotonitzky, Manner.
- 23) Bulgaria: Kabaktechiev, Maksimow, Chablin.
- 24) Jugo-Slavia: Milkitz.
- 25) Georgia: Lita-Zhakaia.
- 26) Armenia: Nasaritjan.
- 27) Turkey: Nichad.
- 28) Persia: Sultan-Sade.
- 29) India: Acharia, Sheffik, M. N. Roy.
- 30) Dutch India: Maring.
- 31) China: Laou-Siu-Thau.
- 32) Corea: Pak-Din-Chun, Kin-Tulin.
- 33) Mexico: R. Allen, F. Seaman.

EXHIBIT No. 16

[Source: A pamphlet entitled "Constitution and Program of the Communist Party of America, Adopted by the Joint Unity Convention of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party of America," published by the Communist Party of America: 1921]

CONSTITUTION AND PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

ADOPTED BY THE JOINT UNITY CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE UNITED
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Capitalist society is distinguished from all previous forms of society by the production of commodities on the basis of capital. Through the private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie, a small group in society, have reduced the great majority of the people to the status of proletarians and semi-proletarians. The working class is compelled to sell its labor power to the owners of the machinery of production, and have become wage slaves who, by their labor, create profits for the ruling classes of society.

During the last century the development of machinery means of communication and technique led to the extension of the capitalist system of production throughout the world. As a result of the consequent formation of large industrial enterprises, the small industrial enterprises and the small independent manu-

facturers were expropriated. This whole class, the petit bourgeoisie, is continually being reduced to impotency in social, political and economic life.

The development of technique in production and distribution led to the division and sub-division of labor, the use of woman and child labor, and the substitution of unskilled and semi-skilled workers for craftsmen and artisans. The relative decrease in the demand for human labor created a condition wherein the supply of labor exceeds the demand. The dependence of labor upon capital increased. The degree of exploitation is intensified.

This economic development within the nation, together with the continual sharpening of rivalry in the world market, makes the sale of commodities, the production of which is ever increasing, more and more difficult. The inevitable result of this development of productive power in capitalist society is over-production. This over-production brings about industrial crises which ruin the small manufacturers still more, creates a further dependence of wage labor upon capital, and accelerates the deterioration of the conditions of the working class.

Manufacturers are compelled to perfect their machinery. This perfection of machinery is complemented by a constant displacement of laborers, constituting the industrial reserve army. The inevitable extension of production brings with it a tremendous development of the productive forces, causes excess of supply over demand, over-production, a glutting of the market, and recurring crises—resulting in a vicious circle. On the one hand, there is an excess of the means of production and products; on the other, laborers without employment and without means of existence. The two levers of production—machinery and labor power—are unable to function because capitalism prevents productive forces from working and the products from circulating unless they are first turned into capital. The over-supply of machinery and labor power hinders this process. The mode of production rebels against the form of exchange and the bourgeoisie stands convicted of incapacity to further manage their own social production forces.

These contradictions, which are inherent in bourgeois society, increase the discontent of the exploited masses. The number of the proletariat is continually augmented. Their solidarity is strengthened, and the struggle with their exploiters becomes ever more acute. This and the improvement of technique, concentrating the means of production and socializing the process of labor, prepares the ground for the social revolution—the replacement of the capitalist system by a Communist society. This is the final aim of the Communist Party of America.

Through the systematic organization of production, distribution and exchange, capitalism tends to overcome anarchy in social production. Mighty corporations (syndicates, trusts, cartels) rise in place of the numerous small competitors. Finance capital is combined with industrial capital. The finance oligarchy, because of superior organization, becomes the dominant power in the whole economic system. Monopoly supplants free competition. The individual capitalist becomes the corporation capitalist. Organized capital tends to remove the anarchy of competition within each nation.

With the development of imperialism in each nation the contradictions, the international competitive conflicts, the anarchy of world production and exchange became more acute. Competition between the highly organized imperialist states and the groups of states led directly to the world war. Greed for profits compels the capitalist-imperialist national groups to fight among themselves for new markets, new fields for the investment of capital, new sources of raw materials, and for the cheap labor power of colonial peoples.

These imperialist states were dividing among themselves the territory of the entire world. Millions of proletarians and peasants of Africa, Australia, Asia and the Americas were being reduced to a most degrading wage slavery. In the struggle for these spoils the imperialist states met each other in a mortal combat—the Imperial World War.

The World War marks an epoch—the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the beginning of the proletarian revolution. With the disintegration of imperialism come uprisings among the exploited masses in the colonies and in the small independent nations. The imperialist armies disintegrate. The ruling classes are unmasked and their incapacity to further direct the destiny of the world's working masses is exposed. Armed insurrection of the proletariat, resulting in victorious revolution, as in Russia; and a series of open armed conflicts with the state power of the bourgeoisie, as in Germany. This is typical of the conditions throughout the world.

There is only one power that can save humanity—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist order is in decay. It can prevail no longer. The final outcome

of the capitalist system of production is chaos. Only the great producing class, the working class, can bring order out of this chaos. The working class must destroy the capitalist state, root and branch. The working class must establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, based upon Soviet power, in order to crush both the resistance of capitalist counter-revolution at home and imperialist onslaught from without.

Imperialism arms itself for the final conflict against the world revolution. Under the guise of a league of nations, or other similar alliances, it is making a last desperate effort to bolster up the capitalist system. Through such alliances its aims to direct all its power against the ever-growing proletarian revolution. There is but one answer to this huge conspiracy of collapsing capitalism. The proletariat must conquer political power and direct it against its class enemies and set in motion all the forces of social revolution.

In order to achieve victory in the world revolution, the working class must attain unity and co-ordinate all its forces. This victory cannot be realized unless the working class forever completely breaks with all forms of bourgeois perversion of socialism which have dominated the Social-Democratic and Socialist parties of the world.

One form of this perversion is opportunism—social chauvinism, socialist in name but chauvinist in fact. These opportunists have betrayed the interests of the working class under the false watchwords of the defense of the fatherland. Witness the imperialist world war. This opportunism takes root in the wanton robbing of colonial and weak nations by imperialist states. The super-profits acquired through this exploitation have enabled the bourgeoisie to bribe the leaders of the working class. They have placed the upper strata of the workers in a privileged position by guaranteeing them, in time of peace, a tolerable existence and by taking their leaders into the service of the bourgeoisie.

The opportunists and social-chauvinists are servants of of the bourgeoisie. They are enemies of the proletariat, especially is this true when, together with the capitalists they are suppressing the revolutionary movement of their own and other countries.

As Socialist workers begin to awaken to the treacherous character of the so-called Socialist parties, and to desert them, the leaders of those parties make desperate efforts to hold their following. These efforts sometimes take the form of indorsing the Communist International "with reservations." Another device is to indorse Soviets in Russia "but not here." Another is to pose as "defending the Russian Soviet Republic from invasion by foreign imperialists." All these are evasions of revolutionary duty. The Communist International is an organization for waging class warfare for the liberation of the working class; there can be no reservations in indorsement and affiliation with it. Loyalty "with reservations" is treachery. Indorsement and defense of Soviets in Russia with failure to advocate the Soviet form of proletarian dictatorship in the United States is hypocrisy.

Those who attempt by such means to hold revolutionary workers in a position midway between the old bourgeois Socialist-reform position and the revolutionary Communist position, are known as "centrists." Without the courage and intelligence to lead the workers to revolution, yet unwilling to admit their character as friends of the bourgeois state, these centrist leaders confuse and obstruct the development of the proletarian revolution.

The Socialist Party of the United States is a mixture of elements varying from extreme social-chauvinism to centrism. The revolutionary and semi-revolutionary membership brought into it or awakened within it by the world war and the Russian revolution, compelled the Socialist Party nominally to oppose the entry of the United States into the war. The membership which compelled the party to adopt the mildly anti-war platform has been ruthlessly expelled. The leaders, in defiance of the mandate of the membership, during the war took official part in promoting war loans and patriotic measures. Since the close of the war the party spokesmen have completed the bankruptcy and disgrace of the Socialist Party by pledging it to support the capitalist state (even against proletarian revolution).

After attempting to keep their party from disintegrating by a cowardly indorsement of the Communist International "with reservations," and after being repulsed by the Communist International and rebuked before the world for their cowardice, the Socialist Party leaders are now engaged in slandering the Communist International and trying by deliberate falsehood to keep their membership from understanding it.

Driven by the opposition of the working class out of the Second International, to which they, by the logic of their program, still belong, the Socialist Party leaders now try to form a "Fourth International" of most of the opportunist parties and the centrist parties of the world. The Communist Party will continuously expose this "Fourth International" as having the same basis politically as the Second International, which is now buried forever under the blood and crime of the world war to which it gave its support. The Second International is a reeking corpse, and the "Fourth International" is its still-born child.

The Communist International alone conducts the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation. The Communist Party of America is its American section. Not alone in words but in deeds is the Communist International gaining more and more the sympathy and support of the proletariat of all countries. Its political content and ideology restore Marxism and realize the Marxian revolutionary teachings.

The social revolution will replace the private ownership of the means of production and distribution by collective ownership, systematize the organization of production in order to secure the welfare of all members of society, abolish class divisions, liberate oppressed humanity, and put an end to all exploitation of one part of society by another.

The establishment of a proletarian dictatorship is indispensable to the attainment of the social revolution. The proletariat must destroy the bourgeois state. It must establish a proletarian state, and thereby crush the resistance of the capitalists. In order to fulfill its great historic mission, the proletariat must organize itself into an independent political party—a Communist Party—which opposes all the bourgeois and opportunist Socialistic parties. Such a party is the Communist Party of America. It leads the workers in the class struggle and reveals to the working masses the irreconcilable conflict of interests between the exploiters and the exploited. The Communist Party of America points out the historic significance and the essential conditions of the approaching social revolution. The Communist Party of America, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian movement, calls upon those of the toiling and exploited masses who accept its principles and tactics to join the ranks.

The Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International, defines the aims and processes of the proletarian revolution as follows:

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

"Between capitalist and Communist society there lies a period of revolutionary transformation from the former to the latter. A state of political transition corresponds to this period, and the state during this period can be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (Marx.)

Through the private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeois exploit and suppress the broad masses in all capitalist countries. Bourgeois republics, even the most democratic, through skilful use of such watchwords as "public opinion," "equality before the law," and "national interest," as opposed to class interests, only veil this suppression and exploitation. Bourgeois democracy is in reality bourgeois dictatorship. The proletarian or Soviet democracy can be realized only through a transformation of all organizations of the broad laboring masses—proletarian and semi-proletarian (that is, the vast majority of the population)—into a single and permanent basis of state apparatus, local as well as national.

The proletarian revolution comes at a moment of economic crisis precipitating a political crisis. The politico-economic crisis causes a collapse in the capitalist order. The role of the "Social-Democratic" parties is to attempt to solve the political crisis by a coalition of an "all-Socialist" government within the bourgeois State machinery, thus, by the deception of the workers enabling the capitalist State to live through the economic crisis.

The proletariat, once having learned the disastrous consequences of "Social-Democratic" bolstering up of the bourgeois State, throws its support to the Communists. Under pressure of the economic chaos, and led by the Communist Party, the proletariat forms its organs of working class power entirely separate and distinct from the bourgeois State. These organs are the Workers Soviets (councils) which arise at the moment of the revolutionary outbreak and attain a dominant position, during the course of the revolution.

By the use of force, the proletariat destroys the machinery of the bourgeois State and establishes the proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power.

The proletarian State, like every other state, is an organ of suppression and coercion, but its machinery is directed against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break the desperate resistance of the exploiters who use all the power at their command to drown the revolution in blood. The proletarian state aims to make this resistance impossible. Under a proletarian dictatorship, which is a provisional institution, the working class establishes itself as the ruling class in society. After the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken, after it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the labor strata, then only do all classes vanish, the proletarian dictatorship disappears and the State dies out.

The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the suppression and coercion of the working masses. Parliamentary government is nothing but an expression of bourgeois supremacy—the form of authority of the capitalist class over the working class. Bourgeois democracy is nothing but a concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois democracy, through its parliamentary system, fraudulently deprives the masses and their organizations of any real participation in the administration of the State.

Under a Workers' Government—the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet power—the organizations of the masses dominate. Through these organizations, the masses themselves administer. Bourgeois democracy, manifesting itself through its parliamentary system, deprives the masses of participation in the administration of the capitalist state by a division of legislative and executive power, by unrecalable mandates, and by numerous agencies of social, political and economic suppression.

Under a proletarian government, the Soviets, acting as real organs of state power, merging the legislative and executive function, and by the right of recall, bring the masses into close contact with the administrative machinery. This unity is further promoted by the fact that under the Soviet government the elections themselves are conducted, not in conformity with arbitrary, territorial demarcations, but in accordance with industrial divisions. The proletarian dictatorship, in the form of a Soviet government, thus realizes true, proletarian democracy—a democracy of and for the working class and against the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolution is a long process. It begins with the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ends only with the complete transformation of the capitalist system into the Communist society.

POLITICAL ACTION

Every class struggle is a political struggle. The object of the class struggle, which inevitably develops into civil war, is the conquest of political power. A political party that shall organize and direct this struggle is indispensable for the acquisition of this power. When the workers are under the leadership of a well-organized and experienced political party that has strictly defined objectives and a program of immediate action, in foreign as well as domestic policy, then only will the acquisition of political power cease to be a casual episode, and become the starting point for the gradual realization of the Communist society.

The class struggle demands that the general guidance of the various expressions of the proletarian movement (such a labor unions, co-operative associations, cultural-educational societies, election campaigns, etc.) be centered in one organization. Only a political party can be such a unifying and guiding center. The class struggle of the proletariat demands a concentrated propaganda to throw light upon various stages of the conflict. It makes imperative a unified point of view to direct, at each given moment, the attention of the proletariat to definite tasks that are to be accomplished by the working class as a whole.

The Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International, is that part of the working class which is most advanced, intelligent, self-sacrificing and class conscious. It is therefore the most revolutionary part of the working class. The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class as a whole. It differs from the general mass of workers in that it takes a comprehensive view of the entire historical development of the working class. At every turn of the road, it endeavors to defend the interests, not of separate groups or trades, but of the entire working class. The Communist Party is the organized political power by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads the whole proletarian and semiproletarian mass.

During the proletarian dictatorship the Communist Party will continue to systematically direct the work of the Soviets and revolutionized industrial unions. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the proletarian movement, will direct the struggle of the entire working class on the political and economic fields. It

will guide the proletariat in the field of education and social life. The Communist Party must be the animating spirit in the Soviets, revolutionized industrial unions, and in all proletarian organizations.

I. Mass Action

In countries where the historical development furnished the opportunity, bourgeois democracy served the working class as a means of organizing itself against capitalism. This process will go on in all countries where the conditions for a proletarian revolution are not yet ripe. The workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. The capitalist class screens its deeds of violence behind the parliamentary system. Centuries of capitalist rule have placed at its disposal the equipment and attainments of modern civilization. To achieve its end the capitalist class resorts to lies, demagoguery, bribery, persecution, and murder.

The revolutionary epoch upon which the world has now entered forces the proletariat to resort to militant methods—mass action, leading to direct collision with the bourgeois state. Mass action culminates in armed insurrection and civil war. The centralized power of the capitalist class manifests itself through control of the state machinery—the army, the navy, police, courts, bureaucracy, etc. It is through such means that the capitalist class imposes its will upon the workers. Mass action is the proletarian revolt against the oppression of the capitalist class. It develops from spontaneous activities of the workers massed in large industries. Among its initial manifestations are mass strikes and mass demonstrations.

The Communist Party will educate and organize the working masses for such direct political action, i. e., mass strikes and mass demonstrations, and will lead them in these struggles. These struggles form the major campaign of the Communist Party. It is through such struggles that the working masses are prepared for the final conflict for power. This can be nothing else but a direct struggle between the armed forces of the capitalist state on the one hand and the armed forces of the proletarian revolution on the other. In these mass strikes and demonstrations large masses of workers are united. New tactics and a new ideology are developed. As these strikes grow in number and intensity, they acquire political character through unavoidable collision and open combat with the capitalist state which openly employs all its machinery to break their strikes and crush the workers' organizations. This finally results in armed insurrection aimed directly at the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This objective cannot be attained unless the entire mass movement is under the control and guidance of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party will keep in the foreground the idea of the necessity of violent revolution for the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat based on Soviet power.

The Communist Party will systematically and persistent propagate the idea of the inevitability of and necessity for violent revolution, and will prepare the workers for armed insurrection as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION

The Communist Party of America recognizes that the revolutionary proletariat must use all means of propaganda and agitation to win over the exploited masses. One of these means is parliamentary activity. The work of Communist representatives in parliament will consist chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform. They should unmask and denounce the enemies of the masses. Our representatives in parliament shall further the ideological unification of the masses who, captivated by democratic illusions, still put their trust in parliaments. The Communist Party will utilize parliament as a means of winning especially such backward elements of the working masses as tenant farmers, farm workers and the semi-proletariat. All work within the parliaments must be completely subordinated to the task of the mass struggles outside of parliament.

Communist representatives shall make all their parliamentary activity dependent on the work of the Party outside of parliament. They should regularly propose demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purpose of propaganda, agitation and organization. All this activity must be carried on under the direction of the Party and its Central Executive Committee.

The bourgeois parliament, one of the most important instruments of the bourgeois state machinery, can no more be won by the proletariat than the bourgeois order in general. It is the task of the proletariat to destroy the entire machinery of the bourgeois state, not excluding its parliamentary institutions.

The parliamentary system of the American bourgeois government is based on a rigid constitution. Its authority is divided among forty-eight states. Each of these states has its own legislature, governor, courts, etc. The American capitalist state, screened by bourgeois democracy, is the machinery in the hands of the capitalists for crushing all working class aspirations. Large masses of Negroes, migratory and foreign born workers are disfranchised. The working class of America now faces a practically naked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The American bourgeois State was quick to recognize the Communist parties in America as its historic and deadly enemies. It employed all its power in a vicious onslaught against them. Being outlawed, the Communist parties reorganized as underground, illegal parties. Thus, for the present, the Communist Party of America is prevented from participating in the elections under its own name.

While the Communist Party of America wages its major campaigns and activities through the mass struggles of the working class outside of parliament, it will also organize the necessary legal machinery for participation in municipal, state, and national election campaigns. It shall, wherever possible, enter its candidates in opposition to all bourgeois and social-reform parties.

LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

I.

The trade unions arose as organs of the working class to check the growing exploitation. In their early form the trade unions were organizations of skilled workers in separate crafts. Modern industry has developed the machine worker. The machine workers are massed together in the basic industries and constitute the militant factor in the class struggle. The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process renders useless the isolated craft strike and makes necessary the organization of the workers on a wider scale. Industrial unions are a better form or organization for the workers in their struggle for higher wages and improved conditions, under capitalism. Craft unions have not kept pace with the development of capitalist organization and still retain to a large degree the ideology of property, contract and obsolete craft division.

Industrial unions alone are not sufficient for the successful carrying out of the revolution. Syndicalism denies the necessity for establishing the proletarian state during the transition period from capitalist society to Communist society. Revolutionary syndicalism and industrialism are a step forward only in comparison with the old, counter-revolutionary ideology of Socialist parties. But in comparison with the revolutionary Marxian doctrine, i. e., with Communism, Syndicalism and Industrialism, are a step backward.

The Socialist movement in America originally followed the policy of maintaining contact with labor organizations and of propagating their ideas within them. Impatience with the slowness of the process of educating and leading the workers by working within the reactionary trade unions gave rise to the attempt during the period of 1895 to artificially stimulate the organization of brand new "class-conscious" labor unions, such as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The opportunist policy of the "yellow" reformist socialists of catering to and supporting the reactionary leaders of the trade unions increased this discouragement and led to the abandonment of the struggle within the old unions by the more advanced worker and to the formation in 1905 of the I. W. W. as an entirely new labor union, outside of and in opposition to the existing trade unions.

The policy of the I. W. W. and similar organizations of artificially creating new industrial unions has been shown by experience to be mistaken. Such efforts result in isolating the most advanced workers from the main body of organized labor and strengthen the control of the trade unions by reactionary leaders. The members of the trade unions as a rule have not deserted the old unions for the new ones: The old unions become more reactionary when the revolutionary workers leave them. This situation represents a great danger, for without the support of the labor unions, the success of the proletarian revolution is impossible. The experience of the Hungarian and German revolutions fully establishes the fact that if the American labor unions remain under

the control of such leaders as those who grossly betrayed the workers during the World War, and who serve the bourgeoisie against the workers in every struggle, they will be manipulated as deadly implements for the defeat of the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party condemns the policy of the revolutionary elements leaving the existing unions. These elements must remain with the large mass of organized workers. The Communists must take an active and leading part in the every-day struggles of the unions. They must carry on a merciless and uncompromising struggle against the social-patriotic and reactionary leaders, criticize and expose them and drive them out of power. The Communist Party will develop from its ranks the most determined fighters in the labor movement who, through courage, sacrifice, and class-consciousness, will inspire the masses with a spirit of determined struggle and win them over for the proletarian revolution. Only in this way can the disintegration of the unions be prevented, the reactionary leaders ousted from control, the bureaucratic machinery destroyed and replaced by the apparatus of shop delegates, and the trade unions broadened in scope and gradually developed into industrial unions.

Bearing in mind the necessity for the closest contact of the Communists with those workers who have not yet reached a revolutionary understanding, and the intensity of the struggle which requires the closest unity and solidarity of the workers on the economic field, the Communists shall not foster artificial division in the labor movement, nor deliberately bring it about. On the contrary, they must use all measures, short of giving up the revolutionary task in the unions, not hesitating to employ strategy, to avoid giving to the reactionary leaders the pretext to expel them. The Communists must not fear a split when the circumstances leave them no alternative except to abandon the struggle to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary action. Such a split may be carried out only when the Communists, by the incessant warfare against the reactionary leaders and their tactics, and by their whole-hearted participation in the every-day struggles of the unions, have gained the confidence and the leadership of the workers, and are able to convince them that the split is occurring, not because of some remote revolutionary aim which they do not understand, but because it has been forced by the bureaucracy and because it is demanded by the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of the economic struggle. Even in such cases, the Communists must act with the greatest care and consider the possibility of such a split resulting in separating them from the working masses.

The Communist Party will lead and participate in every effort on the part of the unorganized workers to organize into unions—initiating the organization of unions where these do not exist—and will lead them in the class struggle towards the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party will work within the industrial unions of the I. W. W. where these are established and function as mass organizations of the workers; and will support them especially during strikes and mass movements. The Communist Party regards the workers in the ranks of the I. W. W. as comrades in the class war. At the same time, the Communist Party rejects the absurd theory, entertained by the I. W. W., that the revolution can be accomplished by the direct seizure of industry without first overthrowing the capitalist state. Only after the conquest of political power, after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, can the revolutionized industrial unions become the starting point for the Communist reconstruction of society. The Communist Party will put forth every effort to overcome the syndicalist prejudices of the members of the I. W. W., and to win them over to the position of the Communist International.

II.

The effort to transform the antiquated craft unions into more effective offensive and defensive instruments of the working class gives rise to the formation of rank and file organizations of the more advanced workers within the unions. The purpose of such organization is to more effectively wage the struggle for control of the unions and to oust the traitorous leaders. These expressions within the unions are a necessary feature of the struggle to revolutionize the labor movement and must be crystallized by the Communist Party. The Communist Party will take an active part in this movement and co-ordinate it, fully utilizing for this purpose its press, nuclei and all other means, and lead it by degrees to the platform of Communism and thus make of it an auxiliary instrument of the Communist Party.

III.

The experience of the European labor movement indicates that out of the economic chaos developing in America the laboring masses will endeavor to create factory committees, such as the factory councils (Betriebs Rat) in Germany, which will undertake a struggle for workers' control over production. The aspiration to create such organizations takes its origin from the most varied causes, namely, struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, discouragement after a strike or defeat of the unions, or the desire to create an organization embracing all the workers, etc, but in the end, it results in the struggle for control over industry, which is their special historic task. These organizations should consist of the widest possible masses of workers and should not be formed exclusively of those who already understand and are fighting for the proletarian dictatorship. The Communist Party will organize all workers on a basis of the economic crisis, and lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the concrete struggle for workers' control over industry.

The factory committees cannot be substituted for the trade unions. The trade unions are central fighting organs although they do not embrace such large masses of the workers as the factory committee, since these become accessible to all the workers of a given industry. The trade and industrial unions organize the workers on a national scale for the struggle to increase wages and shorten hours of labor. Factory committees fight for workers' control over production, in the struggle to resist the economic crisis, and embrace all the workers in a given industry. This division of tasks is the result of the historic development of the social revolution.

Factory committees are extra-union organizations and must not be confused with shop committees and the shop delegate system, which are part of the machinery of some labor unions. The shop committees and the shop delegate system constitute a form of union management whereby the power in the union rests in the hands of delegates elected by and from the workers in the shop. The Communist Party will advocate and promote this form of union management. At the same time it will expose the so-called "shop committees" which are organized by employers as substitutes for labor unions.

The Communist Party will propagate the idea of factory committees to the working class of America as an immediate and essential part of its general propaganda. It will lead the workers in their attempts to form factory committees and will initiate their organization when the necessary conditions arise.

IV.

Two Internationals of Trade Unions are struggling for supremacy. On the one hand, "The International Federation of Trade Unions," with headquarters at Amsterdam, endeavors with a subtle program of "Socialistic" reform to lure the labor unions into collaboration with the capitalist governments and leagues of governments. It seeks to paralyze and demoralize the working class of all countries simultaneously, in time of revolutionary crisis, in the interests of the capitalist class.

On the other hand is the Red Labor Union International, with headquarters at Moscow. This International of Trade and Industrial Unions unites the labor unions of the world for the carrying on of the labor struggle on the economic field in the interests of the working class as a whole. It wars on the capitalist class and all capitalist governments in close and indissoluble union with the Communist International.

The Communist Party will carry on an extensive propaganda for the affiliation of all organized labor in America to the Red Labor Union International. Where revolutionary minorities or separate organizations within the American labor movement indorse the revolutionary program of the Red Labor Union International, the Communist Party will pursue the policy of keeping the revolutionary minorities within their national organizations for the purpose of combating any efforts at affiliation with the yellow Amsterdam International, and of bringing the entire labor movement of America into the Red International. The Communist Party will fully co-operate with the Red Labor Union International and any committees or bureaus it may establish to carry on its work in the American labor movement, in keeping with the decisions of the Communist International.

The Communist Party will strive to inspire all the organizations of labor with the spirit of determined struggle, i. e., with the spirit of Communism. The Communist Party will practically subordinate these and thus create a mass

organization, a basis for a powerful centralized organ of the proletarian struggle. The Communist Party will lead them all to one aim, the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Communism.

COMMUNIST PARTY NUCLEI

The Communist Party of America will organize party nuclei wherever there are proletarians or semi-proletarians. These nuclei will be organized in trade and industrial unions, in factory committees, in working class educational or social organizations, in government institutions, in the army and navy, and in the organizations of the agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, small farmers, etc. These nuclei will enable the party to effectively carry on its propaganda. These nuclei will aid the party in leading the working masses in the proletarian revolution. Communist Party nuclei shall be subordinated one to another in a centralized order and system. They shall be under the control, supervision and discipline of the Communist Party of America.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND FARMERS

Capitalism dominates agricultural production as well as all other functions of the economic life of society. The exploitation of the agricultural proletariat links up the interests of this class inseparably with the interests of the city proletariat. The forces which drive the city worker into conflict with the capitalist state are also at work in rural districts.

In the United States, the small farmers have time and again attempted to resist oppression and exploitation by the finance and industrial oligarchy. The Greenback movement in the '70's, the Populist movement in the '90's, and the present Non-Partisan movement are examples.

These small farmers are only nominally the owners of parcels of land. They are mercilessly exploited by banks, commission merchants, transportation companies, farming implement trusts, absentee landlords, etc. The reform movements which have periodically swept over the country failed to ameliorate the conditions of the exploited rural masses. The position of the latter, like that of the city proletariat, is becoming steadily worse under the capitalist system.

The city proletariat must educate, win over, and lead in the class struggle these laboring and exploited masses of the country. In America, the latter are represented by the following groups:

1. The agricultural proletariat, that is, hired laborers, farm and harvest hands. They are wage workers on the large ranches, plantations and farms. They are largely migratory workers.

2. The semi-proletariat. These are the small farmers and tenant farmers. Through the land owned or rented by them, they secure only part of the sustenance needed by them and their families. They are compelled to work partly for wages in capitalist agricultural or industrial establishments.

3. The small proprietors—small farmers. The land owned by them is usually heavily mortgaged. They satisfy the needs of their families and farming without working for wages. These three groups constitute the vast majority of the agrarian population of the United States. Co-operation of the city proletariat with the exploited agrarian masses is necessary to insure the success of the proletarian revolution.

The large landed farmers are capitalists in agriculture. They manage their own farms and employ foremen and laborers. This group constitutes a most numerous element of the bourgeoisie and is an open enemy of the proletariat.

Only the city proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, can emancipate the laboring masses from exploitation and oppression by the capitalists and landowners. Privation and imperialist wars are inevitable as long as the capitalist system endures. The salvation for the small farmer, tenant farmer, and farm worker lies only in a union with the revolutionary proletariat. They should whole-heartedly support the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in order to throw off the yoke of the landowners and bourgeoisie. The proletariat will become a truly revolutionary class only when it acts as the vanguard of all those who are exploited and suppressed and leads the struggle against the oppressors of the toiling masses.

The Communist Party of America will establish nuclei in the organizations of the exploited rural masses in order to win them away from the political and moral influence of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party will carry the struggle into

the agricultural districts and gather the toiling masses around the standard of Communism.

The Communist Party will initiate and support the organization of farm laborers and tenant farmers and will lead them to co-operation with the city proletariat in their struggle against their exploiters, toward the social revolution

IMPERIALISM AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION

Since the Imperialist World War, the United States has become a creditor nation. It is now seeking new fields for the investment of capital. It is looking for new sources of raw material for its factories. Thus, America is brought into conflict with such Imperialism as the Japanese or English. This leads to imperialist wars in preparation for which the American bourgeoisie maintains huge military and naval establishments.

The recent imperialists' war has exposed the fraudulent character of bourgeois democracy. The war was waged by both sides under such false slogans as "rights of small nations" and "national self-determination." The Brest-Litovsk, the Bucharest and the Versailles Peace have clearly shown how the bourgeoisie established their "national" boundaries in conformity with economic class interests. The so-called "league of nations" is only an insurance company, in which the victors are guaranteed their prey. The revolutionary struggle and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie alone can achieve national freedom and unity for the proletariat. Thus, the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries becomes ever more acute. The ferment of the working masses of the colonies and subject countries is increasing, and the middle class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and the equality of nations under capitalism is being dispelled.

The present world political situation has placed the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the foreground. All the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point—the struggle of the entire bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, the heart of the world Soviet movement. The Russian Soviet Republic is drawing to itself more and more closely not only the Soviet movement, carried on by the vanguard of the proletariat of all countries, but also the national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries. These have already been taught by bitter experience that salvation for them lies only in a union with the revolutionary proletariat and in the triumph of Soviet power over imperialism.

The United States was in its origin a colony of England. It retained the characteristics of a colonial people and was a hinterland for Europe until after the American Civil War. The American capitalists had their own world to conquer and exploit within the present territorial confines of the United States, which contains fabulous resources and natural wealth. Millions of workingmen and their families, lured by the false light of bourgeois democracy and the hope of economic security, came to this country. These immigrant workers were mercilessly exploited in the building up of capitalism in America, which forcibly annexed huge territories from its weaker neighbors through fraud and conquest. After the Spanish-American war, the United States definitely entered upon the conquest of world markets. An aggressive policy of imperialism was developed. Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Phillipines were conquered and subjected. The Caribbean and Central American republics are practically dependencies of the United States. Together with Mexico, they have been brought under the control of American finance imperialism by the constant threat of military intervention.

The Communist Party of America will support with all its power every movement for the liberation of the oppressed colonial peoples of the United States. The Communist Party will fight against the economic and military aggression of American capitalists upon the populations of the weaker American republics. The Communist Party of America will carry on a systematic agitation in the American army and navy against every kind of oppression of the colonial peoples by American imperialism. It will strive to cultivate among the American proletariat a fraternal feeling towards the colonial working populations in all the nations that are under the iron heel of American capitalists. The Communist Party will systematically agitate against the oppression of the colonial peoples by American imperialism, and support every uprising on the part of these oppressed peoples. It will aid them in every way possible to throw off the yoke of American imperialism. The Communist Party will link up the struggle of the exploited

toiling masses in the subject countries with that of the proletariat in America against their common enemy—the American capitalist and the subject countries' native bourgeoisie, who are only tools of the American capitalist class.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist International, brought forth by the proletarian revolution in action, is the central organ of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of world power. The revolutionary movement is growing in every country. But this movement of the proletarian revolution is menaced with suppression by a coalition of capitalist states. The social-patriotic parties are uniting with each other to betray the revolution through service to the imperialist League of Nations. The co-ordination of proletarian action all over the world is imperative. The Communist International is an absolute necessity.

The Communist International subordinates the so-called national interests to the interest of the international proletarian revolution. The Communist International merges and centralizes the reciprocal aid of the proletariat of all countries. In order to accelerate the final collapse of the imperialistic system of the world, the Communist International supports the exploited colonial peoples in their struggles against imperialism.

The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the world for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of Communism. The Communist International is a fighting body and assumes the task of combining the revolutionary forces of every country.

In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the Communist Society, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms.

The Communist International breaks with the traditions of the Second International. The Communist International fraternally invites to its ranks the men and women of all colors and races—the toilers of the entire world. The Communist International declares that a firm and centralized organization is indispensable to a speedy achievement of victory. The Communist International represents the single universal Communist Party, of which the parties of the various countries are sections.

The Communist International calls the world proletariat to the final struggle against capitalism. The revolutionary epoch may last for years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope. The old order is in decay. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society.

CONSTITUTION OF THE C. P. OF A.

ADOPTED AT THE JOINT UNITY CONVENTION OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Article I. Name, Purpose and Emblem

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International.

Section 2. The Communist Party of America is the vanguard of the working class, namely, its most advanced, class conscious and therefore and its most revolutionary part. Its purpose is to educate, direct and lead the working class of America for the conquest of political power; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society.

Section 3. The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle between sheaves of wheat and within a double circle. Below the hammer and sickle the words "All power to the workers." In the circular margin the words "Communist Party of America—Section of the Communist International."

Article II. Membership

Section 1. Every person who accepts the principles and the tactics of the Communist Party and of the Communist International, and agrees to submit to the Party discipline and engage actively in its work, shall be eligible for

membership, provided he is not a member or supporter of any other political organization.

Section 2. No person whose livelihood is gained by exploiting labor shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party of America.

Section 3. Applicants shall be vouched for by two persons who have been members of the Party for at least six consecutive months, except in newly organized groups in new territory. Every applicant shall be assigned to a recruiting group on probation for three months, with voice but no vote. The applicants shall be accepted only upon examination and recommendation by the recruiting group captain, and by unanimous approval of the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 4. A special captain shall be placed in charge of each recruiting group by the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 5. An applicant shall pay one dollar initiation fee, and all dues and assessments beginning with the month in which he is accepted in the recruiting group.

Section 6. A member may transfer from one Party unit to another only upon certification of the Party unit to which he belongs. The unit granting the transfer must ascertain that the member asking for it has discharged all his Party obligations, and shall notify the unit to which the member transfers through the regular Party channels. He shall go to the group to which he is assigned by the Branch Executive Committee.

Article III. Form and Units of Organization

Section 1. The Communist Party of America is an underground, illegal organization. It is highly centralized with the Convention as its supreme body, and the Central Executive Committee acting as such between Conventions.

Section 2. The basic unit of the Party shall be a group of approximately ten members, and wherever possible not less than five.

Section 3. Groups of the same language within a city or locality shall form a Branch. Branches shall consist of not more than ten groups each.

Section 4. Branches within a locality shall form a Section. Sections shall consist as nearly as possible of ten Branches, and shall be formed wherever there are two or more Branches within a locality.

Section 5. Sub-districts shall consist of not more than ten Sections and of isolated Branches within a territory prescribed by the District Executive Committee.

Section 6. All Sub-districts within a prescribed territory shall form a District. The limits of Districts are determined by the Central Executive Committee. Districts and Sub-districts shall be organized within industrial sections regardless of political boundaries.

Article IV. Conventions

Section 1. The Convention is the supreme body of the Party, and shall be called by the Central Executive Committee at least once a year.

Section 2. Emergency Conventions, with all the powers of regular Conventions, shall be called by the Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative or upon the demand of District Conventions representing a majority of the membership.

Section 3. (a) Elections to the Convention shall begin in the groups. Each group shall elect one elector to the Section Convention, and the Section Convention shall elect delegates to the District Convention. Branches that are directly connected with the Sub-district shall send their delegates to the nearest Section. The representation in the Section and the District electors' meeting and in the Convention of the Party shall be fixed by the Convention call, issued by the Central Executive Committee.

(b) If there are more than fifteen groups in a Section, the Sub-district Committee shall subdivide the Section for the elections so that no more than fifteen attend a Section electors' meeting. Wherever necessary, units shall be combined to comply with the accepted basis of representation.

Section 4. The number of delegates shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee according to the circumstances. Delegates shall be apportioned to the Districts in proportion to the membership.

Section 5. Section, Sub-district and District Organizers of the Party shall attend the electors' meetings of their respective and subordinate units, and shall have voice but no vote, unless elected as delegates themselves.

Section 6. Section, Sub-district and District electors' meetings may elect as their delegates members of the Party from any unit outside their territorial divisions.

Section 7. At the same time that the call for the Convention is issued, the Central Executive Committee shall submit to every group for discussion the Agenda and other propositions that are to come before the Convention. At least sixty days before the Convention, the Party Press shall be opened for discussion of important Party matters.

Section 8. Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid railroad expenses and the same wages as Party officials.

Article V. Central Executive Committee

Section 1. Between Conventions the Central Executive Committee shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall direct all the Party's activities.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of ten members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect six alternates. When the list of alternates shall have been exhausted the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to co-optation.

Section 3. All Central Executive Committee members shall devote all their time to the work of the Party and shall live in the city in which the National Headquarters are located, or in adjacent cities.

Section 4. Candidates for the Central Executive Committee must have been members of a Party affiliated with the Communist International at least eight-months.

Section 5. The identity of the Central Executive Committee members shall not be made known either by themselves or by those present at the Convention.

Section 6. The Central Executive Committee shall elect delegates to the International Congresses and the Communist Party of America members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Section 7. The Central Executive Committee shall call in the District Organizers for a conference at least every six months.

Section 8. The Central Executive Committee shall make a monthly report of the Party activities and Party finances itemized by Districts.

Section 9. A complete audit and accounting of all Party funds shall be made every six months. The auditing committee shall consist of three members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect three alternates. No member of the Central Executive Committee and no paid Party employee shall be a member of the auditing committee. The report of the auditing committee shall be made to the membership, within one month after the completion of its work.

Article VI. Districts and Subordinate Units

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers for each District.

Section 2. Every District Organizer shall make complete reports to the District Executive Committee as to the general Party work in his District. He shall submit and carry out the instructions and decisions of the Central Executive Committee. He shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the Central Executive Committee at least once a month.

Section 3. District Conventions shall be held at least every six months. Every Section shall send delegates to the District Convention in proportion to the membership. The District Convention shall elect five members to the District Executive Committee. These five members, together with the District Organizer and the Subdistrict Organizers, shall constitute the District Executive Committee. The District Executive Committee shall supervise the activities of the District Organizer and shall regularly submit the minutes of its meetings to the Central Executive Committee. All actions of the District Convention are subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. District Organizers shall appoint Sub-district Organizers subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. Sub-district Organizers shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the District Organizers once a week.

Section 6. The Sub-district Organizer shall call meetings of the Sub-district Executive Committee at least every two weeks. He shall make a complete report to the Sub-district Executive Committee, and transmit and carry out the deci-

sions and the instructions of the Central Executive Committee, the District Organizer and the District Executive Committee.

Section 7. The Sub-district Executive Committee shall consist of the Sub-district Organizer, the Section Organizers and the Organizers of the isolated Branches having direct connections with the Sub-district.

Section 8. The Section Executive Committee shall consist of Branch Organizers and shall elect Section Organizers.

Section 9. Branch Organizers shall be elected by the group captains. They shall work under the direction of the Section Organizers and shall meet at least once a week.

Section 10. The Branch Executive Committee shall consist of the Branch Organizer and the group captains of the Branch. The Branch Executive Committee shall meet at least once a week.

Section 11. District Organizers, Sub-district Organizers, Section and Branch Organizers shall have been members of the Party not less than one year. Group captains six months.

Section 12. Executive Committees of the various Party units have authority to act within their jurisdiction, subject to the decisions of the higher Party units.

Section 13. Each group shall meet at least once every week under the direction of the group captain, who shall make a complete report to his group on all Party work, on the activities of the Branch and of all other Party units.

Article VII. Language Federations

Section 1. Language groups shall consist of members speaking the same language. Language groups in the same locality shall be formed into Language Branches; all Branches of the same language shall be united into Language Federations, provided they have at least 250 members.

Section 2. All language groups and branches shall be integral parts of the Party structure in their localities, and shall perform and carry out all Party functions and obligations.

Section 3. (a) Shortly after Party Conventions, National Language Conferences shall be held. The expenses of these conferences shall be paid out of the regular Party treasury.

(b) These National Conferences shall formulate plans for education and propaganda in their respective languages, both legal and illegal, and shall elect National Language Bureaus consisting of not less than five and not more than seven members each, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All actions of these conferences shall be in strict conformity with the decisions of the Party Convention and the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. National Language Bureaus shall elect editors for their legal and illegal publications, and shall supervise all legal and illegal activities of their respective Federations, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. The minutes of the National Language Bureaus shall be regularly submitted to the Central Executive Committee and all their actions shall be subject to the direction, control and approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 6. (a) For illegal work, the National Language Bureaus shall connect with their respective Branches through their Language Federation Channels, or, if necessary, through regular Party channels of communications.

(b) They shall have the right to appoint Organizers, including District and Sub-district Language Organizers, subject to approval of the Central Executive Committee.

(c) All Language Organizers shall work under the supervision of the Party District Organizers in the various districts.

Section 7. National Language Bureaus shall translate and transmit all statements, circulars and communications addressed to the membership by the Central Executive Committee within one week after their receipt. They shall issue at least once a month an underground official organ in their respective languages, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 8. (a) Language Groups and Branches shall pay all their dues and assessments through the regular Party channel to the Central Executive Committee.

(b) By the 10th of each month the Central Executive Committee shall remit 20 cents of the dues received from each member of the Language Branches to the respective National Language Bureaus.

(c) Additional expenses of Language Bureaus, authorized by the Central Executive Committee, shall be paid from the regular Party treasury.

(d) The National Language Bureau shall account to the Central Executive Committee regularly for all funds entrusted to them and shall make regular financial reports to the Central Executive Committee regarding all the legal institutions in their respective languages, subject to the audit of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 9. (a) Special assessment for language work may be recommended by the Language Bureaus and may be levied by the Central Executive Committee upon the entire Party membership.

(b) Special assessments may also be levied by the National Language Bureaus on the membership of their Federations, with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 10. (a) Language Bureaus and Federations shall have no power to suspend, expel or reorganize affiliations. All disciplinary powers are vested exclusively in the regular Party organization machinery.

(b) Language Bureaus and Federations may recommend such suspension, expulsion or reorganization to the party units having jurisdiction.

Section 11. District Language Conferences shall be called by the District Executive Committee to discuss educational and propaganda needs of their languages in the district and to elect five members to the District Language Bureaus. These, together with the Federation District Organizer and the Federation Sub-district Organizer, shall constitute the District Language Bureau. The District Language Bureau shall carry on the work in their respective languages under the direction of the District Executive Committee.

Article VIII. Discipline

Section 1. All members and Party units shall maintain and enforce strict Party discipline. All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units.

Section 2. The following offenses are breaches of Party discipline:

1) Violation of the fundamental principles of the program and the Constitution of the Party.

2) Refusal to accept and carry out the decisions of the Party.

3) Wilfully to block and disrupt Party work and the cooperation of the various Party units.

4) Knowingly and unnecessarily to endanger the underground work of the Party.

5) In any way to betray the Party trust.

Section 3. Formal charges must be presented against any member or unit accused of breach of discipline, and these must be investigated by the next higher unit before discipline is enforced.

Section 4. Members deliberately accusing any member or unit of the Party, after accusation has been found groundless by the investigating committee, are subject to discipline.

Section 5. Members may be suspended or expelled by the Branch Executive Committee subject to approval of the Section Executive Committee.

Section 6. Groups may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the Section Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Sub-district Executive Committee.

Section 7. Branches may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the Sub-district Executive Committee subject to the approval of the District Executive Committee.

Section 8. A Section or Sub-district may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the District Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 9. Districts may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the Central Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Convention.

Section 10. Members or groups suspended or expelled may appeal to the District Executive Committee before final action is taken.

Section 11. Any higher unit in the Party may present charges against any subordinate unit or member within its jurisdiction.

Section 12. Every member of the Communist Party elected or appointed to an official position in a labor union or any other organization shall be under strict Party control and the immediate instructions of the Party nucleus of his labor union or other organization.

Section 13. No delegates to the National Convention shall be bound by decisions of the units by which they are elected. Delegates are obliged to present instructions as recommendations to the Convention.

Section 14. The Central Executive Committee shall maintain discipline over its members. It may suspend or expel one of its members by a vote of eight to one, accused member not voting.

Section 15. Any suspended or expelled member of the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to appeal in writing to the next National Party Convention.

Article IX. Finance

Section 1. Applicants for membership shall pay an initiation fee of One Dollar, which shall be forwarded to the National Organization.

Section 2. Monthly dues shall be sixty cents and shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee and paid into the National Party treasury through the regular Party channels.

Section 3. Special assessments may be levied by the Convention and the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he pays such assessments.

Section 4. Members unable to pay dues and assessments on account of sickness, unemployment, imprisonment, strikes or for similar reasons, shall be granted exemption upon application to the Branch Executive Committee. Group Organizers shall include such requests in their reports, and Branch Organizers shall report all exemptions granted every time they make their remittances for dues.

Section 5. Dues shall be paid monthly. No advance payments shall be made, and members who have not paid dues by the first of the month for the previous month shall be considered in bad standing. A member who is two months in arrears shall be dropped from the membership, unless within one month after notification by the Group Organizer he places himself in good standing.

Article X. Party Press

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall publish the official underground organ of the Party, which shall be issued at least once a month.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee shall issue a bi-weekly Party bulletin which shall be distributed to the membership free of charge.

Section 3. Literature issued by the Party shall be under the supervision of the editorial committee and under the control of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. No subdivision of the Party may publish papers or books without the permission of the Central Executive Committee. Over their own signature, Sections may issue leaflets, dealing with matters in their locality, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee or such District Committees as may be so empowered by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. All legal and illegal Party press and publishing machinery, including Federation press and establishments, shall be unconditionally and fully subject to the Party through its Central Executive Committee or such other Party units as may be expressly authorized by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 6. No member of the Party shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic nature to the bourgeois press except by permission of the Central Executive Committee.

Article XI. Party Nuclei

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall provide for the organization of Communist Party nuclei, composed of Communist Party members only, in the shops, in the unions, and in other workers' organizations; within the army and navy, and ex-soldiers' organizations.

PROVISIONS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY NUCLEI IN THE SHOPS AND UNIONS

Article I.

Section 1. In order to carry out the Communist task in the labor unions and shops, the Section Executive Committees of the Party, or the Sub-district Executive Committees (where there are two or more Sections in a city) shall organize Party Nuclei in the shops and unions.

Section 2. Every Party member shall belong to a labor union, if eligible.

Section 3. All Party members belonging to a labor union shall be affiliated with the Party Nuclei in their respective unions. Members who do not belong to any union shall, wherever possible, form and belong to Party Nuclei in their shops, trade or industry.

Section 4. Each Nucleus shall consist of about 10 members. The Nuclei shall elect their captains and these captains shall form the Nuclei Committee of their respective union locals, trades or shops.

Section 5. Where two or more locals of the same union exist in a city, Party Nuclei in these locals of the union shall be connected with each other through organizers elected by the Nuclei for each local of the union.

Section 6. The Nuclei Organizers for the various unions shall be appointed by the Section or Sub-district Executive Committees. These Organizers shall constitute the Industrial Department of the respective Party sub-divisions.

Section 7. In order to co-ordinate and centralize the work of the Nuclei on a national scale, the C. E. C. of the Party shall organize a National Industrial Department, and through it appoint District Nuclei Organizers, who shall be members ex-officio (with voice but not vote) of the District Executive Committee.

Section 8. The District Nuclei Organizer shall appoint, subject to the approval of the District Executive Committee, the Section or Sub-district Nuclei Organizers, who shall be in charge of the Section or Sub-district Industrial Department.

Section 9. All Party Nuclei shall be subject to the discipline and decisions of the Party, and shall, in their various localities, be under the control of the Section or Sub-district Executive Committees.

Article II.

Section 1. All local Industrial Departments shall submit for the approval of the Section or Sub-district E. C. any general plan of action which they intend to carry out in the unions or industry.

Section 2. Section or Sub-district Industrial Departments may be authorized by the District Executive Committee to issue leaflets in connection with the various problems arising from the daily struggle of the workers in the shops and unions. Such leaflets shall not attempt the exposition of general communist principles and tactics, and shall not be signed in the name of the Communist Party. Copies of all leaflets issued by the Industrial Departments shall be sent through regular Party channels to the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Section 3. Communist Nuclei shall not participate in a split within a local labor union without the approval of the District Executive Committee. In case of a split in their national unions, C. P. Nuclei shall not participate without the approval of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Section 4. Party members may accept paid positions in the unions, provided that they can further Communist propaganda.

EXHIBIT No. 17

[Source: "Program and Constitution, Workers Party of America," a pamphlet published by Lyceum and Literature Department of the Workers Party, Room 405—799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.: 1921]

PROGRAM AND CONSTITUTION WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

Adopted at National Convention, New York City, December 24, 25, 26, 1921. Published by Lyceum and Literature Department, Workers Party, Room 405—799 Broadway, New York City.

PREFACE

The first convention of the Workers Party was held in New York City, December 24—25—26. One hundred and fifty delegates were present, representing organizations from nearly every state. This convention was not born of the desires of any group of ambitious persons; but was the natural outgrowth of developments within the revolutionary movement in America during the years since the Russian Revolution and the end of the World War—aye, since the very beginning of the war itself.

At the St. Louis convention of the Socialist Party in 1917 the Left tendencies were coming to the fore, which was shown by the anti-war resolution then adopted; but it could be easily seen that opportunism had by no means lost the fight. The opportunistic leaders of the S. P. were not sincere supporters of the St. Louis Resolution; later events showed that many who supported that resolution were merely playing for time. They were mere pacifists who never intended to fight for the St. Louis Resolution.

In January prior to the St. Louis convention, a unity conference was held between representatives of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. The Left elements in the S. P. had grown strong enough to bring about this conference through a referendum vote. This class-conscious element was looking about for new leadership, the old leaders were beginning to lose their hold; besides that, they were ready to end the deplorable condition created by having two parties of socialism. The S. L. P. was beginning to grow into favor with the new growing "left wing" because of its decided stand against opportunism. The S. L. P. delegation refused to unite in any way unless the S. P. would endorse the principle of industrial unionism. This the S. P. delegates could easily refuse to do. Unity failed.

It is true that the S. L. P. is not opportunistic; but it has the failing that is the twin brother of opportunism—doctrinairism. It had no confidence in the strong left-wing revolutionary elements in the S. P. unless the S. P. would officially go on record for a statement of the only correct and pure principles. Besides this, the S. L. P. withdrew all its anti-militarist literature as soon as the U. S. went into the war and showed a most cowardly attitude toward the government. New leadership naturally developed in the S. P. that began contending with the old Berger-Hillquit forces of opportunism. The left wing split; the subsequent formation of the Communist parties which eventually were driven under ground are matters too well known to repeat in detail here.

During all this time the struggle of the workers in industry to maintain their old standard of living broke out in fierce conflicts involving larger numbers than ever known before. The need for a political party capable of taking practical leadership became ever more urgent, until at last the many scattered elements that had left either the S. P. or the S. L. P. began to regroup themselves, forming the American Labor Alliance and the Workers' Council. Many language organizations held their federations into line. It was these organizations that finally formed the convention that launched the Workers Party.

In presenting the program and constitution of the Workers Party we wish to comment briefly to meet the objections of both the doctrinaire and the opportunist. To the practical man of action, no comments are necessary, for the documents speak for themselves. The revolutionary movement in America was dominated by the extremes, above mentioned, so much so in this country that a program of action will be misunderstood.

He is the doctrinaire who believes that the sole duty of a revolutionary party is to preach the class-struggle and outline the final aim—the workers' republic, the socialist commonwealth, or whatever name he chooses to call it. Battles in the every-day struggle should not interest the Party except to be used as a means of criticism; to show the futility of struggling over mere wages, or the folly of moving behind false leaders who do not preach the class struggle. The doctrinaire knows the masses must be with him to achieve the revolution; but he is going to get the masses by preaching the new doctrine in its purity, and he will have nothing to do with immediate demands.

The opportunist, on the other hand, lays strong emphasis upon immediate demands. He does not overlook the final aim, but he does insist that the masses are not intelligent enough to understand remote, abstract theories such as socialism. The Party must be practical and offer immediate demands.

Immediate demands ARE practical. Thus far the opportunist is right but he always fails by the kind of demand he offers, and the purpose of these demands. The opportunist makes demands to dull the class struggle; the revolutionist makes demands to sharpen it. Cheap milk, cheap ice, municipal ownership, etc., are all demands that the capitalist state can meet with ease. Such demands are not made with the idea of destroying confidence in, and eventually disrupting, the capitalist state machine. They are sentimental demands "in the interest of suffering humanity."

Because the Workers Party has seven demands in its Program the doctrinaire says the Party is opportunistic; the opportunists say "they are no different from us." Quite the contrary. Whether the State attempts to meet the demands or fails to do so, the effect will be the same, if the workers are united

by the Workers Party to make them, a weakening and eventual disruption of the capitalist state machinery will ensue.

Remember the demands of the Russian Workers—demands that brought on the revolution—"Peace, Land, Bread!" Such demands grow out of the struggle of proletarian life with capitalist decay; such demands must be met or otherwise we are fastened in doctrinaire sterility like the S. L. P. Demands must be met intelligently or we slump into the mire of opportunistic mud like the S. P.

We call attention to the complete working Program of the Workers Party and leave the practical thinking wage worker to judge between it and the extreme programs of the past.

The Constitution speaks for itself as a document representing centralized, efficient organization that can act promptly and intelligently in time of crisis.

CALEB HARRISON, *National Secretary.*

PROGRAM OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

The Great War has brought untold misery and chaos in its wake. Millions of workers have been maimed and slaughtered in the conflict of the imperialist governments. Capitalist society is face to face with social and industrial collapse. Kingdoms and empires have disappeared; but republics, ruled by an exploiting class more powerful and more unscrupulous than the kings and emperors, have taken their place.

National hatred rules the world. In spite of peace treaties and international conferences, the relations between the nations are more strained than ever. Intense commercial rivalry, and the resentment of the weak and vanquished nations against their victorious oppressors, are a constant menace to world peace. The capitalists dismayed at the chaos, and yet unable to understand it or even to contemplate its economic causes, are blindly steering the world towards new wars.

In Germany and Austria, the masses are being bled to meet the exorbitant war indemnities. In England, France and Italy, an impoverished proletariat is paying for armaments on a larger and more stupendous scale than ever before. Every battleship that is built and every shell that is manufactured, adds to the profits of the exploiters and increases the poverty of the wage slaves.

Even before this war social legislation met only inadequately the needs of a proletariat condemned to the uncertainties of existence under capitalism. Today it is a farce. No lasting improvement of the condition of the workingman under capitalism is any longer dreamed of. More than ever before, hunger and want are rife among the workers. And the violent uprisings that result are met with merciless suppression by the master class. All capitalist governments are openly fighting the battles of the employers. The legislatures, courts and the executive powers stand behind them. The struggle of the workers even for the most elementary necessities of life is met with ruthless persecution, and tends to become a fight for political power—a revolutionary struggle.

The Workers party will base its policies on the international nature of this struggle. It will strive to make the American labor movement an integral part of the revolutionary movement of the workers of the world. The Workers Party will expose the Second International, which is continually splitting the ranks of labor and betraying the working masses to the enemy. It will also warn and guard the workers against the attempt of the so-called Two-and-a-Half International to mislead them.

Disillusioned by the cowardly and traitorous conduct of their own leaders, and inspired by the proletarian revolution in Russia, the workers of the world have organized the Communist International. Despite the bitter opposition of the Capitalists and their labor lieutenants, the Communist International is growing rapidly. It has become a world power, the citadel and hope of the workers of every country.

Even America, the bulwark of world capitalism, is suffering acutely from the general disorganization. Its economic and financial life has been caught in the violent, swirling maelstrom of war. Because of the catastrophic depreciation of European currency it can find no outlet for the products of its industry. Its foreign trade has declined approximately fifty per cent. Armies of unemployed crowd the cities. Millions are out of work. War prosperity is ended. The bread lines have come. Capitalism is totally unable to cope with the

situation. Its utter helplessness was revealed at the recent Government Unemployment Conference. Nowhere is there a serious effort to ameliorate this condition. On the contrary, the employers are using it to increase their power of exploitation and oppression. The steel corporation, the oil industry, the railroads, the meat-packing and textile industries have already made heavy cuts in the workers' pay. A powerful open-shop campaign is being waged by the Employers' Association. Even the soldiers who have given their all in the fight for capitalist "democracy," are now clubbed and jailed at the first sign of protest against the destitution forced upon them by this same "democracy," which is in fact a dictatorship of the exploiting class. Everywhere it is robbing the workers of the small gains they have won through many years of struggle.

Imperialism

For generations the workers have been producing a surplus over and above what they have received in wages. A part of this surplus the capitalists have invested in the development and exploitation of the industrially backward countries of Asia, Africa and South America. These countries have been cowed into submission as colonies or "spheres of influence." In order to safeguard their investments in these countries, European and American capitalists have seized control of the local governments and oppressed and terrorized the native populations. Today these exploited and oppressed people, inspired by the Russian Revolution, are demanding freedom. In China, in India and Egypt, in Haiti, in the Philippines, in South Africa, in Mexico and South America—everywhere the spirit of revolt is awakening with new strength and momentum. The Great Powers are still arming to the teeth in order to maintain their domination over the colonial peoples, and protect the privileges of their own capitalists against encroachments from those of other nations. Neither the League of Nations nor the Washington Conference with its "Association of Powers," has been able to solve the problem arising from these conflicts of national business interests.

American Imperialism

The history of America has been a history of economic expansion. Acquisition of new territory was characteristic of the first fifty years of the last century. The forcible annexation of Texas was but the most ruthless example of early American expansion. The modern imperialist era begins with the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, and the hegemony over Cuba. This was followed by the seizure of the Panama Canal Zone through a staged "revolution" against Colombia. Intervening in Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua at the behest of Wall Street, the United States Government has added these Central American Republics to its spheres of influence. The islands of Guam and Samoa in the Pacific, and the Virgin Islands in the Caribbean Sea, are the more recent loot that has fallen to the American imperialists.

Thus the United States has also its subject peoples, and it is fast acquiring a reputation which rivals that of the British in India and of the Belgians in the Congo. The savage treatment accorded the natives of some of these islands by the armies of occupation and the civil authorities has become an international scandal.

Soviet Russia

While the leading powers are thus arming and conspiring against one another in the exploitation of subject peoples, they are united in their hatred of Soviet Russia. Russia, the Workers' Republic, stands clearly opposed to the imperialist nations that are under the rule of a capitalist dictatorship. Russia, having established the dictatorship of the proletariat, cultivates international working class solidarity as a means to thwart the machinations of world imperialism.

For more than four years the Soviet Government of the Workers and Peasants has stood unshaken before the continued attacks of international capitalism. The death-dealing blockade, the incited attacks of the Czarist generals, the criminal onslaught of the Polish imperialists, the crop failure, and the famine due to drought—all these have failed to undermine the Soviet Government. Today it is more firmly established than ever. The Workers'

Party looks to Soviet Russia for leadership in the struggle against world imperialism.

Our Labor Movement

The present moment finds but a small part of the working class of America organized for the purpose of abolishing capitalism. Of all the powerful nations America alone lacks a well developed proletarian political movement.

The Socialist Party reached its zenith with the St. Louis anti-war resolution. Its vigorous opposition to America's participation in the imperialist war brought into the party a flood of enthusiasm and life. But its leaders were not true to the declared attitude of the party, and this resulted in the development of a virile revolutionary faction which was expelled when it defeated the conservative leadership in the 1919 party elections. Since then the Socialist party has shown its utter inability to lead the workers in their struggle. It has persistently compromised with the very enemy it is supposed to be fighting. Instead of attempting to free the workers from the ideologies which the capitalists spread, the Socialist Party has assumed the role of the only true defender of the American constitution. Instead of exposing the sham and fraud of capitalist dictatorship masquerading as democracy and representative government, the Socialist Party has taken pains to glorify our "common heritage of democracy." Instead of pointing out to the worker that free speech and a free press are incompatible with capitalist dictatorship, it has devoted its energy to praising these "American rights." Such policies, combined with its failure to respond to the everyday needs and struggles of the workers, have completely discredited the Socialist Party. Its recent effort to unite the so-called progressive labor elements and the Farmer-Labor Party into some sort of moderate Socialist organization, has been a total failure.

The Socialist Labor Party, in spite of its proud boast of revolutionary purity and correctness, is moribund. Its insistence upon destroying the American Federation of Labor, and supplanting the existing labor unions with unions of its own creation, brands it as impractical and reactionary in outlook. It has not succeeded in gaining any influence in the American Labor Movement, and like the Socialist Party, it has failed to respond to the clarion call of the Russian Workers.

The Farmer-Labor Party was organized by an anti-Gompers element in the American Federation of Labor, together with former Socialists. It was an attempt to capitalize existing popular discontent without the drawback of a supposedly unpopular label. It offers to the workers a program of social reform and "industrial democracy," but very carefully avoids declaring its attitude towards the existence of the capitalist system. Far from receiving the support of the large masses of progressive labor unions, the Farmer-Labor Party has utterly failed as a uniting force even among the conscious element of the American working class.

The Non-Partisan League was developed by the working farmers of the Northwest to resist a ruthless capitalist exploitation. It captured the entire machinery of government from the exploiters in 1918, but nevertheless proved powerless to inaugurate a program of State ownership. For four years these oppressed farmers, in possession of the local parliamentary machinery, have struggled against an organized capitalist blockade. This struggle has culminated in the defeat of the League in the recent elections—another failure of the reformist principle.

There has been up to the present no political organization that could lead and unify the workers against capitalism. With the Workers Party such an organization makes its appearance in American life.

The Workers Party will centralize and direct the struggle of the laboring masses against the powerfully centralized opposition of their exploiters. It will courageously defend the workers, and wage an aggressive struggle for the abolition of capitalism. Its general program will be:

1. To consolidate the existing labor organizations and develop them into organs of militant struggle against capitalism, permeate the Trade Unions with truly revolutionary elements, mercilessly expose the reactionary labor bureaucrats and strive to replace them with revolutionary leaders.
2. To participate actively in the election campaigns and the general political life of the country. Its representatives in the legislative and executive offices of the government will unmask the fraudulent Capitalist democracy, and help to mobilize the workers for the final struggle against the common enemy. They

will give conscious and public expression to the everyday grievances of the working class in concrete demands upon the capitalist government and its institutions.

3. To lead in the fight for the immediate needs of the workers, broaden and deepen their demands, and develop out of their everyday struggle a force for the abolition of capitalism.

4. To work for the establishment of a Workers' Republic.

Congressional Campaign of 1922

In preparation for the Congressional campaign and election of 1922, the Workers Party of America will carry on extensive and intensive educational activities in the unions. It will formulate its demands upon the capitalist government in accordance with the actual status of the class struggle, and the readiness and ability of the workers to fight for the interests of their class. Waging its campaign upon the most pressing and vital needs of the workers, it will ask for their endorsement at the polls. Today these needs are:

1. The protection of labor unions, and of the right to strike and picket in all industries.

2. An immediate appropriation of funds from the Municipal, State and Federal treasuries to relieve the distress of the unemployed—these funds to be dispensed through the labor unions and special councils created by the unemployed.

3. An obedience upon the part of the capitalists and the governing bodies to their own laws regarding the rights of the individual, and the laws won from them by organized labor.

4. The protection of the lives and civil rights of the negroes.

5. The cessation of preparation for new wars.

6. The withdrawal of American military and governing forces from Haiti, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico; independence for the Philippine and Pacific Islands.

7. The resumption of trade relations with Russia, and the recognition of the Soviet Republic.

The Agricultural Problem

The laboring masses of America are divided into two principal sections, the industrial workers and the farm workers. The farm workers are proletarian and semiproletarian. The proletarian worker plays a comparatively insignificant role, however, in American farm life. The semi-proletarians, the tenants and mortgaged owners of comparatively small farms, are the typical agricultural class. As a result of their environment, their psychology and political demands are individualistic. But nevertheless, they are beginning to realize that ultimate success depends upon joint action with the industrial workers.

Today the farmers are subjected to an exploitation unequalled in their entire history. Mortgages in some states have increased 500 per cent since the census of 1910. The farmers have been producing crops for the past two years at a loss of billions of dollars. The form of exploitation and oppression varies in each section in accord with the type of farming and the social conditions that prevail. In the south the whites are incited to mob the negroes. In the west wages are kept down by maintaining a surplus of migratory labor. In the middle west the bankers control by ownership of farm mortgages and they dictate the wages to be paid by farmers to harvest workers, forcing them low enough to maintain the antagonism between these two exploited groups of producers. In the east, the natural individualism of the farmers is fostered by the capitalists. Their agents dominate in every farm organization. They control the agricultural press, in which their propaganda openly blames farm exploitation upon the wage demands of the city workers.

The resistance of the farmers to capitalist exploitation manifests itself in a tremendous development of farm organizations. There are two hundred and sixty-five national farm organizations, with a dues paying membership of over two million. In the south, there are secret Negro organizations and white tenant unions; in the west there are farm labor unions; in the middle west, large grain-marketing organizations and cooperatives; in the east, many local commodity organizations and societies. These organizations have struggled unsuccessfully against exploitation. They have failed because they were struggling against only one phase of exploitation, and were not organized as a part of the working class fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Workers Party will seek to unite the struggles of the farmers with those of the city workers along these lines. It will develop for this purpose conscious groups of farmers in all farm organizations, and will expose the capitalist agents and their propaganda. It will make every effort to participate actively in the daily struggle of the farmers.

The Race Problem

The Negro workers in America are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of a brutal terror—of persecution, rape and murder. The formal abolition of slavery made it possible for the northern capitalists to penetrate the south and to bring cheap Negro labor north. This was, however, detrimental to the interests of southern capitalists, and they have sought by every means to maintain the enslavement of the Negro. It is in order to subjugate him and break his spirit, that secret murder societies such as the Ku Klux Klan have been established.

Because of the anti-Negro policies of organized labor the Negro has despaired of aid from this source, and has either been driven into the camp of labor's enemies, or been compelled to develop purely racial organizations which seek purely racial aims. The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for liberation, and will help them in their fight for economic, political and social equality. It will point out to them that the interests of the Negro workers are identical with those of the white. It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by organized labor. Its task will be to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the black and white workers, and weld them into a solid union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of their common enemy.

Labor Union Program

Taking advantage of the world industrial crisis, and the consequent unemployment, the capitalists of the United States have launched a war of extermination upon the unions, including the most conservative as well as the aggressive and virile unions. They are determined to smash the unions, and reduce the workers far below their pre-war standard of wage and working conditions. They are determined to take from the hands of labor, with interest, the cost of the unparalleled destruction caused by the world war.

In spite of heroic resistance from the organized masses, this plot is being carried out to an alarming extent. Orgies of wage reduction are the order of the day. Hours are being lengthened, union conditions broken down. The unions are bending beneath the onslaught of capitalism.

In this greatest crisis of the Labor movement, the officialdom of almost all the American unions have betrayed their utter cowardice, stupidity and even bad faith. Instead of rallying the organized workers to positive and energetic resistance, and launching a counterattack upon the capitalists by demanding some of the good things promised them during the war—instead of this course, dictated by elemental common sense and good faith to the workers they are supposed to lead, they are conniving, openly and secretly, with the workers' enemies. They are surrendering point by point, under one pretext and another, and a gradual demoralization of the union ranks is the result.

Facing this crisis, the Workers Party of America rejoices to be able to point out that, for the first time in our labor history, an adequate and comprehensive program has been laid out for the militant workers in the labor unions. The First World Congress of Red Labor Unions, held in Moscow in July, 1921, brought together the wisdom and experience of the revolutionary labor movement of the whole world. Out of this congress came a clear and definite program, which if applied with intelligence and energy by the militant workers, will lead the American labor union movement out of the present disruption, and place it on the high road to social and economic power—the road to the Workers' Republic.

The Workers Party, therefore, calls upon the class-conscious workers of America to rally to the banner of the Red International of Labor Unions. It calls upon them to consider carefully the Resolutions and Decisions of the First Congress of the Red International, and to put its policies into effect: (1) by joining the labor union of their trade or calling, (2) by organizing a minority group with all other class-conscious workers in such union, or joining such militant bodies of this nature as already exist, (3) by using the energies of these class-

conscious groups to place militant, aggressive programs into effect in their unions, and depose the conservative or reactionary officials that stand in the way or oppose.

The Workers Party stands for the principle of one union in each field. Dual unionism must be done away with. The revolutionary workers must remain within the mass organizations of the backward workers. The custom of seceding from the mass unions to form smaller unions on the ground that the mass union is reactionary, must be abandoned. Attempts of the officialdom to expel revolutionary individuals or groups must be resisted by every possible means. The policy shall be consolidation, not division.

RESOLUTION OF LABOR UNION ACTIVITY

APPENDIX TO THE PROGRAM OF THE WORKERS PARTY

The Workers Party of America will call upon the existing revolutionary industrial unions to cooperate in its thoroughly modernized plan to revolutionize the four or five million organized workers in the reactionary unions of the United States. It will ask them to join in the effort to change the structure of the reactionary trade unions into the industrial union form, and to eject from control of these unions the reactionary leaders.

The Red International of Labor Unions, composed as it is of the most trusted and experienced representatives of the revolutionary unions in all countries, is an instrument for bringing to the unions of each country the tactical wisdom and scientific knowledge of revolution gained in the experience of all. The Workers Party will urge the revolutionary unions existing in the United States to follow the policies outlined by the Red Labor Union International.

Abandon Dual Unionism

In industries dominated by the trade unions, and where the revolutionary industrial unions are either nonexistent or a minor factor, the Workers Party will urge the revolutionary unionists to abandon their dual unionism, and concentrate their activities in the trade unions. Such industries are, principally: coal mining, building trades, printing trades, metal trades, clothing trades, railroads, general transport, theatrical trades, electrical supply trades, and meat-slaughtering. In all these industries the trade unions are strong, containing the overwhelming majority of the workers that are organized; the revolutionary industrial unions have either no organization at all, or one that is negligible in strength and influence. Nor can the situation be changed by the tactics heretofore used. For the revolutionary industrial unions to continue a dual organization in these industries, and to insist upon the support of all revolutionists in this policy, will simply block the performance of real work. The revolutionary industrial unions must be induced to stop maintaining or attempting to form, dual unions in such industries. What few members they now have in such unions must be induced to enter the old unions and organize themselves therein as minority groups.

Support the Strongest Unions

In certain industries the trade unions are weak, and the revolutionary industrial unions have developed some degree of constructive organization. These industries are, principally: metal mining, textile, lumber, boot and shoe manufacturing, baking and candy making, automobile manufacturing, hotels and restaurants, and agriculture. Where such revolutionary industrial unions have attained a membership superior to, or approximately equal to, the membership of the reactionary trade unions, the Workers Party will vigorously support the revolutionary industrial union with a view to its absorbing the entire industry. Where several revolutionary industrial unions have a foothold in the same industry, the aggregate of their membership being greater than, or approximately equal to, that of the reactionary trade unions, the policy will be to unite them. Failing of that, the Workers Party will support the union having the greatest hold upon the industry.

Support Industrial Amalgamation

The Workers Party will support all of the present tendencies among the unions to break down craft aloofness, and draw closer to the industrial form. The movement of the International Association of Machinists to introduce industrial union forms into the American Federation of Labor, as well as the movement for closer

federation and subsequent amalgamation of the various crafts of the railroad brotherhoods, will be supported, without giving support to the reactionary leaders who have been drawn into a half-hearted identification with these movements.

Don't Destroy the Unions

The effort of the revolutionary groups within the trade unions should not be to split or destroy these unions, but while keeping the membership as intact as possible, to throw off from each union its bureaucratic superstructure. The subject matter of agitation for the revolutionary groups should be the questions arising in the everyday struggle of the unions. Revolutionary principles should be applied to their solution in a practical manner—never in a merely theoretical or abstract manner. The revolutionists must be more practical than their opponents. They must be more efficient and hardworking in handling the daily routine of the union, at the same time that they strive with all their power to bring it into line with the more advanced unions for the proletarian revolution.

Resist Expulsion; Stand for Unity

The revolutionists must continue their revolutionary propaganda at any cost. But wherever humanly possible they must avoid being expelled from the unions either as groups or individuals. They must remember that their doing any propaganda at all is dependent upon their remaining in contact with the masses in the unions. In case of the expulsion of fragments from the unions, these fragments must refuse to recognize their expulsion, and make a continuous fight to remain a part of the union, or contend for their claim to be themselves the original union. In case of expulsion of entire unions from the American Federation of Labor, such expulsion must be resisted as long as possible, for the purpose of exposing the motives of the bureaucracy. The same rule applies to the railroad brotherhoods and the independent unions generally.

The Workers Party will formulate programs for individuals and groups that may be expelled from unions by the reactionary bureaucracy, finding solutions free wherever possible from the old mistake of dual unionism.

Within all trade and industrial unions the Workers Party will organize and promote revolutionary groups, and will help to crystallize around such groups larger blocks of sympathetic workers, growing in understanding. The Party will supply these groups with literature, information, instruction as to methods, and so endeavor to co-ordinate the entire left-wing of the American Labor Movement within the existing unions.

CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

Article 1—Name and Purpose

Section 1—The name of this organization shall be THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA. Its purpose shall be to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of the Workers' Republic.

Article II.—Emblem

Section 1—The emblem of the party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin having at the top, "Workers Party of America," and underneath, "Workers of the World, Unite."

Article III.—Membership

Section 1—Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Workers Party of America and agrees to submit to its discipline and engage actively in its work shall be eligible to membership.

Section 2—Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the Workers Party of America as expressed in its program and constitution and agrees to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work."

Section 3—Every member shall join a duly constituted branch of the party if such exists in the territory where he lives. Applicants living in territories where the Workers Party of America has no organized branch may become members at large.

Section 4—All applicants for membership must be endorsed and recommended by two persons who have been members for not less than three months. An applicant must be present in person when his application is acted upon.

Section 5—Applications for membership shall not be acted upon finally until one month after presentation. In the mean time the applicant shall pay initiation fees and dues and shall attend all meetings. This rule shall not apply to charter members or new branches nor to those who make application to the newly organized branches during the first month.

Article IV.—Units of Organization

Section 1.—The basic units of organization of the Workers Party of America shall be:

- a) The Branch, to consist of not less than five members.
- b) Members-at-large, who shall be connected with the nearest district organization.
- c) Such special forms of local organization as may be authorized by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 2.—Two or more branches in the same city shall form a City Central Committee. The City Central Committee may also include branches in adjacent territory.

Section 3.—The Central Executive Committee is empowered to designate the boundaries of the district organizations (which may include more than one state or parts of states), such boundaries to be fixed with regard to economic rather than state divisions. For the purpose of carrying on parliamentary activity, the City Central Committees and branches in any state shall constitute the state organization. The entire supervision of this activity shall be assigned by the Central Executive Committee to the district organization best equipped for this purpose.

Article V.—Administration

Section 1.—The supreme body of the Workers Party of America shall be the Convention of the Party.

Section 2.—Between conventions the Central Executive Committee elected by the convention shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall direct all the activities of the Party.

Section 3.—The administrative power of the district shall be vested in the Annual District Convention.

Section 4.—Between District Conventions the administrative powers of the district shall be vested in the District Committee elected by the District Convention. District organizers appointed by the Central Executive Committee shall be members of the District Committee and carry on their work under its supervision.

Section 5.—The City Central Committee shall consist of delegates elected by the branches. Every branch shall have at least one delegate. The City Central Committee shall meet at least twice a month. The City Central Committee shall elect a secretary, executive committee and such other officers as may be found necessary. The District Executive Committee reserves the right of approval of secretary.

Article VI—Conventions

Section 1.—The Convention is the supreme body of the Party, and shall be called by the Central Executive committee at least once a year.

Section 2.—Emergency conventions, with all the powers of regular conventions, may be called by the Central Executive Committee or upon demand of District Organizations representing 40 per cent of the membership.

Section 3.—The number of delegates to the National Convention shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee. Delegates shall be apportioned to the districts according to membership based upon average dues paid for the period of four months prior to call for the convention. The districts shall apportion the number to be elected by city conventions on the same basis.

Section 4.—Delegates to the national convention shall be elected by district conventions. Branches in organized cities shall elect delegates to a city convention which in turn shall elect the delegates to the district conventions. The number of delegates to which each branch is entitled shall be decided by the City Central Committee according to membership as above. When there is no city central organization the branch shall elect delegates directly to the district convention.

Section 5.—City and district secretaries and organizers shall attend the conventions of their respective units and shall have a voice but no vote unless elected as delegates themselves.

Section 6.—City and district conventions may elect as their delegates members of the Party from units outside their territorial and divisions.

Section 7.—At the same time that the call for the convention is issued the Central Executive Committee shall submit to every branch for discussion the Agenda and other propositions that are to come before the convention. At least sixty days before the Convention the Party Press shall be opened for discussion of important Party matters. District Committees may submit propositions to be included in the Agenda.

Section 8.—Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid railroad expenses and a certain amount per diem to be determined by the Central Executive Committee.

Article VII.—Central Executive Committee

Section 1.—Between Conventions the Central Executive Committee shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall direct all its activities.

Section 2.—The Central Executive Committee shall consist of seventeen members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect seven alternates, to fill vacancies in order of vote. When the list of alternates are exhausted the Central Executive Committee shall have the right of cooptation.

Section 3.—The Central Executive Committee shall elect the Executive Secretary and Chairman of the Party, and all other officers.

Section 4.—The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers and all national officials. It shall create sub-committees for the proper direction of its activities.

Section 5.—The Central Executive Committee shall make a monthly report of the Party activities and of Party finances, itemized by districts.

Section 6.—The Central Executive Committee shall divide the country into districts in accordance with Article IV, Section 3, provided that the boundary lines of the districts shall not be changed within a period of four months prior to the national convention.

Section 7.—A complete audit and accounting of all Party funds shall be made every six months.

Section 8.—All press and propaganda activities shall be under the full control of the Central Executive Committee.

Article VIII.—District and Subordinate Units

Section 1.—The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers for each district.

Section 2.—Every district organizer shall make complete reports to the District Executive Committee as to the general Party work in his district. He shall submit and carry out the instructions and decisions of the Central Executive Committee. He shall make remittance and financial statements regularly to the Central Executive Committee and shall also submit financial statements to the membership in his district at least once a month.

Section 3.—District conventions shall be held within thirty days of the national convention. The district convention shall elect six members to the District Executive Committee.

Section 4.—These six members, together with the District Organizer, who shall be a member of the District Executive Committee with voice and vote, shall supervise the activities of the district and shall regularly submit the minutes of their meetings to the Central Executive Committee. All actions of the District Committee are subject to review by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5.—The District Executive Committee shall determine the boundaries of the city locals.

Section 6.—The City Central Committee shall consist of delegates representing branches in accordance with their relative memberships. Each branch shall be represented by at least one delegate. The City Central Committee shall have supervision of all activities in the local and shall make regular reports of its work to the District Executive Committee.

Section 7.—The City Central Committee shall elect a city executive committee, consisting of from 5 to 7 members, which shall act for the city central committee between meetings.

Section 8.—The Branch shall consist of members, as provided in Article III, Section 1. It shall elect an executive committee, branch organizer, delegates to the City Central Committee, and such other officers as may be considered necessary.

Article IX.—Language Sections

Section 1.—Members speaking a common language other than English may organize into a "Language Branch."

Section 2.—Language branches of the same language, with an aggregate membership of at least 400, shall be formed into a Language Section. There shall be only one section in each language, and all language branches must affiliate with their respective language sections.

Section 3.—All language branches shall be integral parts of the party structure in their localities, and shall perform and carry out all Party functions and obligations.

Section 4.—Shortly after Party Conventions, national language conferences shall be held. Those conferences shall formulate plans for education and propaganda in their respective languages, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All actions of these conferences shall be in strict conformity with the decisions of the Party Convention and the Central Executive Committee. Expenses of these conferences shall be borne by the language sections.

Section 5.—The language section conference shall elect a bureau to administer its affairs and a suitable number of alternates. The bureau shall elect the editors and officers and shall supervise all activities of their respective language sections, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 6.—The Central Executive Committee shall have the right to disapprove the members elected by the conference to the language bureaus and fill such vacancies from among the alternates.

Section 7.—The Central Executive Committee may appoint a fraternal member to every language section executive committee with voice but no vote.

Section 8.—The bureau shall have the right to appoint district language section organizers subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All organizers shall work under the supervision of the Party District Organizers in the various districts.

Section 9a)—National Language Bureaus shall translate and transmit all statements, circulars and communications addressed to the membership by the Central Executive Committee within one week after their receipt.

Section 9b)—Language branches shall purchase their due stamps directly from their national bureau, which shall purchase due stamps from the Central Executive Committee at 30 cents each, and sell same to its branches at a price determined by the Language Section conference. The branches to sell due stamps to members at 50 cents. The national office shall remit to the district organization ten cents, and to the city local five cents for each stamp sold to language sections.

Section 9c)—The National Language Bureau shall account to the Central Executive Committee regularly for all funds entrusted to it and shall make regular financial reports to the Central Executive Committee regarding all the institutions under its control. Its accounts shall be subject to the audit of the Central Executive Committee. Special assessments may also be levied by the National Language Bureaus on the membership with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 10—a) Language Bureaus and Language Sections shall have no power to suspend, expel or reorganize affiliations. All disciplinary powers are vested exclusively in the regular Party organization machinery.

b) Language Bureaus and Sections may recommend such suspension, expulsion or reorganization to the party units having jurisdiction.

Article X.—Discipline

Section 1.—All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units of the organization.

Section 2.—Any member or organization violating the decisions of the Party shall be subject to suspension or expulsion by the organization which has jurisdiction. Charges against members shall be made before branches, subject to appeal by either side to the City Central Committee or to the District Executive Committee, where there is no city organization. Charges against a branch shall be made before the City Central Committee or before the District Executive Com-

mittee where there is no city organization. Decisions of the City Central Committee in the case of branches shall be subject to revision by the district organization. Charges against state or district organization shall be made before the Central Executive Committee.

Section 3.—Each unit of the Party shall restrict its activities to the territory it represents.

Section 4.—A member who desires to transfer his membership to another branch shall have a transfer card from the financial secretary or organizer of his branch. No branch shall receive a member from another branch without such transfer card and upon presentation of the card the secretary of the branch receiving same shall make inquiries about the standing of the member to the secretary issuing the card.

Section 5.—All party units shall use uniform application cards, dues books and accounting records, which shall be printed by the National Organization.

Section 6.—Any suspended or removed member of the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to appeal in writing or in person to the next National Party Convention.

Article XI.—Dues

Section 1.—Each applicant for membership shall pay initiation fees of fifty cents, which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the Central Executive Committee. The entire sum shall go to the National Organization.

Section 2.—Each member shall pay fifty cents per month in due stamps, which shall be sold to the state or district organizations at 25 cents. State or District Organizations shall sell stamps to the City Central Committee and to the branches where there is no city central committee at 35 cents. The City Central Committee shall sell stamps to branches at 40 cents.

Section 3.—Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

Section 4.—Husband and wife belonging to the same branch may purchase dual stamps, which shall be sold at the same price as the regular stamps. Special assessments must be paid by both husband and wife.

Section 5.—Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness or for similar reasons shall upon application to their financial secretary be furnished with exempt stamps. Provided that no state or district organizations shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than ten per cent of its monthly purchases of regular stamps.

Section 6.—Members who are three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

Article XII.—Headquarters

Section 1.—The National Headquarters of the Party shall be located in the city designated by the Convention.

Article XIII.—Qualifications

Section 1.—Members of the Central Executive Committee, Executive Secretary, Editor, and all candidates for political office, must have been (a) members of the party for two years at the time of their nomination, or (b) members of a charter organization, or members of any organization affiliating as a body within sixty days after the first convention.

Section 2.—One year's membership in the Party shall be necessary to qualify for membership on the District Executive Committee; six months for city central delegates and officers, three months (in the branch) for branch officers. This section shall not apply to branch officers or city central delegates of new branches.

DIGEST OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FIRST CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

1. *The violent persecution of the organized workers* in all countries is but an indication of the intensification of the class struggle, the W. P. exposes the true character and intentions of the destructive efforts of the masters and by uniting its forces with those of the workers of all nations, takes up the challenge.

2. *The American Legion* is the creature of the capitalist class, its function is to try to terrorize labor.

The World War Veterans have at all times proved their loyalty to the workers, they are endorsed by the Workers Party and all ex-soldiers urged to join.

3. *Education* in the history and problems of the labor movement and the fundamental principles and tactics of revolutionary Marxism is one of the most important functions of the W. P. of A. The Central Executive is directed to immediately endeavor to establish workers' schools in the chief industrial centers and to organize study courses in the locals and sections of the party.

4. *Russian Relief and Reconstruction* calls for immediate help by organized labor; the W. P. of A. pledges itself to do all within its power to carry the urgent appeal of Soviet Russia to the great masses of the American working class, and to support any organizations or movement aiming to aid Russian relief and reconstruction.

5. *Soviet Russia.* The Russian revolution is the first successful uprising of the masses under the leadership of the working-class against private ownership of capitalists and landlords in modern society. For the first time since the establishment of capitalism, the Russian workmen nationalized all the larger industrial establishments and declared the land the property of the nation to be used only by those who work on it with their own hands. Thus, the Russian revolution marks a new era in the history of our times and proves beyond doubt that, once organized in a strong party and conscious of its historic aim, the working class may be able to seize the power of state in time of a revolution, establish proletarian dictatorship, and abolish private ownership in order to establish the Socialist order.

Though the Soviet government of Russia, the government of workers and peasants being harassed by constant war on numerous fronts, compelled to fight for its very existence against the combined efforts of the capitalist states, bled white by economic blockade and exhaustion of its productive forces, saw fit to reintroduce capitalism under state control, the rule of the proletariat remains the supreme power in Russia and the authority of the Soviets is now greater than ever. The Convention of the Workers Party of America sees in the Russian Revolution the vanguard of all class-conscious workers of the world and the herald of a new era, the era of Workers' Republics.

Whatever may be the future transformations and adaptations of the Russian Soviet regime, the Convention is fully aware of its colossal role in the stimulation of new thought and new regroupings among the workers of the world. Pledging itself to aid the Soviet Republic in its present crisis, the Convention sends its fraternal greetings to the workers of Russia and to their leaders, the fighters for a Communist order.

Long live the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic!

Long live the rule of the Russian Workers and Peasants!

6. *The revolutionary young workers' organizations* of Europe have long been the vanguard in all activity, every party is striving for the allegiance of the Youth, but 800,000 young workers in 40 countries are enrolled under the banner of the Young Communist International.

The United States presents a fertile field for such an organization, but at present all elements out of which it could be built are divided into unrelated groups. The W. P. pledges its aid to organize these young workers on a national scale in the following motion adopted by the convention: "That the Executive Committee of the Workers Party appoint a provisional national organization committee to amalgamate all existing militant young workers' organizations, to create new ones wherever possible, and to carry on all work preparatory to the calling of a national convention which will unite these forces and officially launch the Young Workers' League of America."

7. *Amnesty agitation* on behalf of prisoners in Federal penitentiaries must be extended to include those jailed under State statutes.

8. *Sacco and Vanzetti* were convicted of murder on insufficient evidence because they held radical views, the W. P. expresses its conviction of their innocence and demands a new trial for them.

9. *Howat and Dorchy* are imprisoned for resisting the further shackling of organized labor through the Kansas Industrial Court Law, the W. P. records its sympathy for them in this fight and its support of their followers.

10. *A monthly magazine* "to propagate the principles of Marxism and revolutionary understanding" is to be established.

11. *Mooney and Billings* are victims of one of the most dastardly crimes ever perpetrated by the capitalist courts of America, their innocence has been attested even by prominent officials of the capitalist State, yet every technicality is made use of to hold them in prison. The W. P. of A. pledges itself not to rest until they are free.

12. *The working class woman* is a wage slave and in addition must bear the burden of her sex. "The W. P. of A. recognizes the necessity for an intensified struggle to improve woman's conditions and to unify them in the common struggle with the rest of the working class against capitalism." It will take the initiative to organize and lead them in their struggle for economic freedom.

13. *The shop delegate system* has arisen in the struggle of the workers for more efficient and representative centralization of organized labor power than is afforded by the craft unions. The W. P. of A. recognizes that this form of organization affords the workers a better medium in their daily struggles and will also facilitate the building of their power and the taking over of production after the breakdown of capitalism.

14. *Pogroms*, involving the death of hundreds of thousands of Jews in Poland, Ukraine and Palestine, are characterized as the result of counter-revolutionary outrages.

15. *Liberation of Eugene V. Debs* and other class war prisoners was marked by the dispatch of the following telegram: "One hundred and fifty delegates convened to organize the Workers Party of America, and comrades assembled, greet with joy your homecoming and fervently hope that you will soon again be fighting in the ranks of the American working class in their struggle for emancipation."

EXHIBIT No. 18

[Source: Excerpts from Theses and Resolutions, adopted at the Third World Congress of the Communist International (June 22-July 12, 1921), published by the Contemporary Publishing Association, New York City: 1921. Pages 34-70, 75-114, 115-117, 131-149, 150-153, 190-199]

THESES ON TACTICS

1. Definition of the Problem

"The new international labor organization is established for the purpose of organizing united action of the world proletariat, aspiring toward the same goal; the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of an International Soviet Republic, for the complete elimination of classes and the realization of Socialism, the first step toward the Communist Commonwealth." This definition of the aims of the Communist International, laid down in the statutes, distinctly defines all the questions of tactics to be solved. They are the tactical problems of our struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. They deal with the means of winning over the majority of the working class to the principles of Communism, of organizing the socially important elements of the proletariat in the struggle for its attainment, the attitude to be assumed toward the proletarianized petty-bourgeois elements, the way and means of disrupting the organs of bourgeois power, and destroying them. And they deal, finally, with the ultimate, international battle for the dictatorship. The problems of the dictatorship *per se*, as being the only way to victory, constitute no part of this discussion. The development of the world revolution has proved beyond any doubt that there is only a single alternative in the given historical situation, either capitalist or proletarian dictatorship. The Third Congress of the Communist International is proceeding to renewed investigation of the problems of tactics at a time when the objective situation in a number of countries has grown critically revolutionary, and a number of communist mass parties have come into being. None of these, however, can claim to possess the actual leadership of the majority of the working class in the real revolutionary struggle.

2. On the Eve of New Battles

The world revolution, i. e., the decay of capitalism, and the concentration of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, its organization into an aggressive, victorious power, will require a prolonged period of revolutionary struggle. The variations in the sharpness of the social antagonisms and in the social structures of the various countries, and therefore in the obstacles to be overcome, the high degree of organization of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America prevented the immediate victory of the world revolution as a result of the world war. *The Communists were therefore right in declaring, while the war was still raging, that the period of*

imperialism was developing into the epoch of social revolution, i. e., of a long series of civil wars in a number of capitalist countries, and of wars between the capitalist states on one side and proletarian states and exploited colonial peoples on the other side.

The world revolution is not a process following absolutely straight lines; on the contrary, the periods of the chronic decay of capitalism and the daily, revolutionary, undermining activity become at times acute, and develop into severe crises. The course of the world revolution was also retarded by strong labor organizations and labor parties, such as the Social Democratic parties and the trade unions, which, though established by the proletariat for the conduct of its struggle against the bourgeoisie, turned into organs for counter-revolutionary agitation and paralyzing of the proletariat during the war. They continued these practices after the war had ended. This made it easy for the world bourgeoisie to master the crisis during the period of demobilization, and to raise new hopes among the proletariat, during the sham prosperity of 1919-1920, of a possible improvement of conditions under capitalism. To these causes may be attributed the defeat of the revolts during 1919, and the protracted tempo of the revolutionary movements during 1919-1920.

The universal economic crisis beginning in the middle of 1920 has since extended over the entire world. With increasing unemployment on every hand, it is proof to the international proletariat that the bourgeoisie is powerless to reconstruct the world, even capitalistically, that is, on the basis of exploitation. The aggravation of all international political conflicts, the French campaign to despoil Germany, the English-American and American-Japanese opposition of interests, and the consequent rivalry in the augmentation of armaments—all these facts show that the moribund capitalistic world is tumbling headlong into world war. Even the League of Nations, the international trust of the victorious states for the exploitation of their vanquished competitors and the colonial peoples, has been disrupted by the English-American rivalry. The illusion by which international social democracy and trade union bureaucracy restrained the laboring masses from entering the revolutionary struggle, this illusion that they could gradually and peacefully attain the economic power and consequent independence by the renunciation of all attempts to conquer political power in revolutionary combat is being rapidly dissipated.

The socialization forces in Germany, by the aid of which the government of Scheidemann-Noske endeavored to hold the working class back from the attack in March, 1919, have come to an end. Socialization chatter has given way to Stinnesisation, the subjection of German industry to a capitalist dictator and his allied groups. The attack by the Prussian Government led by the Social-Democrat Severing, on the miners of Middle Germany, is merely the prelude to a general attack by the German bourgeoisie for the reduction of the wages of the German workers. In England all the nationalization schemes have evaporated into thin air. Instead of executing the nationalization plans of the Sankey Commission, the British Government is employing force to support the lock-out of the miners. In France, the government can only put off its inevitable economic bankruptcy by a predatory expedition against Germany. There is no question in France of any systematic reconstruction. In fact, the rehabilitation of the devastated districts in Northern France, as far as it is being undertaken, only serves the enrichment of private capitalists. In Italy the bourgeoisie, aided by the white bands of the Fascisti, is waging an offensive against the working class. In every country, in the old states of bourgeois democracy, as well as in the new ones that have arisen out of the imperialistic collapse, bourgeois democracy has been forced to remove its mask. White Guards and dictatorial powers of the government in England against the miners' strike; Fascisti and Guardia Regia in Italy; Pinkertons, expulsion of Socialist representatives from Congress and Lynch-Law in the United States; white terror in Yugoslavia, Latvia, Esthonia, Rumania, Finland, Poland, Hungary and the Balkan states; anti-Communist legislation in Switzerland, etc. *On every hand the bourgeoisie is attempting to burden the working class with the consequences of the increased economic chaos; to lengthen the working hours and reduce wages. On every hand it receives assistance from the leaders of social democracy and of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.* But they cannot hinder the awakening of the laboring masses to new strife nor can they stem the revolutionary tide. Even now we see the German proletariat preparing for the counter-attack and the English miners valiantly resisting for weeks in their battle

against the mine-owning capitalists. And this in spite of the treachery of their trade union leaders! We see how the experience gained by the Italian proletariat in respect to the vacillating policy of the Serrati group, is developing in its front ranks the will to fight, finding expression in the organization of the Communist Party of Italy. In France we see how the Socialist Party, after the split by which the social-patriots and centrists were eliminated, begins to proceed from Communist agitation and propaganda to mass demonstrations against imperialistic piracy. In Czecho-Slovakia we witness the political December strike, embracing a million workers in spite of the complete lack of unity in organization and the resulting organization of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party as a mass organization. In Poland we had the railroad strike of February under the leadership of the Communist Party and the general strike which arose out of this, and we are now witnessing the continual process of disintegration which is affecting the social-patriotic Socialist Party of Poland. What we are confronted with then is not the waning of the world revolution, but on the contrary, the aggravation of social antagonisms and social struggles and the transition to open civil war.

3. The Important Task of the Present.

In view of these imminent new struggles, the question of the attainment of decisive influence on the most important sections of the working class, in short, the leadership of the struggle, is the most important question now confronting the Third International. For, despite the present objective revolutionary economic and political situation wherein the acutest revolutionary crisis may arise suddenly (whether in the form of a big strike, or a colonial upheaval, or a new war, or even a severe parliamentary crisis) the majority of the working class is not yet under the influence of Communism. Particularly is this true in such countries, as for example, England and America, where large strata of workers depending for their existence on the power of finance-capital are corrupted by imperialism, and the real revolutionary propaganda among the masses has only just begun. From the very first day of its establishment, the Communist International distinctly and clearly devoted itself to the purpose of participating in the struggle of the laboring masses, of conducting this struggle on a Communist basis, and of erecting, during the struggle, great, revolutionary communist mass parties. It did not aim to establish small Communist sects which would attempt to influence the masses solely by propaganda and agitation. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International disavowed all sectarian tendencies. It called upon all the parties affiliated to it, however small they might be, to enter the unions and from within overcome the reactionary trade union bureaucracy in order to transform the trade unions into revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat, and into efficient organs of the struggle. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International called upon the Communist Parties not to confine themselves to propaganda, but to utilize every possibility which bourgeois society is compelled to leave open, for agitation and organization of the proletariat: Free press, the right of association, and the bourgeois parliamentary institutions, however worthless they may be, forging them into a weapon, into a tribune, into a gathering center for Communism. At its Second Congress, the Communist International publicly repudiated sectarian tendencies, by the resolutions it adopted on the questions of trade unionism and the utilization of parliamentarism. The experience gained in the two years' struggles of the Communist Parties has completely corroborated the correctness of this standpoint of the Communist International. By its tactics, the Communist International has succeeded in separating the revolutionary workers in a number of countries, not only from the reformists, but also from the centrists. The formation by the centrist elements of a two and a half International, which united itself with the Scheidemanns, Jouhax and Hendersons on the basis of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, clarified the issues of the struggles for the proletarian masses and lightened its task. Thanks to the policy of the Communist International revolutionary work in the trade unions, open declarations to the masses, etc., German Communism has been transformed from a mere political group, such as it was when it entered the struggles of January and March, 1919, into a great revolutionary mass-party. The influence it has gained in the trade unions has provoked the trade union bureaucracy into expelling numerous Communists from the trade unions because of their fear of the revolutionary effect of Communist activity in the unions and has compelled them to assume the odium and responsibility of splitting the organizations. In Czecho-Slovakia, the Communists have succeeded in rallying to their

colors the majority of the politically-organized workers. As a result of its undermining activities in the trade unions, the Polish Communist Party, in spite of the untold persecutions which have driven it to work exclusively "underground," has not lost its contact with the masses for a moment, but has, on the contrary, exceedingly augmented its influence. In France, the Communists have secured the majority in the Socialist Party. In England, the process of consolidation of the Communist groups on the basis of the Communist International is proceeding rapidly. The growing influence of the Communists has forced the social-traitors to close the doors of the Labor Party to them. The sectarian groups, such as the C. L. P. of Germany, on the contrary, were unable to win even the slightest success with their methods. The theory of the strengthening of Communism solely by propaganda and agitation and by the organization of separate Communist trade unions, has met with complete failure. Nowhere has a Communist Party of any influence arisen in this way.

THE U. S.

In the United States of North America, where on account of historical circumstances, there was a total lack of broad revolutionary movement even before the war, the communists are confronted with the first and simplest task of creating a communist nucleus and connecting it with the working masses. The present economic crisis, which has thrown five million people out of work, affords very favorable soil for this kind of work. Conscious of the imminent danger of a radicalized labor movement becoming subject to communist influence, American capital tries to crush and destroy the young communist movement by means of barbarous persecution. The Communist Party was forced into an illegalized existence under which it would, according to capitalist expectations, in the absence of any contact with the masses, dwindle into a propagandist sect and lose its vitality. The Communist International draws the attention of the united Communist Party of America to the fact that the illegalized organization must not only serve as the ground for collecting and crystallizing the active communist forces, but that it is the party's duty to try all ways and means to get out of the illegalized condition into the open, among the wide masses. It is the duty of the Communist Party to find the means and forms to unite these masses politically, through public activity, for the struggle against American capitalism.

ENGLAND

The English Communist movement has also fallen short of becoming the Party of the masses, despite the concentration of their forces.

The continued disorganization of English industry, the unprecedented acuteness of the strike movement, the growing discontent among the widest masses of the people with the regime of Lloyd George, the possibility of a Labor and Liberal victory at the next General Election—all these circumstances open new revolutionary perspectives in England's development, confronting the English communists with questions of the greatest importance.

The first and foremost task of the English Communist Party is, to become the Party of the masses. The English communists must take the firmest stand upon the actually existing and ever developing mass-movement. They must permeate all its concrete manifestations and convert desultory and partial demands of the workers into issues for their own untiring agitation and propaganda.

The mighty strike movement puts to the test the ability, reliability, steadfastness and conscientiousness of the trade-union machinery and leaders in the eyes of hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. Under these circumstances the work of the Communists within the trade-unions becomes of decisive importance. No party influence from the outside can exercise even the smallest part of that influence which the constant daily work of communist nuclei in the workshops can exercise by persistently unmasking and discrediting the traitors and betrayers of trade-unionism. In England, more than in any other country, have the latter become the political tool of capitalism.

While in other countries the task of the communist parties which have become mass-parties consists in seizing to a great extent the initiative in mass action, the task of the Communist Party in England consists first of all in proving and demonstrating to the masses on the basis of their actual experience of present-day mass-actions, that the communists can correctly and courageously express the interests, needs and sentiments of these masses.

CENTRAL WESTERN EUROPE

The Communist mass-parties of Middle and Western Europe are in the process of evolving the necessary methods of revolutionary propaganda and agitation, and of working out methods of organization which would correspond to the nature of their struggle, and are in the process of transition from communist propaganda and agitation to action. This process is hindered by the fact that in a number of countries the revolutionizing of the workers going over to the communist camp took place under the guidance of leaders who either have failed to overcome their centrist tendencies and are incapable of conducting a real popular communist agitation and propaganda, or are simply afraid because they know that this agitation and propaganda will lead the workers to revolutionary struggles.

ITALY

These centrist tendencies have caused a split in the party in *Italy*. The party and trade-union leaders of the Serrati group, instead of transforming the spontaneous action of the working classes and their growing activity, into the conscious struggle for power for which the situation was ripe in Italy, have allowed these movements to become stranded. They turned their backs on Communism which would have shaken the working masses out of their lethargy and united them for the struggle. And because they were afraid of the struggle, they diluted the communist propaganda and agitation and led it into centrist channels. In this manner they strengthened the influence of the Centrists, like Turati and Treves in the party, and like D'Aragona in the trade Unions. Because they did not differ from the centrists either in word or in deed, they would not part company with them. They preferred to part company with the Communists. The Serrati policy, while on the one hand increasing the influence of the reformists, on the other hand increased the danger of the influence of the Anarchists and Syndicalists, and of the danger of the creation of tendencies toward anti-parliamentary and mere revolutionary phrase-mongering within the party. The split at Livorno, the forming of the Italian Communist Party, the rallying of all the really communist elements on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International into a united Communist Party will make Communism a live force among the masses in Italy, if the Italian Communist Party will only maintain an unbending front against the opportunistic policy of the Serrati school and will succeed in identifying itself with the masses of the proletariat in the unions, in strikes, in fights against the counter-revolutionary Fascisti, in consolidating their movements, in converting their spontaneous actions into carefully planned struggle.

FRANCE

In France, where first the chauvinist poison of "national defense" and then the shouts of Victory were stronger than in any other country, the reaction against war developed much slower than in the other countries. The majority of the French Socialist Party developed in the direction of Communism even before being confronted with decisive questions of revolutionary action through the development of events. This new orientation was due to the moral influence of the Russian Revolution, to the revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries and to the first experience of the French proletariat in its own struggles with the treason of its leaders. The French Communist Party will be able to make the best and fullest use of this advantageous position, insofar as it will be able to liquidate in its own ranks—particularly among the leading circles—the remnants of national pacifist and parliamentary-reformist ideology. The party must reach the masses and their most oppressed strata in a far larger degree than it has done in the past or is being done at present; it must give clear, complete and uncompromising expression to the sufferings and needs of these masses. In its parliamentary activity the party must decisively break with all the ugly, hypocritical formalities of French parliamentarism which have been deliberately nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie in order to muzzle and intimidate and hypnotize the representatives of the working class. The representatives of the Communist Party in Parliament must tear the veil from the bourgeois tradition of national democracy and revolution, presenting it point-blank as a question of class-interest and irreconcilable class-struggle.

The agitation of the party must assume a more concentrated, strenuous and energetic form. It must not dissolve itself in the changeable and variable political situations and combinations of the day. It must draw the same fundamental revolutionary conclusions from all events, big and small, bringing them home to the most backward working masses. Only through such a truly revolutionary attitude will the Communist Party avoid the appearance—as well as the reality—of being a mere left-wing of that radical Longuet bloc which with ever increasing energy and success places itself at the service of bourgeois society, to protect the latter against those upheavals which are made inevitable in France by the sheer logic of events. These decisive revolutionary events may come sooner or they may come later, but a determined revolutionary Communist Party, inspired by a revolutionary will, can even now, during the preparatory stage, mobilize the working masses on economic and political grounds, and broaden and clarify all their present struggles.

The attempts of the impatient and the politically inexperienced to apply extreme methods, which by their very nature are methods of decisive proletarian revolution, to simple questions (e. g., the calling upon the recruits of the year 1919 to resist mobilization, the proposal for the forcible prevention of the occupation of Luxemburg, etc.) contain elements of most dangerous adventurism. If applied such tactics would put off for a long time the real revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the conquest of power. That adventurism, which by its very nature forms no clear conception of the purposes of mass-action and the difficulties in the way, merely bring sickly and oftentimes deadly premature travail instead of the revolution. It is the duty of the French Government Party, and indeed of all other Communist parties, to reject such highly dangerous methods.

To increase the union of the Party with the masses means above all a closer alliance with the workers' organizations. The task does not at all consist in mechanically and outwardly subjecting the unions to the Party and thereby denying them the autonomy required by the very nature of their work, but in the truly revolutionary, communist elements within the unions giving them that direction which answers the general interests of the proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of power. In view of these considerations, it is the duty of the French Communist Party to criticize in friendly but firm and unmistakable manner those anarcho-syndicalist tendencies which reject the Proletarian dictatorship and which do not admit the necessity of uniting its vanguard in a centralized leading organization—the Communist Party. The Party should also pursue such a policy towards those syndicalist tendencies which under the cloak of the Charter of Amiens, drawn up eight years previous to the war, now refuse to give a clear and outspoken answer to the fundamental questions of the new, post-bellum epoch.

The amalgamation of the revolutionary-syndicalist groups within the unions with the Communist organization as a whole is an indispensable preliminary condition for every earnest struggle of the French proletariat.

To render harmless and remove those adventurist tendencies, and to overcome the nebulous principles and organizational separatism of the revolutionary syndicalists, it is imperatively necessary that the Party itself—as already said—should by real revolutionary handling of every question of daily life and struggle make itself the irresistible centre of gravitation for the working masses of France.

In *Czechoslovakia*, the workers in the course of two and a half years have freed themselves from a great deal of reformist and nationalistic illusions. In September of last year the majority of the social-democratic workers broke away from their reformist leaders. In December already a million workers out of Czechoslovakia's three and a half million industrial workers were in the midst of revolutionary mass-action against the Czechoslovak capitalist government. In May of this year the Czechoslovak Communist Party of 350,000 members was formed. In addition there is the German-Bohemian Communist Party which numbers 60,000 members. The communists thus not only represent a great portion of the Czechoslovak proletariat, but also of the entire population of the country. The Czechoslovak Party now stands before the task of gaining the adherence of even wider working masses through real communist agitation, in order to train the masses by clear and uncompromising communist propaganda, to form a solid front by a union of the workers of all the peoples of Czechoslovakia, against the nationalists who are the main instrument of the bourgeoisie in Czechoslovakia. It is the task of the Party to make the proletarian force thus created strong and invincible in all its future struggles against the oppressive tendencies of capitalism and the government. The quickness with which the Czechoslovak Communist Party will master these tasks depends upon the clear-

ness and determination with which it will do away with all centrist traditions and moods which found their expression in the Smeral policy. They should follow the advice given by their best imprisoned comrades, Muna, Kuls, Sabototsky and by the Communist International and conduct such a policy as will educate and revolutionize the masses, organize and equip them for action and victorious consummation.

THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

The United Communist Party of Germany, formed by a union of the Spartakusbund with the left Independent working masses, although already a mass-party, stands before the task of raising and strengthening its influence among the wide masses, winning the proletarian mass-organizations—the trade-unions—and dispelling the influence of the social-democratic party and the trade-unionist bureaucracy. This main task demands that the Party base its whole agitation—propaganda and organization work—upon acquiring the sympathies of the majority of the workers. Without this, in the presence of strongly organized capital, no communist victory in Germany is possible. For this task the Party was not quite ripe as yet, both regarding the scope of its agitation and its content. Nor did it understand how to consistently continue the road it had started upon when it published the "Open Letter," the road of opposing the practical interests of the Proletariat to the treacherous policy of the social-democratic parties and the trade-union bureaucracy. Its press and its organization are still rather too strongly marked by the stamp of decentralized associations, not of militant organs and solid organization. Those centrist tendencies which found their expression therein, unsubsided as yet, have driven the Party to the necessity of throwing down the gauntlet without due preparation for the battle, and on the other hand rather obscured the necessity of close spiritual association with the non-communist masses. The problems of action which are soon to confront the United German Communist Party, through the process of disintegration of German economy, and through the offensive started by capital against the very existence of the working masses, can be solved only if the Party will not consider the problems of agitation and organization as opposed to those of action and deeds, but will rather make its agitation a real popular force, building its organization in such a manner that the Party by its close association with the masses shall develop the ability to constantly and carefully weigh the military situation and carefully prepare for the struggles.

The parties of the Communist International become revolutionary mass-parties if they overcome the remnants and traditions of opportunism in their ranks by seeking close association with the struggling working masses and by drawing their problems from the practical struggles of the Proletariat. These struggles act as an antidote to opportunistic clouding of irreconcilable social contrasts, and reject all revolutionary catch-phrases which obstruct the view into the real relation of the contending forces and which permit the difficulties of the struggle to be overlooked. The communist parties have arisen from the breaking up of the old social-democratic parties. This break-up resulted from the fact that these parties have betrayed the interests of the proletariat in the war and have continued the betrayal after the war, by alliances with the bourgeoisie or by conducting a tame policy and shirking the fight. The fundamentals of the Communist Party form the only basis upon which the working masses can reunite, because they express the necessities of the proletarian struggle. It is because of this fact, that the social-democratic parties and tendencies seek the splitting up and division of the proletariat—while the communist parties are a uniting force. In Germany it was the centrists who broke away from the majority of their Party, after the latter had rallied to the banner of Communism. Fearing the uniting influence of Communism, the German social-democrats in league with the social-democratic trade-unions refused to go with the communists in joint actions for the defence of even the elementary interests of the proletariat. In Czechoslovakia, again, it was the social-democrats who fled the old party on perceiving the triumph of Communism. In France the Longuet group seceded from the majority of the French socialist workers, while the Communist party acts as a rallying ground for socialist and syndicalist workers. In England it was the reformists and the centrists that drove the communists out of the Labor Party, for fear of their influence. Even now they continue sabotaging the unification of the workers in their struggle against the capitalists. The Communist Parties thus become the standard-bearers of the unifying process of the proletariat, on the basis of the struggle for its interests. From this consciousness of their role they will draw and gather new forces.

5. Partial Struggles and Partial Demands

The development of the communist parties can only be achieved through a fighting policy. *Even the smallest communist units must not rest content with mere propaganda. In all proletarian mass organizations they must constitute the vanguard, which must teach the backward, vacillating masses how to fight, by formulating practical plans for direct action, and by urging the workers to make a stand for the necessities of life. Only in this manner will Communists be able to reveal to the masses the treacherous character of all non-communist parties. Only in case they prove able to lead the practical struggle for the proletariat, only in case they can promote these conflicts, will the Communists succeed in winning over great masses of the proletariat to the struggle for the dictatorship.*

The entire propaganda and agitation as well as the other work of the Communist parties, must be based on the conception that no lasting betterment of the position of the proletariat is possible under capitalism, and that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is a prerequisite for the achievement of such betterment and the rebuilding of the social structure destroyed by capitalism. This conception, however, must not find expression in the abandonment of all participation in the proletarian struggle for actual and immediate necessities of life, until such a time as the proletariat will be able to attain them through its own dictatorship. Social-democracy is consciously deceiving the masses, when, in the period of capitalist disintegration, when capitalism is unable to assure to the workers even the subsistence of well fed slaves, it has nothing better to offer than the old social-democratic program of peaceful reforms to be achieved by peaceful means within the bankrupt capitalist system. Not only is capitalism, in the period of its disintegration, unable to assure to the workers decent conditions of life, but the social-democrats and reformists of all lands are also continually demonstrating that they are unwilling to put up any fight, even for the most modest demands contained in their own programs. The demand for socialization or nationalization of the most important industries is nothing but another such deception of the working masses. *Not only did the centrists mislead the masses by trying to persuade them that nationalization alone, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, would deprive capitalism of the chief industries, but they also endeavored to divert the workers from the real and live struggle for their immediate needs, by raising their hopes of a gradual seizure of industry, to be followed by "systematic" economic reconstruction. Thus they have reverted to the minimum social-democratic program of the reform of capitalism, which once an illusion, has now become an open counter-revolutionary deception. The theory prevailing among a portion of the centrists, that the program of the nationalization of the coal or any other industry is based on the Lassalian theory of the concentration of all the energies of the proletariat on a single demand, in order to use it as a lever in revolutionary action, which in its development would lead to a struggle for power, is nothing but empty words. The suffering of the working class in every country is so intense, that it is impossible to direct the struggle against these blows, which are coming thick and fast, into narrow doctrinarian channels. On the contrary, it is essential to make use of all the economic needs of the masses, as issues in the revolutionary struggles, which, when united, form the flood of the social revolution.* For this struggle, the Communist Parties have no minimum program for the strengthening of this reeling world structure within the system of capitalism. The destruction of this system is the chief aim and immediate task of the parties. But in order to achieve this task, the Communist Parties must put forward demands, and they must fight with the masses for their fulfillment, regardless of whether they are in keeping with the profit system of the capitalist class or not.

What the Communist Parties have to consider is not whether capitalist industry is able to continue to exist and compete, but rather whether the proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance. If these communist demands are in accord with the immediate needs of the wide proletarian masses, if these masses are convinced that they cannot exist without the realization of these demands, the struggle for these demands will become an issue in the struggle for power. *The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists is: the struggle for the concrete need of the proletariat and demands, which, in their application, undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, form the transition to proletarian dictatorship, even if the latter have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.*

BROADENING THE FIGHT

As the struggle for these demands embraces ever-growing masses, as the needs of the masses clash with the needs of capitalist society, the workers will realize that capitalism must die if they are to live. The realization of this fact is the basis of the will to fight for the dictatorship. It is the task of the Communist Parties to widen, to deepen and to co-ordinate these struggles which have been brought into being by the formulation of concrete demands. As the partial struggles of isolated groups of workers gradually merge into a general struggle of labor versus capital, so the Communist Party must also alter its watchword, which would be—"uncompromising overthrow of the enemy." In formulating their partial demands the Communist Parties must take heed that these demands, based on the deeply rooted needs of the masses, are such as will organize the masses and not merely lead them into the struggle. All concrete watchwords, originating in the economic needs of the workers, must be assimilated to the struggle for the control of production, which must not assume the form of a bureaucratic organization of social economy under capitalism, but of an organization fighting against capitalism through workers' committees as well as through the revolutionary trade-unions.

It is only through the establishment of such workers' committees and their co-ordination according to branches and centres of industry, that Communists can prevent the splitting up of the masses by the social-democrats and the trade-union leaders. The workers' committees will be able to fulfil this role only if they are born in an economic struggle in the interests of wide masses of workers, and provided they succeed in uniting all the revolutionary sections of the proletariat—the communist party, the revolutionary workers and those trade-unions which are going through a process of revolutionary development.

Every objection to the establishment of such partial demands, every accusation of reformism in connection with these partial struggles, is an outcome of the same incapacity to grasp the live issues of revolutionary action which manifested itself in the opposition of some communist groups to participation in trade union activities and parliamentary action. Communists should not rest content with teaching the proletariat its ultimate aims, but should lend impetus to every practical move leading the proletariat into the struggle for these ultimate aims. How inadequate the objections to partial demands are and how divorced they are from the needs of revolutionary life, is best exemplified by the fact that even the small organizations formed by the so-called "left" communists for the propagation of pure doctrines have seen the necessity of formulating partial demands, in order to attract larger sections of workers than they have hitherto been able to. They have also been obliged to take part in the struggle of wider masses of workers in order to influence them. The chief revolutionary characteristic of the present period lies in the fact that the most modest demands of the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society. Therefore the struggle, even for these very modest demands, is bound to develop into a struggle for Communism.

While the capitalists make use of the ever increasing army of the unemployed as a lever against the organized workers for the forcing down of wages, the Social-Democrats, the Independents and official trade-union leaders maintain a cowardly aloofness from the unemployed. They consider them mere objects of state and trade-union charity and despise them politically as *Lumpen-Proletariat*. The Communists must clearly understand that under the present circumstances the unemployed represent a revolutionary factor of gigantic significance. The communists must take upon themselves the leadership of this army. By bringing the pressure of the unemployed to bear upon the trade-unions, the communists must seek to effect the rejuvenation of the latter, and above all their liberation from the treacherous leaders. By uniting the unemployed with the proletarian vanguards in the struggle for the social-revolution, the Communist Party will restrain the most rebellious and impatient elements among the unemployed from individual desperate acts and enable the entire mass to actively support, under favorable circumstances, the struggle of the proletariat, thus developing beyond the limits of present conflict and making this conflict the starting point of the decisive offensive—in a word, this entire mass will be transformed from a mere reserve army of industry into an active army of the Revolution.

The Communist Parties, in energetically supporting this section of the workers (now low down in the scale of labor) stand up, not for the interests of one section of workers, as opposed to those of other sections, but for the common good of the entire working class betrayed by the counter-revolutionary leaders in the interests of the labor aristocracy. The more workers in the ranks of the unemployed and

part time employed, the quicker their interests become transformed into the common interests of the entire working class. The momentary interests of the labor aristocracy must be subordinated to those common interests. Those who plead the interests of the labor aristocracy, in order to arouse their hostility to the unemployed, or in order to leave the latter to their own devices, are splitting the working class and are acting in a counter-revolutionary manner. The Communist Party, as the representative of the common interests of the working class, cannot rest content with merely recognizing those common interests and using them for propaganda purposes. To effectively represent the workers, the party must, under certain conditions, undertake to lead the bulk of the most oppressed and downtrodden workers into action, in order to break down the resistance of the labor aristocracy.

The character of the transition period makes it imperative for all Communist Parties to be thoroughly prepared for the struggle. Each separate struggle may lead to the struggle for power. Preparedness can only be achieved by giving to the entire Party agitation the character of a vehement attack against capitalist society. The Party must also come into contact with the widest masses of workers, and must make it plain to them that they are being led by a vanguard, whose real aim is—the conquest of power. The Communist press and proclamations must not merely consist of theoretical proofs that Communism is right. They must be clarion calls of the proletarian revolution. The parliamentary activity of the Communists must not consist in debates with the enemy, or in attempts to convert him, but in the ruthless unmasking of the agents of the bourgeoisie and the stirring up of the fighting spirit of the working masses and in attracting the semi-proletarian and the petty bourgeois strata of society to the proletariat. Our organizing work in the trade-unions, as well as in the party organizations, must not consist in mechanically increasing the number of our membership. It must be imbued with the consciousness of the coming struggle. It is only in becoming, in all its forms and manifestations, the embodiment of the will to fight, that the Party will be able to fulfil its task, when the time for drastic action will have arrived.

Wherever the Communist Party represents a mass power, wherever its influence is felt among large sections of the workers, it becomes its duty to rouse the masses to action. Mass parties can not rest content with criticizing the shortcomings of other parties and opposing their demands by communist demands. They, as a mass party, are responsible for the development of the revolution. Wherever the position of the workers becomes increasingly unbearable, the Communist Parties must do their utmost to make the working masses join in the struggle for their own interests. *In view of the fact that in Western Europe and in America the workers are organized in trade unions and political parties, and hence spontaneous movements are for the time being out of the question, it is the duty of the Communist parties to endeavor, by means of their influence in the trade unions, by increased pressure on other parties connected with the working masses, to bring about the struggle for the achievement of the immediate needs of the proletariat.* Should noncommunist parties be pressed into this struggle, it will become the duty of communists to warn the masses in good time against the possibility of betrayal by the non-communistic elements in later stages of the struggle, and to make the conflict as acute and far-reaching as possible, in order to eventually be able to carry on the fight independently. We can refer to the open letter of the V. K. P. D. which may provide an example of the prerequisite of direct action.

Should the pressure of the Communist Party in the Trade Unions and the press not be strong enough to rouse the proletariat to a united front, it will become the duty of the Communist Party to endeavor to lead the masses into the struggle. The latter policy will be successful, and will lead to the awakening of the backward masses, when it will become clear to them that our aims are their aims, although they are not yet able to put up a fight for them.

However, the Communist Party must not rest content with merely warding off the dangers threatening the proletariat and meeting the blows directed against it. In the period of world Revolution, its role consists in attacking and storming the strongholds of capitalist society. Its duty consists in transforming every defensive into an offensive against capitalist society. Wherever circumstances permit, the Communist Party should also do its utmost to assume the leadership of the working masses in such attacks.

Such circumstances are, first and foremost, the growing strife and dissensions in the ranks of the national and international bourgeoisie. Should these dissensions bring disintegration into the enemy's ranks, then it would become the duty

of the Communist Party to take the initiative and lead the masses to attack, after careful political and, if possible, organizational preparation. Strong ferment in the ranks of the more responsible and important workers, would also justify the Party to assume the leadership of the offensive against a capitalist government on a wide front. Whilst it is the duty of the Communist Party to inspire and lead the masses to attack, it should also bear in mind that, in the event of retreat, it becomes imperative for the Party to prevent panic and to lead the workers out of the fray in perfect order.

The attitude of the Communist Party to the question of offence and defence depends entirely on concrete circumstances. What really matters is that it should be animated by the fighting spirit which will overcome the centrist spirit of "wait and see" in the foremost ranks of workers, by means of agitation, organization and readiness to fight. This fighting spirit and will to attack must be a feature of the communist mass parties, not only because, as such it is their duty to lead in the fight, but also because of the present decay of capitalism and the ever-growing misery of the masses. It is essential to shorten the period of decay, in order to prevent the destruction of the material basis of Communism, and in order to preserve the energy of the working masses.

7. The Lesson of Actions of March

The action of last March was forced upon the V. K. P. D. (United German Communist Party) by the Government's attack upon the proletariat of Middle-Germany.

In stoutly defending the workers of Middle Germany, the V. K. P. D. has shown itself to be the Party of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany. In this first great struggle, which it had to sustain immediately after its formation, the V. K. P. D. committed a number of mistakes, of which the chief one was that it did not clearly understand the defensive nature of the struggle, but by the call for the attack gave the opportunity to the unscrupulous enemies of the proletariat—the S. P. D. and the U. S. P. D.—to denounce the V. K. P. D. in the eyes of the proletariat as the aggressor. This mistake was further amplified by a number of Party theorists who represented the offensive as the principal means of the campaign of the V. K. P. D. in the present situation. This mistake has already been repudiated by official party organs, notably by its chairman, Com. Brandler. The Congress of the Communist International considers the March action of the V. K. P. D. as a step forward. The March action was a heroic battle of hundreds of thousands of workers against the bourgeoisie. It is of the opinion, that in order to ensure greater success for its mass-actions the V. K. P. D. must in the future better adapt its slogans to the actual situation, giving the most careful study to the situation and conducting their actions in the most uniform manner.

For the purpose of carefully weighing the possibilities of the struggle, the V. K. P. D. must attentively listen to the voices which point out the difficulties of the actions and carefully examine their reasons for urging caution. *But as soon as an action is decided upon by the Party authorities, all comrades must submit to the decisions of the Party and carry out the action.* Criticism of the action must commence only after its completion and be practiced only within the party organizations, giving due consideration to the situation wherein the Party had found itself in the face of the enemy. Since Levi did disregard these obvious demands of Party disciplines and the conditions of Party criticism, the Congress approves his expulsion from the Party and declares it inadmissible for any members of the Communist International to co-operate politically with him.

8. The Forms and Means of Direct Action

The forms and means of action, its extent and the question of offensive or defensive, are bound up with certain conditions which cannot be created at will. The experience of the revolution has shown us various forms of partial actions.

1. The partial actions on the part of sections of the proletariat (the action of miners, railway men, etc., in Germany, and of land workers in England, etc.).

2. The partial actions of the whole proletariat for limited objects (the action of the days of the Kapp-Putsch, the action of the English miners against the military intervention of the British government in the Russo-Polish war).

These partial actions may extend over separate districts, over whole countries and over a series of countries simultaneously. All these forms of action will in all countries be intermingled in the course of the revolution. The Communist Party cannot discard actions which are limited to a certain area, but it must strive

to turn every important local proletarian action into a universal struggle. Just as we are bound to raise the whole working class in defence of the struggling workers of a single branch of industry wherever possible, we are also bound to rouse the workers of all the industrial centres to lend their help to the struggling workers of a whole district or area. The experience of revolution teaches us that the greater the area of the struggle, the greater the prospect of victory. The bourgeoisie relies, in its struggle against the rising world revolution, partly on the White Guard organizations, and partly on the fact that the working class is scattered, and that its front is built up very slowly. The greater the number of workers who join in the battle, the greater the fighting area, the more must the enemy divide and scatter his forces. Even when the other sections of workers, who are anxious to help the oppressed part of the proletariat, are temporarily not in a position to support it with all their might, their very movement forces the capitalist to divide his forces, for the latter are unable to fathom to what extent the other part of the proletariat will be able to take part in the struggle and render it more acute.

In the course of the past year, during which we saw the ever increasing arrogance of the capitalist offensive against the workers, we observed that the bourgeoisie in all countries, not satisfied with the normal activity of its state organs, created legal and semi-legal though state-protected White-Guard organizations, which played a decisive part in every big economic or industrial conflict.

In Germany it is the Orgesch, backed by the government, which includes all Party colorings from Stinnes to Scheidemann.

In Italy it is the Fascisti, whose depredations effected a change in the mood of the bourgeoisie, giving the appearance of a complete change in the respective strength of the contending political forces.

In England—to combat the strikers—the Lloyd George government appealed for volunteers, whose task it was to defend property and so-called “free-labor” by means of blacklegging and wanton destruction of workers’ centres.

In France the leading semi-official newspaper, “Temps,” inspired by the Mille-rand clique, conducts a vigorous campaign for the reinforcement of the already existing “Civic Leagues” and for the introduction of Fascisti methods to French soil.

The organizations of strike-breakers and cut-throats, which are an old-time embellishment of American democracy, have now acquired a leading organ in the so-called “American Legion,” made up of the flotsam and jetsam of the war.

The bourgeoisie, though apparently conscious of its power and actually bragging about its stability, knows through its leading governments quite well, that it has merely obtained a breathing spell and that under the present circumstances every big strike has the tendency to develop into civil war and the immediate struggle for the possession of power.

In the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive it is the duty of the communists not only to take the advanced posts and lead those engaged in the struggle to a complete understanding of the fundamental revolutionary tasks, but it is also their duty, relying upon the best and most active elements among the workers, to create their own workers legions and militant organizations which would resist the pacifists and teach the “golden youth” of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson that will break them of the strike-breaking habit.

In view of the extraordinary importance of the counter-revolutionary shock-troops, the Communist Party must, through its nuclei in the unions, devote special attention to this question, organizing a thorough-going educational and communication service which shall keep under constant observation the military organs and forces of the enemy, his headquarters, his arsenals, the connection between these headquarters and the police, the press and the political parties, and work out all the necessary details of defence and counter-attack.

The Communist Party must in this manner convince the widest circles of the proletariat by word and deed, that every economic or political conflict, given the necessary combination of circumstances, may develop into civil war, in the course of which it will become the task of the Proletariat to conquer the power of the state.

With regard to acts of White Terror and the fury of bourgeois justice, the Communist Party must warn the workers not to be deceived, during crises, by an enemy appeal to their leniency, but to demonstrate proletarian morality by acts of proletarian justice, in settling with the oppressors of the workers. *But in times when the workers are only preparing themselves, when they have to be mobilized by agitation, political campaigns and strikes, armed force may be used solely to defend the masses from bourgeois outrages.* Individual acts of terrorism, however they may demonstrate the revolutionary rancor of the

masses, however justified they may be as acts of retribution against the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic flunkies, are in no way apt to raise the workers to a higher level of organization, or make them better prepared to face the struggle. Acts of sabotage are only justified when they can only serve the purpose of hindering the despatch of enemy troops against the workers, and of conquering important strategic points from the enemy in direct combat.

9. Relation to the Semi-Proletarian Elements.

In Western Europe there is no other important class besides the proletariat, which might become a determining factor in the world revolution. But it is different in Russia, where the peasantry, owing to the war and lack of land were predestined to become a determining revolutionary fighting element next to the working class. But even in Western Europe a part of the peasantry, a considerable section of the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns, the numerous so-called "new middle-class," the office workers, etc., are sinking into ever worse conditions of life. Under the pressure of the high cost of living, housing difficulties, and the insecurity of their positions, these masses are beginning to pass through a process of fermentation, which draws them out of their political inactivity, and drags them into the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary struggle. The bankruptcy of imperialism in the defeated countries, the bankruptcy of pacifism and social reform in the victorious countries, drives some of these middle-class elements into the camp of open counter-revolution, and others into the revolutionary camp. The Communist Party is bound to bestow increasing attention to these elements. The winning over of the small farmers to the ideas of Communism, and the organization of the agricultural workers, are prerequisite conditions for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship. Then we shall be able to bring the revolution from industrial centres down to the country districts. And this will enable us to capture the most important strongholds, and thus solve the food question, that vital question for the revolution. The acquisition of large groups of technical and commercial employees and intellectuals would make it easier for the proletarian dictatorship to master the problems of technique and organization in the transition period from capitalism to communism. It will cause disintegration in the enemy ranks and will do away with the traditional notion that the workers are isolated. *The Communist Parties have to keep alive the fermentation among the petty-bourgeoisie, in order to utilize it in the most appropriate way, even though it does not lose its petty-bourgeois illusions.* Those of the intellectuals and employees who free themselves from these illusions must be taken up in the proletarian ranks, and made use of for the purpose of organizing such petty-bourgeois masses.

The economic ruin and consequent disorganization of national finance, force the bourgeoisie to doom even the basic support of its governmental apparatus, the middle and lower officials, to gradual impoverishment. The economic movement on the part of these elements affects the very root of bourgeois society. Though this movement may temporarily abate, it will be as impossible for the bourgeois state to preserve this administrative foundation (the officials), as it is impossible for capital to grant fair conditions to its wage slaves while insisting on the preservation of its system of exploitation. The Communist Parties, by espousing the cause of the lower and middle, officialdom, and by helping it economically, irrespective of the state of public finance, will do most effective preliminary work for the destruction of bourgeois institutions and the preparation of the elements requisite for the superstructure of the proletarian state.

10. International Coordination of Action

In order to break the front of the international counter-revolution, in order to make use of the combined forces of the Communist International, and bring nearer the victory of the revolution, we must strive, with all our energy, for united international leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The conditions essential to this are the political and organizational centralization of the component elements of the Communist International, the doing away with the autonomy-trickery of the opportunist, the creation of an appropriate political organization of the executive of the Communist International and of its entire machinery. The Congress believes that the Communist International must not

confine itself to mere demonstrations on a world-wide scale, as advocated by the Two and a Half International, or launched by the various sections of the Communist International under the same slogans. As the situation in various countries becomes more acute, the Communist International must strive to coordinate and combine the action of all the affiliated sections or of any group of sections with the working masses which they control. The Congress takes into account the national peculiarities according to countries or groups of countries, the differences in the conditions under which the struggles take place, the strength of the enemy, and the fighting ability and strength of the revolutionary forces. But the nearer we get to uniform international fighting leadership, the more necessary it becomes to harmonize the forms of organization and tactics of the affiliated sections.

The Communist International imposes on all Communist Parties the duty to support each other most energetically in the struggle. The growing economic conflicts demand the immediate intervention of the proletariat of other countries. The Communists must carry on diligent propaganda in the trade unions, to prevent not only the importation of strike-breakers, but also the exportation of goods of those countries where a considerable part of the workers are engaged in battle. In cases where the capitalist government of one country perpetrates outrages against another country by trying to plunder or subjugate it, the Communist Parties must not only protest, but do all in their power to prevent such a pillaging campaign. The Third Congress of the Communist International welcomes the demonstration of the French Communists as a beginning of their action against the counter revolutionary predatory aspiration of French capital. It reminds them of their duty to work assiduously in this direction, to make the French soldiers in the occupied territories realize that they are playing the part of watch-dogs of French capital, and to induce them to rebel against the disgraceful duties imposed on them.

It is the duty of the French nation conscious of the fact that by suffering the formation of a French army of occupation, and tolerating its permeation by a nationalistic spirit, it forges its own chains. In the occupied territories of Germany troops are being drilled, in order to be subsequently let loose against the French working class and to murder it in cold blood. The French Communist Party is faced by the special problem of the presence of black troops in France and the occupied territories. The French are thus able to approach these colonial slaves, to explain to them that they are serving their oppressors and exploiters, to rouse them to a fight against the regime of the colonizers, and to establish connections with the colonial peoples through this medium. The German Communist Party must clearly explain to the German workers, that no struggle against spoliation by Entente capital is possible without the overthrow of the German capitalist government, which in spite of all its outbursts against the Entente, is the taskmaster and agent of the Entente capital. The V. K. P. of Germany will be able to induce the workers of France to fight their imperialism only if it takes up the dauntless, ruthless struggle against the German Government and thereby proves that it is not anxious to provide a loop-hole for bankrupt German imperialism, but wishes to clear the ground of the ruins of German imperialism.

The Communist International denounced before the world's Proletariat the indemnity demands of entente capitalism as a campaign of spoliation directed against the workers of the vanquished countries. It brandmarked the cowardly capitulation to Bourse interests by the Longuet followers in France and the Independents in Germany who were pleading that this spoliation be done in a gentler fashion and less painfully for the workers. This indicates to the French and German proletariat that the only way for the reconstruction of the devastated provinces, the indemnification of the widows and orphans, lies in calling the proletariat of both countries to the common struggle against their exploiters.

The German working class can help the Russian in its hard struggle, if by a victorious combat it will precipitate the union of agricultural Russia and industrial Germany.

It is the duty of Communist Parties of all countries taking part in the subjugation and partition of Turkey, to do their best toward revolutionizing these armies. The Communist Parties of the Balkan countries must strain all the efforts of their mass parties to hasten their victory. The victory of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria and Serbia which will cause the downfall of the shameful Horthy regime, and facilitate the liquidation of Roumanian Boyar

rule, would create an economic basis for the Italian Revolution and protect it against a blockade by England. The unconditional support of Soviet Russia is still the main duty of the Communists of all countries. Not only must they act resolutely against any attacks on Soviet Russia, but they must also struggle to do away with all the obstacles placed by capitalist states in the way of Russia's communication with the world market and all other nations. Only if Soviet Russia succeeds in reconstructing economic life, in mitigating the terrible misery caused by the three years of imperialist war and three years of civil war, only when Soviet Russia will have contrived to raise the efficiency of the masses of its population, will it be in a position, in the future, to assist the western proletarian States with food and raw material, and protect them against being enslaved by American Capital. The International political task of the Communist International consists not in demonstrations on special occasions, but in the permanent increase of the international relations of the Communists, in their ceaseless struggle in closed formation. It is impossible to foretell at what front the proletariat will succeed in breaking the capitalist lines, whether it will be in capitalist Germany with its workers who are most cruelly oppressed by the German and the Entente bourgeoisie, and are faced by the alternative of either winning or dying, or in the agrarian southwest, or in Italy, where the decay of the bourgeoisie has reached an advanced stage. It is therefore the duty of the Communist International to intensify its efforts on all the sectors of the workers' world front, and it is the duty of the Communist Parties to support with all their means the decisive battles of each section of the Communist International. This must be achieved by immediately widening and deepening all international conflicts in every other country, as soon as a great struggle breaks out in any one country.

11. Decline of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals

The third year of the Communist International witnessed the further decline of the Social Democratic Parties, and the loss of influence and unmasking of the reformist Trade Union leaders. During the last year, however, they have attempted to organize themselves and proceed to an attack on the Communist International. In England the leaders of the Labor Party and the Trade Unions proved, during the coal strike, that they consider their only task to be the premeditated destruction of the workers' front, which is in the process of formation, and the conscious defence of capital against labor. *The breakdown of the Triple Alliance is proof that the reformist Trade Union leaders do not even wish to struggle for the improvement of the labor conditions within the limits of the present capitalist system.*

In Germany, the Social-Democratic Party, after withdrawing from the Government, proved that it was no longer able to carry on even agitational opposition of the pre-war kind. Every one of its oppositional actions was carefully calculated not to elicit any struggles of the working class. Although apparently in the opposition in the Reichstag, Social-Democracy organized a campaign in Prussia against the Middle-German miners, for the confessed purpose of provoking an armed combat before the Communist battle-front could be organized. In the face of the capitulation of the German bourgeoisie to the Entente, in the face of the undeniable fact that the German bourgeoisie is only able to carry out the dictates of the Entente by making the living conditions of the German proletariat absolutely unbearable, German Social-Democracy re-entered the Government in order to aid the bourgeoisie in turning the German proletarians into helots. In Czecho-Slovakia, Social-Democracy is mobilizing the military and police to deprive the Communist workers of their houses and institutions. By its policy of prevarication, the Polish Socialist Party is abetting Pilsudsky in the organization of his predatory campaign against Soviet Russia. It lends its services to the Government in throwing thousands of Communists into prison and attempts to drive them out of the trade unions, in which they are gaining more and more hold, in spite of all persecutions. The Belgian socialists retain their seats in a government that is participating in the enslavement of the German people.

The centrist parties and groups of the Two and a Half International are no less crass examples of counter-revolutionary organizations. The German Independents brusquely refused to respond to the appeal of the German Communist party for unity of action, in spite of all differences, in the battle against the impoverishment of the working class. During the March revolt they took a decided stand on the side of the White Guard movement against

the Middle-German workers, only to raise a hypocritical howl about White Terror, after they had aided in securing victory to this very White Terror, and had denounced the proletarian vanguard, before the eyes of the bourgeoisie, as thieving, plundering "gutter" proletarians. Although they pledged themselves, at the Congress of Halle, to support Soviet Russia, their press is replete with calumny against Soviet Russia. They stepped into the ranks of the entire counter-revolutionary congregation, from Wrangel to Miliukov to Burtseff, by supporting the Kronstadt revolt against the Soviet Republic, a revolt that signified the commencement of a new policy of international counter-revolution against Soviet Russia to overthrow the Communist Party of Russia, to destroy the soul, the heart, the marrow, the nervous system of the Soviet Republic, in order then to sweep away its corpse more easily. The French Longuetists joined the German Independents in this campaign, thus affiliating publicly to the French counter-revolutionary forces, who have proved to be the sponsors of this new policy against Russia. In Italy the tactics of the centrists, of Serrati and D'Aragona, the policy of avoiding any struggle, has revived the courage of the bourgeoisie and enabled it to control the life of Italy by means of its White Fascisti Guards.

Although Centrism and Social Democracy differ only in phraseology, the union of both in a single International has not yet taken place. In fact, the centrist parties united last February in an international association of their own, with a separate political platform and constitution. This Two and a Half International is attempting to oscillate on paper between the policies of democracy and proletarian dictatorship. It not only lends practical service to the capitalists in every country by nurturing a spirit of irresolution in the working class, but in the face of the destruction caused by the world bourgeoisie, in face of the subjugation of a large part of the world by the victorious capitalist states of the Entente, it concocts plans for the bourgeoisie as to the best means of executing its exploitation projects without unloosening the revolutionary forces of the proletarian masses. The only distinction between the Two and a Half International and the Second International lies in the fact that, besides their common fear of the power of capital, the former is, moreover, afraid to lose the last vestiges of its influence upon the still unclassconscious though yet in spirit revolutionary masses, by a clear formulation of its standpoint. The political oneness of the character of reformists and centrists is revealed in their common defence of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, this last bulwark of the world bourgeoisie. By uniting with the reformists and trade union bureaucrats in the battle against Communism wherever they still possess any influence in the trade unions, by responding to the attempts at revolutionizing the trade unions by expulsion of the Communists and splits in the trade unions, the centrists prove that in common with the Social-Democrats, they are resolute opponents of the proletarian struggle and peacemakers of the counter-revolution.

It is the task of the Communist International to wage relentless war against the Two and a Half International as well as against the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. *Only by means of such unrelenting struggle, daily proving to the masses that the Social-Democrats and Centrists are not only unwilling to fight for the overthrow of capitalism, but not even for the simplest and most urgent needs of the working class, will it be possible for the Communist International to liberate the working class from the grip of these lackeys of the bourgeoisie.* It cannot wage this struggle successfully except by nipping in the bud every Centrist tendency or inclination in its own ranks, by giving constant daily evidence of its being the International of Communist deeds, not of Communist phrases or theories. The Communist International is the only organization of the world proletariat capable of conducting its struggle against Capitalism on the basis of its principles. Our task consists in so improving our internal cohesion, our international leadership and activity, that we will, in reality, attain the aim we have set up in our Statutes: "Organizing united action by the proletarians of all countries, aspiring toward the same goal; the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and of an International Soviet Republic."

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THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE
METHODS AND SCOPE OF THEIR ACTIVITY

Guiding Rules for the Construction and Organization of Communist Parties

1. General Principles

1) The organization of the Party must be adapted to the conditions and to the goal of its activity. The Communist Party must be the vanguard—the advance troops of the proletariat—through all the phases of its revolutionary class struggle and during the subsequent transition period towards the realization of Socialism, i. e., the first stage of the Communist Society.

2) There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organization for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes the organization of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organization of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the *equality* of the conditions of the proletarian class-struggle in the various countries and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the International Communist Movement, creating a common basis for the organization of Communist Parties in all countries.

Upon this basis it is necessary to develop the organization of the Communist Parties but not to seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones or to aim at any absolutely correct forms of organization and ideal constitutions.

3) Most Communist Parties, and consequently the Communist International as the united party of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, have this common feature in their conditions of struggle, that they still have to fight against the dominant bourgeoisie. To conquer the bourgeoisie and to wrest the power from its hands is for all of them, until further developments, the determining and guiding main goal. Accordingly, the determining factor in the organizing activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries must be the upbuilding of such organizations as will make the victory of the proletarian revolution over the possessing classes both possible and secure.

4) Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action, but most of all it is indispensable in the greatest fight in the world's history. The organization of the Communist Party is the organization of communist leadership in the proletarian revolution.

To be a good leader the Party itself must have good leadership. Accordingly, the principal task of our organization work must be the education, organization and training of efficient Communist Parties under capable directing organs to the leading place in the proletarian revolutionary movement.

5) The leadership in the revolutionary class struggle presupposes the organic combination of the greatest possible striking force and of the greatest adaptability on the part of the Communist Party and its leading organs to the ever-changing conditions of the struggle. Furthermore, successful leadership requires absolutely the closest association with the proletarian masses. Without such association, the leadership will not lead the masses, but, at best, will follow behind the masses.

The organic unity in the Communist Party organization must be attained through democratic centralization.

II. On Democratic Centralization

6) Democratic centralism in the Communist Party organization must be a real synthesis, a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy. This fusion can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity, constant common struggle of the entire party organization. Centralization in the Communist Party organization does not mean a formal and mechanical centralization, but a centralization of communist activity, that is to say the formation of a strong leadership, ready for war and at the same time capable of adaptability. A formal or mechanical centralization is the centralization of the "power" in the hands of the party

bureaucracy, dominating over the rest of the membership or over the masses of the revolutionary proletariat standing outside the organization. Only the enemies of communism can assert that the Communist Party conducting the proletarian class struggles and centralizing this communist leadership is trying to rule over the revolutionary proletariat. Such an assertion is a lie. Neither is any rivalry for power or any contest for supremacy within the party at all compatible with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism adopted by the Communist International.

In the organization of the old, non-revolutionary labor movement, there has developed an all-pervading dualism of the same nature as that of the bourgeois State, namely the dualism between the bureaucracy and the "people." Under the baneful influence of bourgeois environment there has developed a separation of functions, a substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavour, and the splitting up of the organization into active functionaries and passive masses. Even the revolutionary labor movement inevitably inherits this tendency to dualism and formalism to a certain extent from the bourgeois environment.

The Communist Party must fundamentally overcome these contrasts by systematic and persevering political and organizing work and by constant improvement and revision.

7) In transforming a socialist mass party into a Communist Party, the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged. Centralization should not merely exist on paper, but be actually carried out, and this is possible of achievement only when the members at large will feel this central authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise, it will appear to the masses as a bureaucracy within the Party and therefore likely to stimulate opposition to all centralization, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline. Anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy.

Merely formal democracy in the organization cannot remove either bureaucratic or anarchical tendencies, which have found fertile soil in the workers' movement on the basis of just that democracy. Therefore, the centralization of the organization, i. e., the aim to create a strong leadership, cannot be successful if its achievement is sought on the basis of formal democracy. The necessary preliminary conditions are the development and maintenance of living associations and mutual relations within the Party between the directing organs and the members, as well as between the Party and the masses of the proletariat outside of the Party.

III. On the Duties of Communist Activity

8) The Communist Party must be a training school for revolutionary Marxism. The organic ties between the different parts of the organization and the membership become joined through daily common work in the party organization.

Regular participation on the part of most of the members in the daily work of the Party is lacking even today in the lawful Communist Parties. That is the chief fault of these parties, forming the basis of constant insecurity in their development.

9) In the first stages of its Communist transformation every workmen's Party is in danger of being content with having accepted a Communist program, with having substituted the old doctrine in its propaganda by Communist teachings and having replaced the officials belonging to the hostile camp by Communist officials. The acceptance of a Communist program is only the expression of the will to become a Communist. If the Communist activity is lacking and the passivity of the mass of members still remains, then the party does not fulfil even the least part of the pledge it had taken upon itself in accepting the Communist program. For the first condition for an earnest carrying out of the program is the participation of all the members in the constant daily work of the Party.

The art of Communist organization lies in the ability of making use of each and every one for the proletarian class struggle; of distributing the Party work amongst all the Party members, and of constantly attracting through its members ever wider masses of the proletariat to the revolutionary movement; further it must hold the direction of the whole movement in its hand not by virtue of its might, but by its authority, energy, greater experience, greater all-round knowledge, and capabilities.

10) A Communist Party must strive to have only really active members, and to demand from every rank and file party worker that he should place his whole strength and time, in so far as he can himself dispose of it, under existing conditions, at the disposal of his Party and devote his best forces to these services.

Membership in the Communist Party entails naturally, besides communist convictions—formal registration, first as a candidate, then as a member; likewise, the regular payment of the established dues, the subscription to the Party paper, etc. But the most important is the participation of each member in the daily work of the Party.

11) For the purpose of carrying on the Party work every Party member must as a rule be also a member of a smaller working group: a committee, a commission, a board group, faction, or nucleus. Only in this way can the Party work be properly distributed, directed and carried on.

Attendance at the general meetings of the members of the local organizations of course goes without saying: it is not wise to try under conditions of legal existence, to replace those periodical meetings under lawful conditions by meetings of local representatives. All the members must be bound to attend these meetings regularly. But that is in no way sufficient. The very preparations for these meetings presupposes work in smaller groups or through comrades detailed for the purpose, effectively utilizing as well as the preparations for the general workers' meetings, demonstrations and mass actions of the working class. The numerous tasks connected with these activities can be carefully studied only in smaller groups, and carried out intensively. Without such a constant daily work of the entire membership divided among the great mass of the smaller groups of workers, even the most laborious endeavors to take part in the class struggles of the proletariat will lead only to weak and futile attempts to influence those struggles, but not to the necessary consolidation of the proletariat into a single unified capable Communist Party.

12) Communist nuclei must be formed for the daily work in the different branches of the Party activities: for home agitation, for Party study, for newspaper work, for the distribution of literary matter, for information service, for constant service, etc.

These Communist units are the nuclei for the daily Communist work in the factories and workshops, in the trade unions, in the proletarian associations, in military units, etc., wherever there are at least several members or candidates for membership in the Communist Party. If there are a greater number of Party members in the same factory or in the same union, etc., then the nuclei is enlarged into a faction, and its work is directed by the nucleus.

Should it be necessary to form a wider general opposition faction, or to take part in an existing one, then the Communists should try to take the leadership in it through their special nucleus.

Whether a Communist nucleus is to come out in the open, as far as its own surroundings are concerned, or even before the general public, will depend on the special conditions of the case after a serious study of the dangers and the advantages thereof.

13) The introduction of general obligatory work in the Party and the organization of these small working groups is an especially difficult task for Communist mass parties. It cannot be carried out all at once, it demands unwearying perseverance, mature consideration and much energy.

It is especially important that this new form of organization should be carried out from the very beginning with care and mature consideration. It would be an easy matter to divide all the members in each organization according to a formal scheme into small nuclei and groups and to call these latter at once to the general daily party work. Such a beginning would be worse than no beginning at all; it would only call forth discontent and aversion among the Party members towards these important innovations.

It is recommended that the Party should take council with several capable organizers, who are also convinced and inspired Communists and thoroughly acquainted with the state of the movement in the various centres of the country and work out a detailed foundation for the introduction of these innovations. After that, trained organizers or Organization Committees must take up the work on the spot, elect the first leaders of groups and conduct the first steps of the work. All the organizations, working groups, nuclei, and individual members must then receive concrete, precisely defined tasks presented in such a way as to at once appear to them to be useful, desirable and executable.

Wherever it may be necessary they must be shown by practical demonstrations, in what way these tasks are to be carried out. They must be warned at the same time of the false steps especially to be avoided.

14) This work of reorganization must be carried out in practice step by step. In the beginning too many nuclei or groups of workers should not be formed in the local organization. It must first be proved in small cases that the nuclei formed in the separate important factories and trade unions are functioning properly, and that the necessary groups of workers have been formed also in the other chief branches of the Party activity and have in some degree become consolidated (for instance in the information, communication, women's movement, or agitation department, newspaper work, unemployed movement, etc.). Before the new organization apparatus will have acquired a certain practice the old frames of the organization should not be heedlessly broken up.

At the same time this fundamental task of the Communist organization work must be carried out everywhere with the greatest energy. This places great demands not only on a legal Party, but also on every illegal Party.

Until a widespread network of Communist nuclei, factions and groups of workers will be at work at all the central points of the proletarian class struggle, until every member of the party will be doing his share of the daily revolutionary work and this will have become natural and habitual for the members, the Party can allow itself no rest in its strenuous labors for the carrying out of this task.

15) This fundamental organizational task imposes upon the leading Party organs the obligation of constantly directing and exercising a systematic influence over the Party work. This requires manifold exertion on the part of those comrades who are active in the leadership of their organizations of the Party. Those in charge of Communist activity must not only see to it that the comrades, men and women, should be engaged in Party work in general, they must help and direct such work systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to special conditions. They must also endeavor to find out any mistakes committed in their own activities on the basis of acquired experience, constantly improving the methods of work and not forgetting for a moment the object of the struggle.

16) Our whole party work consists either of direct struggle on theoretical or practical grounds or of preparation for the struggle. The specialization of this work has been very defective up to now. There are quite important branches in which the activity of the Party has been only occasional. For instance, the lawful parties have done little in the matter of combatting the secret service men. The instructing of the Party comrades has been carried on, as a rule, only casually, as a secondary matter, and so superficially that the greater part of the most important resolutions of the Party, even the Party programme and the resolutions of the Communist International have remained unknown to the large strata of the membership. The instruction work must be carried on methodically and unceasingly through the whole mass system of the Party organizations in all the working communities of the Party in order to obtain an even higher degree of specialization.

17) To the duties of the Communist activity belongs also that of submitting reports. This is the duty of all the organizations and organs of the Party as well as of every individual member. There must be general reports made covering short periods of time. Special reports must be made on the work of special committees of the party. It is essential to make the work of reporting so systematic that it should become an established procedure as the best tradition of the Communist movement.

18) The Party must hand in its quarterly report to the leading body of the Communist International. Each organization in the Party has to hand in its report to the next leading Committee (for instance, monthly reports of the local branches to the corresponding Party Committee).

Each nucleus, faction and group of workers must send its report to the Party organ under whose leadership it is placed. The individual members must hand in their reports to the nucleus or group of workers (respectively to the leader) to which he belongs, and on the carrying out of some special charge to the Party organ from whom the order was received.

The reports must always be made at the first opportunity. It is to be made by word of mouth, unless the Party or the person who had given the order demands a written report. The reports must be concise and to the point.

The receiver of the report is responsible for having such communications as cannot be published without harm kept in safe custody, that important reports be sent in without delay to the corresponding leading Party organ.

19) All these reports must naturally not be limited to the account of what the reporter had done himself. They must contain also information on such circumstances which may have come to light during the course of the work and which have a certain significance for our struggle, particularly, such considerations which may give rise to modification or improvement of our future work. Also proposals for improvements, the necessity of which may have made itself felt during the work must be included in the report.

In all the Communist nuclei, factions and groups of workers, all reports, both those that have been handed in to them and those that they have to send must be thoroughly discussed. Such discussions must become a regular habit.

Care must be taken in the nuclei and groups of workers that individual Party members or groups of members be regularly charged with observing and reporting on hostile organizations, especially with regard to the petty-bourgeois workers' organizations and chiefly the organizations of the "socialist" parties.

IV. On Propaganda and Agitation

20) Our chief general duty to the open revolutionary struggle is to carry on revolutionary propaganda and agitation. This work and its organization is still, in the main, being conducted in the old and formal manner, by means of casual speeches, at mass meeting and without special care for the concrete revolutionary substance of the speeches and writings.

Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interest and aspirations and especially out of their common struggles.

The most important point to remember is—that communist propaganda must be of a revolutionary character. Therefore the communist watchword and the whole communist attitude towards concrete questions must receive our special attention and consideration.

In order to achieve the correct attitude, not only the professional propagandists and agitators, but also all other party members must be carefully instructed.

21) The principal forms of communist propaganda and agitation are: individual verbal propaganda, participation in the industrial and political labor movement, propaganda through the party press and distribution of literature. Every member of a legal or illegal party is to participate regularly in one or the other of these forms of propaganda.

Individual propaganda must take the form of systematic house to house canvassing by special groups of workers. Not a single house, within the area of party influence, must be omitted from this canvass. In larger towns a specially organized outdoor campaign with posters and distribution of leaflets usually produce satisfactory results. In addition, the factions should carry on a regular personal agitation in the workshops, accompanied by distribution of literature.

In countries whose population contains national minorities, it is the duty of the Party to devote the necessary attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities. The propaganda and agitation must, of course, be conducted in the languages of the respective national minorities, for which purpose the Party must create the necessary special organs.

22) In those capitalist countries where a large majority of the proletariat has not yet reached revolutionary consciousness, the Communist agitators must be constantly on the lookout for new forms of propaganda, in order to meet these backward workers half way, and thus facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks. The communist propaganda, with its watchwords, must bring out the budding, unconscious incomplete, vacillating and semi-bourgeois revolutionary tendencies which are struggling for supremacy with the bourgeois traditions and conceptions in the minds of the workers.

At the same time communist propaganda must not rest content with the limited and confused demands or aspirations of the proletarian masses. These demands and expectations contain revolutionary germs and are a means of bringing the proletariat under the influence of communist propaganda.

23) Communist agitation among the proletarian masses must be conducted in such a way that our communist organization be recognized by the struggling proletarians as the courageous, intelligent, energetic and ever faithful leader of their own labor movement.

In order to achieve this, the Communists must take part in all elementary struggles and movements of the workers, and must defend the workers' cause in all conflicts between them and the capitalists over hours and conditions of labor, wages, etc. The communists must also pay great attention to the concrete questions of working class life. They must help the workers to come to a right understanding of these questions. They must draw their attention to the most flagrant abuses and must help them to formulate their demands in a practical and concise form. In this way they will awaken in the workers the spirit of solidarity, the consciousness of community of interests among all the workers of the country as a united working class, which, in its turn, is a section of the world army of proletarians.

It is only through the everyday performance of such elementary duties, and through participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the Communist Party can develop into a real communist party. It is only by adopting such methods that it will be distinguished from the propagandists of the hackneyed, so called, pure socialist propaganda, consisting of recruiting new members and talking about reforms and the use of all parliamentary possibilities, or rather impossibilities. The self-sacrificing and conscious participation of all the party members in the daily struggles and controversies of the exploited with the exploiters is essentially necessary not only for the conquest, but in a still higher degree, for the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only through leading the working masses in the petty warfare against the onslaughts of capitalism that the communist party will be able to become the vanguard of the working class, acquiring the capacity for systematic leadership of the proletariat in its struggle for supremacy over the bourgeoisie.

24) Communists must be mobilized in full force, especially in times of strikes, lockouts and other mass dismissals of the workers, in order to take part in the workers' movement.

It would be a great mistake for Communists to treat with contempt the present struggles of the workers for slight improvements of their working conditions, even to maintain a passive attitude to them, on the plea of the Communist programme and the need of armed revolutionary struggle for final aims. No matter how small and modest the demands of the workers may be for which they are ready and willing to fight today with the capitalist, the Communists must never make the smallness of the demands an excuse at the same time for non-participation in the struggle. Our agitational activity should not lay itself bare to the accusation of stirring up and inciting the workers to nonsensical strikes and other inconsiderate actions. The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participators in their struggles.

25) The communist cells (or fractions) within the trade union movement have often proved themselves in practice rather helpless before some of the most ordinary questions of everyday life. It is easy, but not fruitful to keep on preaching the general principles of Communism, and then fall into the negative attitude of common place syndicalism when faced with concrete questions. Such practices only play into the hands of the yellow Amsterdam International.

Communists should, on the contrary, be guided in their actions by a careful study of the practical aspect of every question.

For instance, instead of contenting themselves with resisting theoretically and on principle all trade agreements, they should rather take the lead in the struggle over the specific nature of the trade agreements recommended by the Amsterdam leaders. It is, of course, necessary to condemn and resist any kind of impediment to the revolutionary preparedness of the proletariat, and it is a well known fact that it is the aim of the capitalists and their Amsterdam myrmidons to tie the hands of the workers by all manner of trade agreements. Therefore, it behooves the Communists to open the eyes of the workers to the nature of these aims. This the Communists can best attain by advocating a trade agreement which would not hamper the workers.

The same should be done in connection with the unemployment, sickness and other benefits of the trade-union organizations. The creation of fighting funds and the granting of strike pay are measures which, in themselves, are to be commended.

Therefore, an opposition on principle against such activities would be ill advised. But Communists should point out to the workers that the manner of collections of these funds and their use as advocated by the Amsterdam Leaders is against all the revolutionary interests of the working class. In connection with sick benefit, etc., Communists should insist on the abolition of the contributory system, and of all binding conditions in connection with all voluntary funds. If some of the trade union members are still anxious to secure sick benefits by paying contributions it would not do for us to simply prohibit such payments, for fear of not being understood by them. It will be necessary to win over such workers from their petty bourgeois conceptions by an intensive personal propaganda.

26) In the struggle against the social democratic and other petty bourgeois trade union leaders, as well as against the leaders of various labor parties one cannot hope to achieve much by persuasion. The struggle against them should be conducted in the most energetic fashion, and the best way to do that is by depriving them of their following, showing up to the workers the true character of these treacherous socialist leaders who are only playing into the hands of capitalism. The Communists should endeavor to unmask these so-called leaders, and subsequently attack them in the most energetic fashion.

It is not by any means sufficient to call Amsterdam leaders yellow. Their "yellowness" must be proved by continual and practical illustrations. Their activities in the trade-unions, in the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, in the bourgeois ministries and administrations; their treacherous speeches at conferences and in parliament; the exhortations contained in many of their written messages and in Press, and above all their vacillation and hesitating attitude in all struggles even for the most modest rise in wages, offer constant opportunities for exposing the treacherous behavior of the Amsterdam leaders in simply worded speeches and resolutions.

The nuclei and fractions must conduct their practical vanguard movement in a systematic fashion. The Communists must not allow the excuses of the minor trade-union officials, who, notwithstanding good intentions, often take refuge, through sheer weakness, behind statutes, union decisions and instructions from their superiors to hamper their march forward. On the contrary, they must insist on getting satisfaction from the minor officials in the matter of the removal of all real or imaginary obstacles put in the way of the workers by the bureaucratic machine.

27) The fractions must carefully prepare the participation of the communists in conferences and meetings of the trade union organizations. For instance, they must elaborate proposals, select lectures and counsel and put up as candidates for election, capable, experienced and energetic comrades.

The Communist organizations must, through their fractions, also make careful preparations in connection with all workers' meetings, election meetings, demonstrations, political festivals and such like, arranged by the hostile organizations. Wherever Communists convene their own workers' meetings, they must endeavor to have considerable groups of communists distributed among the audience, and they must make all due preparations for the assurance of satisfactory propaganda results.

28) Communists must also learn how to draw unorganized and backward workers permanently into the ranks of the Party. With the help of our nuclei and fractions we must induce the workers to join the trade unions and to read our Party organs. Other organizations, as for instance, educational boards, study circles, sporting clubs, dramatic societies, co-operative societies, consumers' associations, war-victims' organizations, etc., may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers. Where the Communist Party is working illegally, such workers' unions may be formed outside of the Party through the initiative of Party members and with the consent and under the control of the leading Party organs (unions of sympathizers).

Communist youths and women's organizations may also be helpful in rousing the interest of the many politically indifferent proletarians, and in drawing them eventually into the Communist Party, through the intermediary of their educational courses, reading circles, excursions, festivals, Sunday rambles, etc., distribution of leaflets, increasing the circulation of the Party organ, etc. Through participation in the general movement, the workers will free themselves from their petty bourgeois inclinations.

29) In order to win the semi-proletarian sections of the workers as sympathizers of the revolutionary proletarians, the Communists must make use of their special antagonisms to the landowners, the capitalists and the capitalist state in order to win these intermediary groups from their mistrust of the proletariat. This may require prolonged negotiations with them, or intelligent

sympathy with their needs, free help and advice in any difficulties, also opportunities to improve their education, etc., all of which will give them confidence in the Communist movement. Communists must also endeavor to counteract the pernicious influence of hostile organizations which occupy authoritative positions in the respective districts, or may have influence over the petty bourgeois working peasantry, over those who work in the home-industries and other semi-proletarian classes. Those who are known by the exploited, from their own bitter experience, to be the representatives and embodiment of the entire criminal capitalist system, must be unmasked. All everyday occurrences which bring the State bureaucracy into conflict with the ideals of petty bourgeois democracy and jurisdiction, must be made use of in a judicial and energetic manner in the course of communist agitation.

Each local country organization must carefully apportion among its members the duties of house to house canvassing, in order to spread Communist propaganda in all the villages, farm steads and isolated dwellings in their district.

30) The methods of propaganda in the armies and navies of capitalist states must be adapted to the peculiar conditions in each country. Anti-militarist agitation of a pacifist nature is extremely detrimental, and only assists the bourgeois in its efforts to disarm the proletariat. The proletariat rejects on principle and combats with the utmost energy, every kind of military institution of the bourgeois State, and of the bourgeois class in general. Nevertheless, it utilizes these institutions (army, rifle clubs, citizen guard organizations, etc.) for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must therefore be directed not against the military training of the youth and workers, but against the militaristic regime, and the domination of the officers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons should most eagerly be taken advantage of.

The class antagonisms, revealing themselves as they do in the materially favored positions of the officers as against the bad treatment and social insecurity of life of the common soldiers, must be made very clear to the soldiers. Besides, the agitation must bring home the fact to the rank and file that its future is inextricably bound up with the fate of the exploited classes. In a more advanced period of incipient revolutionary fermentation, agitation for the democratic election of all commanders by the privates and sailors and for the formation of soldiers' councils may prove very advantageous in undermining the foundations of capitalist rule.

The closest attention and the greatest care are always required when agitating against the picked troops used by the bourgeoisie in the class war, and especially against its armed volunteer bands.

Wherever the social composition and corrupt conduct of these troops and bands make it possible, every favorable moment for agitation should be made use of for creating disruption. Wherever it possesses a distinct bourgeois class character, as for example, in the officers corps, it must be unmasked before the entire population, and made so despicable and repulsive, that they will be disrupted from within by virtue of their very isolation.

V. The Organization of Political Struggles

31) For a Communist Party there can be no period in which its party organization cannot exercise political activity. For the purpose of utilizing every political and economic situation, as well as all the changes in these situations, organizational strategy and tactics must be developed. No matter how weak the party may be, it can nevertheless take advantage of exciting political events or of extensive strikes affecting the entire economic system, by a radical propaganda. Once a party has studied to thus make use of a particular situation it must concentrate the energy of all its members and party in this campaign.

Furthermore, all the connections which the party possesses through the work of its nuclei and workers' groups must be used for organizing mass meetings in the centers of political importance and following up a strike. The speakers for the party must do their utmost to convince the audiences that only communism can bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. Special commissions must prepare these meetings very thoroughly. If the party cannot for some reason hold meetings of its own, suitable comrades should address the strikers at the general meetings organized by the strikers or any other section of the struggling proletariat.

Wherever there is a possibility of inducing the majority or a large part of any meeting to support our demands, these must be well formulated and properly argued in motions, and resolutions to be submitted for adoption. In the event of such resolutions being passed, attempts must be made to have similar resolutions or motions adopted in ever increasing numbers, at any rate supported by strong minorities at all the meetings held on the same question at the same place or in other localities. In this way we shall be able to consolidate the working masses in the movement, put them under our moral influence, and have them recognize our leadership.

After all such meetings the committees which participated in the organizational preparations and utilized its opportunities must hold a conference to make a report to be submitted to the leading committee of the party and draw the proper conclusions from the experiences or possible mistakes made, for the future. In accordance with each particular situation, the practical demands of the workers involved must be made public by means of posters and handbills, or leaflets distributed among the workers, proving to them by means of their own demands how the Communist policies are in agreement with and applicable to the situation. Specially organized groups are required for the proper distribution of posters, the choice of suitable spots as well as the proper time for such pasting. The distribution of handbills should be carried out in and before the factories and in the halls where the workers concerned are wont to gather, also at important points in the town, employment offices and stations; such distribution of leaflets should be accompanied by attractive discussions and slogans, readily permeating all the ranks of the working masses. Detailed leaflets should if possible be distributed only in halls, factories, dwellings or other places where proper attention to the printed matter may be expected.

Such propaganda must be supported by parallel activity at all the trade union or factory meetings held during the conflict, and at such meetings, whether organized by our comrades or only favored by us, suitable speakers and debaters must seize the opportunity of convincing the masses of our point of view. Our party newspapers must place at the disposal of such a special movement the greater part of their space as well as their best arguments. In fact, the entire party organization must for the time being be made to serve the general purpose of such a movement, whereby our comrades may work with unabated energy.

32) Demonstrations require very mobile and self-sacrificing leadership, closely intent upon the aim of a particular action, and able to discern at any given moment whether a demonstration has reached its highest possible effectiveness, or whether, during that particular situation, a further intensification is possible by inducing an extension of the movement into an action of the masses, by means of demonstration strikes and eventually general strikes. The demonstrations in favor of peace during the war have taught us that even after the dispersal of such demonstrations, a really proletarian fighting party must neither deviate nor stand still no matter how small or illegal it may be, if the question at issue is of real importance and is bound to become of ever greater interest for the large masses.

Street demonstrations attain greatest effectiveness when their organization is based on the large factories. When efficient preparations by our nuclei and groups by means of verbal and handbill propaganda has succeeded in bringing a certain unity of thought and action in a particular situation, the managing committee must call the confidential party members in the factories, and the leaders of the nuclei and groups to a conference, to discuss and fix the time and business of the meeting on the day planned, as well as the determination of slogans, the prospects of intensification, and the moment of cessation and dispersal of the demonstration. The backbone of the demonstration must be formed by a well instructed and experienced group of diligent officials, mingling among the masses from the moment of departure from the factories up to the time of dispersal of the demonstration. Responsible party workers must be systematically distributed among the masses, for the purpose of enabling the officials to retain active contact with each other and keeping them provided with the requisite political instructions. Such a mobile, politically organized leadership of a demonstration permits most effectively of constant renewal and eventual intensification into greater mass actions.

33) Communist Parties already possessing internal firmness, a tried corps of officials and a considerable number of adherents among the masses, must exert every effort to completely overcome the influence of the treacherous socialist

leaders on the working class by means of extensive campaigns, and to rally the majority of working masses to the Communist banners. Campaigns must be organized in various ways depending upon whether the situation favors actual fighting, in which case they become active and set themselves at the head of the proletarian movement or whether it is a period of temporary stagnation.

The make-up of the Party is also one of the determining factors for selection of the organized methods for such actions.

For example, the method of publishing a so-called "Open Letter" was used in order to win over to the V. K. P. D., as a young mass party, the socially decisive sections of the proletariat to a greater extent than had been possible in certain districts. In order to unmask the treacherous Socialist leaders, the Communist Party addressed itself to the other mass organizations of the proletariat at a moment of increasing desolation and intensification of class conflicts, for the purpose of demanding from them, before the eyes of the proletariat, whether they, with their allegedly powerful organizations, were prepared to take up the struggle, in co-operation with the Communist Party, against the obvious destitution of the proletariat, and for the slightest demands, even for a pitiful piece of bread.

Wherever the Communist Party initiates a similar campaign, it must make complete organizational preparations for the purpose of making such an action re-echo among the broad masses of the working class.

All the factory groups and trade-union officials of the party must bring the demands made by the party, representing the embodiment of the most vital demands of the proletariat, to a discussion at their next factory and trade-union meetings, as well as at all public meetings, after having thoroughly prepared for such meetings. For the purpose of taking advantage of the temper of the masses, leaflets, handbills and posters must be distributed everywhere and effectively at all places where our nuclei or groups intend to make an attempt to influence the masses to support our demands. Our party press must engage in constant elucidation of the problems of the movement during the entire period of such a campaign, by means of short or detailed daily articles, treating the various phases of the question from every possible point of view. The organizations must continually supply the press with the material for such articles and pay close attention that the editors do not let up in their exertions for the furtherance of the party campaign. The parliamentary groups and municipal representatives of the party must also work systematically for the promotion of such struggles. They must bring the movement into discussion, according to the directions of the party leadership, in the various parliamentary bodies by means of resolutions or motions. These representatives must consider themselves as conscious members of the struggling masses, their exponents in the camp of the class enemy, and as the responsible officials and party workers.

In case the united, organizationally consolidated activities of all the forces of the party succeed, within a few weeks, in inducing the adoption of large and ever increasing numbers of resolutions supporting our demands, it will be the serious organizational task of our party, to consolidate the masses thus shown to be in favor of our demands. In the event of the movement having assumed a particularly trade-union character, it must be attempted above all to increase our organizational influence on the trade unions.

To this end our groups in the trade unions must proceed to well prepared, direct action against the local trade union leaders, in order to either overcome their influence, or else to compel them to wage an organized struggle on the basis of the demands of our party. Wherever factory councils, industrial committees or similar institutions exist, our groups must exert influence on the plenary meetings of these industrial committees or factory councils to also decide in favor of supporting the struggle. If a number of local organizations have thus been influenced to support the movement for the bare living interests of the proletariat, under Communist leadership, they must be called together to general conferences, which should also be attended by the special delegates of the factory meetings at which favorable resolutions were adopted. The new leadership consolidated under Communist influence in this manner, gains new power by means of such concentration of the active groups of the organized workers, and this power must be utilized to give an impetus to the leadership of the Socialist Parties and trade unions or else to fully unmask it.

In those industrial regions where our party possesses its best organizations and has obtained the greatest support for its demands, they must succeed, by means of the organized pressure on the local trade unions and industrial council, in uniting all the evident economic isolated struggles in these regions, as

well as the developing movements of other groups into one coordinated struggle. This movement must then draw up certain common elementary demands, entirely apart from the particular craft interests, and then attempt to obtain the fulfillment of these demands by utilizing the united forces of all the organizations in the district. In such a movement the Communist Party will then prove to be the leader of the proletarians prepared for the struggle, whereas the trade union bureaucracy and the Socialist Party who would oppose such a united, organized struggle, would then be exposed in their true colors, not only politically, but also from a practical organizational point of view.

34) During acute political and economic crises causing, as they do, new movements and struggles, the Communist Party should attempt to gain control of the masses. It may be better to forego any specific demands and rather appeal directly to the members of the Socialist Parties and the Trade Unions, pointing out how distress and oppression have driven them into the unavoidable fights with their employers in spite of the attempts of their bureaucratic leaders to evade a decisive struggle. The organs of the Party, particularly the daily newspapers, must emphasize, day by day, that the Communists are ready to take the lead in the impending and actual struggles of the distressed workers, that their fighting organization is ready to lend a helping hand wherever possible to all the oppressed in the given acute situation. It must be pointed out daily that without these struggles there is no possibility of creating tolerable living conditions for the workers in spite of the efforts of the old organizations to avoid and to obstruct these struggles. The Communist factions within the trade unions and industrial organizations must lay stress continually upon the self-sacrificing readiness of the Communists and make it clear to their fellow workers that the fight is not to be avoided. The main task, however, is to unify and consolidate all the struggles and movements arising out of the situation. The various nuclei and factions of the industries and crafts which have been drawn into struggle must not only maintain the closest ties of organization among themselves, but also to assume the leadership of all the movements that may break out, through the district committees as well as through the central committees, furnishing promptly such officials and responsible workers as will be able to lead a movement hand in hand with those engaged in the struggle, to broaden and deepen that struggle, and make it wide-spread. It is the main duty of the organization everywhere to point out and emphasize the common character of all the various struggles, in order to foster the idea of the general solution of the question by political means if necessary. As the struggles become more intensified and general in character, it becomes necessary to create uniform organs for the leadership of the struggles. Wherever the bureaucratic strike leaders have failed, the Communists must come in at once and ensure a determined militant leadership. Where the combination of isolated struggles has been achieved, the common organization of action must be insisted upon, and it is here that the Communists must seek to win the leadership. The common organization of action can be achieved, under capable preliminary organization, by persistent advocacy at the meetings of the factions and industrial councils as well as at mass meetings of the industries concerned.

When the movement becomes widespread and, owing to the onslaughts of the employers' organizations and government interference, assumes a political character, preliminary propaganda and organization work must be started for the election of Workers' Councils which may become possible and even necessary.

It is here that all party organs should emphasize the idea that only by forging their own weapons of struggle can the working class achieve its real emancipation. In this propaganda not the slightest consideration should be shown to the trade union bureaucracy or to the old Socialist parties.

35) The Communist Parties which have already grown strong, and particularly the big mass parties, must be equipped for mass action. All political demonstrations and economic mass movements, as well as local actions, must always tend to organize the experiences of these movements in order to bring about a close union with the wide masses. The experiences gained by all new great movements must be discussed at broad conference of the leading officials and responsible party workers, with the trusted representatives of the large and middle industries, and in this manner the network of communications will be constantly increased and strengthened, and the trusted representatives of the industries will become increasingly permeated with the fighting spirit. The ties of mutual confidence between the leading officials and responsible party workers,

with the shop delegates, are the best guarantee that there will be no premature political mass-action, in keeping with the circumstances and the actual strength of the Party.

Without the closest ties between the Party organizations and the proletarian masses employed in the big and middle industries, the Communist Party cannot carry out any big mass-actions and really revolutionary movements. The untimely collapse of the undoubtedly revolutionary upheaval in Italy last year, which found its strongest expression in the seizing of factories, was certainly due to a great extent to the treachery of the trade-unionist bureaucracy and the unreliability of the political party leaders, but partly also to the total lack of intimacies of organization between the Party and the industries through politically informed shop delegates interested in the welfare of the Party. Also the English coal miners' strike of the present year has undoubtedly suffered through this lack to an extraordinary degree.

VI. ON THE PARTY PRESS

36) The Communist Press must be developed and improved by the Party with indefatigable energy.

No paper may be recognized as a Communist organ if it does not submit to the directions of the Party.

The Party must pay more attention to having good papers than to having many of them. Every Communist Party must have a good, and if possible, a daily central organ.

37) A Communist newspaper must never be a capitalist undertaking, as are the bourgeois and frequently also the "socialist" papers. Our paper must be independent of all the capitalist credit institutions. A skillful organization of the advertisements, which render possible the existence of our paper for lawful mass parties, must never lead to our becoming dependent on the large advertisers. On the contrary, its unswerving attitude on all proletarian social questions will create the greater respect for it in all our mass parties.

Our papers must not serve for the satisfaction of the desire for sensation or as a pastime for the general public. They must not yield to the criticism of the petty bourgeois writers or journalist virtuosos in the striving to become "respectable."

38) The Communist paper must in the first place take care of the interests of the oppressed and fighting workers. It must be our best agitator and the leading propagator of the proletarian revolution.

It will be the object of our paper to collect all the valuable experience from the activity of the party members and to demonstrate the same to our comrades as a guide for the continued revision and improvement of Communist working methods. In this way it will be the best organizer of our revolutionary work.

It is only this all embracing organization work of the Communist papers and particularly our principal paper, with this definite object in view, that will be able to establish democratic centralism and will lead to the efficient distribution of work in the communist party, thus enabling it to perform its historic mission.

39) The Communist paper must strive to become a Communist undertaking, i. e., it must be a proletarian fighting organization, a working community of the revolutionary workers, of all writers who regularly contribute to the paper, editors, typesetters, printers and distributors, those who collect local material and discuss the same in the paper, those who are daily active in propagating it, etc., etc.

A number of practical measures are required to turn the paper into a real fighting organ and a strong working community of the communists.

A Communist should be in closest connection with his paper when he has to work and make sacrifices for it. It is his daily weapon which must be newly hardened and sharpened every day in order to be fit for use. Heavy material and financial sacrifices will continually be required for the existence of the communist paper. The means for its development and inner improvement will constantly have to be supplied from the ranks of party members, until it will have reached a position of such firm organization and such a wide circulation among a legal mass party, that it will itself become a strong support of the communist movement.

It is not sufficient to be an active canvasser or propagator for the paper, it is necessary to be a contributor to it as well.

Every occurrence of any social or economic interest happening in the workshop from an accident to a general workers meeting, from the ill treatment of an apprentice to the financial report of the concern must be immediately reported to the paper. The Trade Union fraction must communicate all important decisions and resolutions of its meetings and secretariats, as well as any characteristic actions of our enemies. Public life in the street and at the meeting will often give an opportunity to the attentive party member to exercise social criticism on details, which published in our paper will demonstrate even to indifferent readers how closely we follow the daily needs of life.

Such communications from the life of workers and working organizations must be handled by the board of editors with particular care and attention. They may be used as short notices that will help to convey the feeling of an intimate communion existing between our paper and the workers' lives; or they may be used as practical examples from the daily life of workers that help to explain the doctrine of communism. The latter is the shortest way to bring the wide masses of the workers vitally nearer to the great ideas of Communism. Whenever possible, the board of editors should have fixed hours at a convenient time of the day, when they should be ready to see any worker coming to them and listen to his wishes or complaints on the troubles of life, which they ought to note and use for the enlivenment of the paper.

Under the capitalist system it will of course be impossible for our papers to become a perfect communist workers' community. However, even under most difficult conditions it might be possible to obtain a certain success in the organization of such a revolutionary paper. This has been proved by the "Pravda" of our Russian comrades during the period of 1912 to 1913. It actually represented a permanent and active organization of the conscious revolutionary workers of the most important Russian centres. The comrades used their collective forces for editing, publishing and distributing the paper, many of them doing that alongside with their other work and sparing the money required from their earnings.

The newspaper in its turn furnished them with the best things they desired, with what they needed for the moment and what they can still use to-day in their work and their struggle. Such a newspaper could really and truly be called by the Party members and by many another revolutionary worker "Our Newspaper."

40) The proper element for the militant communist press is direct participation in the campaigns conducted by the Party. If the activity of the Party at a given time happens to be concentrated upon a definite campaign it is the duty of the Party-organ to place all its departments, not the editorial pages alone, at the service of this particular campaign. The editorial board must draw materials from all sources to feed this campaign, which must be incorporated throughout the paper both in substance and in form.

41) The matter of canvassing subscriptions for "Our Newspaper" must be made into a system. The first thing is to make use of every occasion for stirring up the workers and of every situation in which the political and social consciousness of the worker has been aroused by some special occurrence. Thus, following each big strike movement or lockout, during which the paper openly and energetically defended the interests of the workers, a canvassing activity should be organized and be carried on among the participants. Subscription lists and subscription orders for the paper should be distributed not only in the industries where communists are engaged and among the trade union fractions of those industries that had taken part in the strike, but also, whenever possible, subscription orders should be distributed from house to house by special groups of workers doing propaganda for the paper.

Likewise, following each election campaign that aroused the workers, special groups appointed for the purpose should visit the homes of the workers, carrying on systematic propaganda for the workers' newspaper.

At times of latent political or economic crises manifesting themselves in the rise of prices, unemployment, and other hardships affecting great numbers of workers, all possible efforts should be exerted to win over the professionally organized workers of the various industries and organize them into working groups for carrying on systematic house-to-house propaganda for the newspaper. Experience has shown that the most appropriate time for canvassing work is the last week of each month. Any local group that would allow even one of these last weeks of the month to pass by without making use of it for propaganda work for the newspaper will be committing a grave omission with regard to the spread of the Communist movement. The working group conducting propaganda for the

newspaper must not leave out any public meeting or any demonstration without being there at the opening, during the intervals, and at the close with their subscription lists for the paper. The same duties are imposed upon every trade union faction at each separate meeting of the union as well as upon the group and factions at shop meetings.

42) Every Party member must constantly defend our paper against all its opponents and carry on an energetic campaign against the capitalist press. He must expose and brandmark the venality, the falsehood, the suppression of information and all the double dealings of this press.

The social-democratic and independent press must be overcome by constant aggressive criticism, without falling into petty factional polemising, but by persistent unmasking of their treacherous attitude in veiling the most flagrant class-conflicts day by day. The trade union and other fractions must seek by organized means to win away the members of trade unions and other workers' organizations from the misleading and crippling influence of these social-democratic papers. Also the canvassing and house-to-house campaign for our press, notably among industrial workers, must be judiciously directed against the social-democratic press.

VII. On the Structure of the Party Organism

43) The Party organization spreading out and fortifying itself must not be organized upon a scheme of mere geographical divisions, but in accordance with the real economic, political and transport conditions of the given district. The centre of gravity is to be placed in the main cities, and the centres of large industries.

In the building up of a new Party there usually manifests itself a tendency to have the Party organization spread out at once all over the country. Thus disregarding the fact that the number of workers at the disposal of the Party is very limited, those few workers are being scattered in all directions. This weakens the recruiting ability and the growth of the Party. In such cases we witness an extensive system of Party offices spring up, but the Party itself does not succeed in gaining foot-hold even in the most important industrial cities.

44) In order to get the Party activity centralized to the highest possible degree it is not advisable to have the Party leadership divided into a hierarchy with a number of rungs subordinated to one another. The thing to be aimed at is that every large city forming an economic, political or transportation center should spread out and form a net of organizations within a wide area of the surroundings of the given locality and the economic political districts adjoining it. The Party Committee of this large center should form the head of the general body of the Party and conduct the organizational activity of the district directing its policy in close connection with the membership of the locality.

The organizers of such a district elected by the district conference and confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party are obliged to take active part in the Party life of the local organizations. The Party Committee of the district must be constantly reinforced by members from among the Party workers of the place, so that there should be close relationship between the Committee and the large masses of the district. As the organization keeps developing, efforts should be made to the effect that the leading Committee of the district should at the same time be the leading political body of the place. Thus, the Party Committee of the district together with the Central Committee should play the part of the real leading organ in the general Party organization.

45) The boundary lines of a party district are not naturally limited by the area of the place. The determining factor should be that the district committee be in a position to direct the activities of all the local organizations within the district in a uniform manner. As soon as this becomes impossible the district must be divided and new Party districts formed.

It is also necessary in the larger countries to have certain intermediate organizations serving as connecting links between the Central Committees and the various district Committees, and also the various district Committees with the locals. Under certain conditions it may be advisable to give to some of these intermediary organizations, as for example, an organization in a large city with a strong membership, a leading part, but as a general rule this should be avoided as leading to decentralization.

The larger intermediary organizations are formed out of local Party organizations: of country groups or of small cities and of districts of the various parts of a large city.

The Party as a whole is to be under the guidance of the Communist International. The instructions and resolutions of the Executive of the International on methods affecting the affiliated Parties are to be directed, (1) either to their Central Committee of the Party or (2) through this Committee to some special Committee or (3) to the members of the Party at large.

The instructions and resolutions of the international are binding upon the Party, and, naturally, also upon every Party member.

46) The large units of the Party organization (districts) are formed from the local bodies of the Party; namely, from the "local groups" in the villages and small towns, and from the "districts" or "quarters" of the various sections of the larger towns.

Any local Party organization which has grown to such an extent that it can no longer legally hold proper general meetings of its members, must be subdivided.

The members of the local Party organization are to be assigned to the various working groups for the purpose of daily Party activity. The larger organizations may find it of greater value to unite the working groups into various collective groups. Each collective group should as a rule be constituted of members who are in constant contact with each other at their work-shops or in their daily associations. The duties of the collective group consist in the assignment of general Party work to the various working groups, the receipt of reports from the leaders of such groups, the education of candidate members in their midst, etc.

47) The Central Committee of the Party is elected at a Party Congress and is responsible before it. The Central Committee selects out of its own midst a smaller body consisting of two sub-committees for political and organizational activity. Both these sub-committees are responsible for the political and current work of the Party. These sub-committees or Bureaus arrange for regular joint sessions of the Central Committee of the Party where decisions of later moment are to be passed. In order to study the general and political situation and to gain a clear idea of the state of affairs in the Party it is necessary to have various localities represented on the Central Committee whenever decisions are to be passed affecting the life of the entire Party. For the same reason differences of opinion regarding tactics should not be suppressed by the Central Committee if they are of a serious nature. On the contrary, these opinions should get representation upon the Central Committee. But the Smaller Bureau should be conducted along uniform lines, and in order to carry its own authority as well as upon a considerable majority of the Central Committee.

Carried on such a basis the Central Committee of the Party, especially in case of legal mass parties will be able in the shortest possible time to form a firm foundation for a discipline requiring the unconditional confidence of the Party membership and at the same time manifesting the vacillations and deviations that make their appearance among the responsible workers which are to be recognized and done away with. Such abnormalities in the Party may be removed before reaching the stage where they should have to be brought up before a Party Congress for decision.

48) Every leading Party Committee must have its work among its members in order to achieve efficiency in the various branches of work. This may necessitate the formation of various special committees as for example committees for propaganda, for editorial work, for the trade union campaign, for communication, etc. Every special committee is subordinated either to the Central Committee or to the District Committee.

The control over the activity as well as over the composition of all committees should be in the hands of the given District Committee and in the last instance in the hand of the Party's Central Committee. All the members attached to the Party for particular party work are directly responsible before the Party Committee. It may become advisable from time to time to change the occupations and the office of those people attached for various Party work such as editors, organizers, propagandists, etc., provided that this does not interfere too much with the Party work. The editors and propagandists must participate in the regular Party work in one of the Party groups.

49) The Central Committee of the Party, as also of the Communist International, is empowered at any time to demand complete reports from all Communist organizations, from their organs and from individual members. The representatives of the Central Committee and comrades authorized by it are to be admitted to all meetings and sessions with a deciding voice. The Central Committee of the Party must always have at its disposal pleni-potentiaries (Commissars) to instruct and inform the leading organs of the various districts and regions not only by means of their circulars and letters, but also by direct, verbal and re-

sponsible agencies on questions of politics and organization. Every organization and every branch of the party, as well as every individual member, has the right of communicating his respective wishes, suggestions, remarks or complaints directly to the Central Committee of the Party, or of the International, at any time.

50) The instructions and the decisions of the leading Party organs are obligatory for the subordinate organizations and for the individual members. The responsibility of the leading organs and the duty to prevent either delinquency or abuse of their leading position, can only partly be determined in a formal manner. The less their formal responsibility (as for instance, in illegal Parties), the greater the obligation upon them to study the opinion of the Party members, to obtain regular and solid information, and to form their own decisions only after mature and thorough deliberation.

51) The Party members are obliged to act always as disciplined members of a militant organization in all their public actions. Should differences of opinion occur as to the proper mode of action, this should be determined as far as possible by previous discussion inside the Party organization, and the action should be according to the decision thus arrived at. Even if the decision of the organization or of the Party Committee should appear faulty in the opinion of the rest of the members, these comrades in all their public activities must never lose sight of the fact, that it is the worst form of undisciplined conduct and the gravest military error, to hinder or to break entirely the unity of the common front.

It is the supreme duty of every Party member to defend the Communist Party and above all the Communist International, against all the enemies of Communism. He who forgets and, on the contrary, publicly assails the Party or the Communist International, is a bad Communist.

52) The statutes of the Party must be drawn in such a manner, as not to become a hindrance, but rather a helping force to the leading Party organs in the constant development of the general Party organization and in the continuous improvement of Party activity. The decisions of the Communist International must be promptly carried out by the affiliated Parties, even in the case when corresponding alterations in existing statutes and Party decisions can be adopted only at a later date.

VIII. Legal and Illegal Activity

53) The Party must be so organized, that it shall always be in a position to adapt itself quickly to all the changes that may occur in the conditions of the struggle. The Communist Party must develop into a militant organization capable of avoiding a fight in the open against overwhelming forces of the enemy, concentrated upon a given point; but on the other hand, the very concentration of the enemy must be so utilized as to attack him in a spot where he least suspects it. It would be the greatest mistake for the Party organization to stake everything upon a rebellion and street fighting, or only upon condition of severe oppression. Communists must perfect their preliminary revolutionary work in every situation on a basis of preparedness, for it is frequently next to impossible to foresee the changeable wave of stormy and calm periods; and even in cases where it might be possible, this foresight cannot, in many cases, be made use of for reorganization, because the change as a rule comes quickly, and frequently quite suddenly.

54) Therefore, our general party work must be apportioned in a manner which would ensure, even in the pre-revolutionary period, the foundation and consolidation of a fighting organization commensurate with the needs of the revolution. It is of the greatest importance that the directing body of the Communist Party should be guided in its entire activity by the revolutionary requirements, and that it should endeavor as far as possible, to gain a clear idea of what these are likely to be. This is, naturally, not an easy matter, but that should not be a reason for leaving out of consideration this very important point of communist organizational leadership.

Even the best organized party would be faced with very difficult and complicated tasks, if it had to undergo great functional changes in a period of open revolutionary uprising. It is quite possible that our political Party will be called upon to mobilize in a few days its forces for the revolutionary struggle. Probably, it will have to mobilize, in addition to the party forces, their reserves, the sympathizing organizations, viz., the unorganized revolutionary masses. The formation of a regular red army is, as yet, out of the question. We must con-

quer without a previously organized army—through the masses under the leadership of the party. For this reason, even the most heroic effort would not succeed should our party not be well prepared and organized for such an eventuality.

58) One has probably observed that the revolutionary central directive bodies have proved unable to cope with revolutionary situations. The proletariat has generally been able to achieve great revolutionary organization as far as minor tasks are concerned, but there has nearly always been disorder, confusion and chaos at its headquarters. Sometime there has been a lack of even the most elementary apportioning of work. The intelligence department is often so badly organized that it does more harm than good. There is no reliance on postal and other communications. All secret postal and transport arrangements, secret quarters and printing works are generally at the mercy of lucky or unlucky circumstances, and afford fine opportunities for the "agents provocateurs" of the enemy forces.

These defects cannot be remedied unless the party organizes a special branch in its administration for this particular work. The military intelligence service requires practice and special training and knowledge. The same may be said of the secret service work directed against the political police. It is only through long practice that a satisfactory secret service department can be created. For all this specialized revolutionary work, every legal communist party must make secret preparations, no matter how small. In most cases such a secret apparatus may be created by means of perfectly legal activity.

For instance, it is quite possible to establish a secret postal and transport communications by a code system through the judicially arranged distribution of legal leaflets, and through correspondence in the Press.

59) The Communist Organizer must look upon every member of the party and every revolutionary worker as a prospective soldier in the future revolutionary army. For this reason he must allot him a place in the party which will fit him for his future role. His present activity must take the form of useful service, necessary for present party work, and not mere drilling which the practical worker of today rejects. One must also not forget that this kind of activity is for every Communist the best preparation for the exigencies of the final struggle.

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54) The legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries usually fail to grasp the importance of the task before the Party to be properly prepared for the armed struggle, or for the illegal fight in general. Communist organizations often commit the error of depending on a permanent legal basis for their existence, and of conducting their work according to the needs of the legal tasks.

On the other hand, illegal parties often fail to make use of all the possibilities of legal activity towards the building up of a party organization which would have constant intercourse with the revolutionary masses. Underground organizations which ignore these vital truths run the risk of becoming merely groups of conspirators, wasting their labors in futile Sysiphus tasks.

Both those tendencies are erroneous. Every legal communist organization must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks. Every illegal communist organization must, on the other hand, make the fullest use of the possibilities offered by the legal labor movement, in order to become, by means of intensive party activity, the organizer and real leader of the great revolutionary masses.

55) Both among legal and underground Party circles there is a tendency for the illegal Communist organization activity to evolve into the establishment and maintenance of a purely military organization isolated from the rest of the Party organization and activity. This is absolutely erroneous. On the contrary, during the pre-revolutionary period the formation of our militant organizations must be mainly accomplished through the general work of the Communist Party. The entire Party must be developed into a militant organization for the Revolution.

Isolated revolutionary-military organizations, prematurely created in the pre-revolutionary periods, are apt to show tendencies towards dissolution, because of the lack of direct and useful party work.

56) It is of course imperative for an illegal party to protect its members and party organs from being found out by the authorities, and to avoid every possibility of facilitating such discovery by registration, careless collecting of contributions and injudicious distribution of revolutionary material. For these reasons, it cannot use frank organizational methods to the same extent as a legal party. It can, nevertheless, through practice, acquire more and more proficiency in this matter.

On the other hand, a legal mass party must be fully prepared for illegal work and periods of struggle. It must never relax its preparations for any eventualities (viz., it must have safe hiding places for duplicates of members' files; must, in most cases, destroy correspondence, put important documents into safe keeping and must provide conspirative training for its messengers, etc.).

It is often assumed in the circles of the legal, as well as of the illegal parties, that the illegal organization must be in the nature of a rather exclusive, entirely military institution, occupying, within the party a position of splendid isolation. This assumption is quite erroneous. The formation of our fighting organization in the pre-revolutionary period must depend principally on the general communist party work. The entire party must be made into a fighting organization for the revolution.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Adopted at the 24th Session July 12th, 1921.)

The Executive Committee of the Communist International must be so organized that it is able to take a stand upon all questions connected with the activities of the proletariat. In addition to the general appeals hitherto issued by the Executive upon critical questions of this kind it is necessary also, that, on international questions under dispute, the Executive should try to find the best method of organizing and standardizing the propaganda throughout the various sections. The Communist International must actually become the International of action, and lead the actual day-to-day fight of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. The following preliminary conditions are indispensable:

1) The Parties affiliated to the Communist International must do their utmost to keep in the closest touch with the Executive; they must not only appoint the best representatives of their country to the Executive, but must also keep the Executive constantly supplied with the best information, so that the Executive will be in a position to take a stand on any political problem that may arise, on the basis of real documents and exhaustive materials. In order that full use may be made of such material, the Executive must organize and subdivide its special activities. An international institute of political economy and statistics should be attached to the Executive for the benefit of the labor movement and communism.

2) The affiliated Parties must learn to regard themselves as sections of one Universal International Party. Regular exchange of information must therefore be arranged between the parties, particularly if they happen to be in neighboring States, for they are then equally interested in the political conflicts which arise out of the clash of the economic interests of capitalism.

At the present time community of action can best be achieved by mutual participation in important conferences, and by reciprocal exchange of representatives. This exchange of representatives must be made an absolutely obligatory condition for all the Sections that are capable of rendering substantial services to the cause.

3) In order to promote this welding together of all the National Sections into a single International Party the Executive should publish a newspaper in all the important languages of Western Europe. This paper would be able to direct the ever increasing growth of communist ideas; and further by supplying reliable and uniform information would serve as a basis for active work in the various Sections.

4) By sending plenipotentiary members of the Executive to Western Europe and America, the Executive can support actively, the aspirations of the proletariat of all countries towards a real International based on the common daily struggle. These representatives must keep the Executive informed about the particular conditions under which the Communist Parties of the various capitalist and colonial countries have to work, and they must also see to it that these Parties keep in the closest possible touch with the Executive, as well as with each other, in order to increase their fighting efficiency. The Executive, as well as the affiliated parties, must see to it, that, by means of trusted personal messengers and written correspondence, communication between the Executive of the individual Communist Parties is regular and frequent, and is carried out with greater safety and speed than hitherto. In this way it should be possible at any time, to take a unanimous stand upon any important political questions which may arise.

5) In order to be able to cope with this extraordinarily intensified activity, the Executive must be considerably augmented. Those sections to which 40 votes had been allotted by the Congress, as well as the Executives of the Young Communist International, have 2 votes each in the Executive; the sections with 30 and 20 votes at the Congress have 1 vote each. The Russian Communist Party is to have 5 votes as before. The representatives of the remaining sections are to have consultative votes. The Congress elects the President and instructs the Executive to appoint three leading secretaries who, if possible, should be chosen from different Parties.

These secretaries shall be assisted in their work by members of the Executive, divided into various Sections, whose duty it shall be to assist in the transaction of the current work of the Executive and of the Secretariat, either through their national departments, or by taking upon themselves the task of reporting upon certain definite questions. The members of the Small Bureau shall be chosen by the Executive.

6) The seat of the Executive Committee is Russia, the first proletarian State. But the Executive shall try to extend its influence by organizing conferences wherever possible outside of Russia, and, further, it shall try to bring about the centralization of the International through its organization and political leadership.

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE UNIONS

(STRUGGLE AGAINST THE YELLOW TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL OF AMSTERDAM)

(Adopted at the 24th Session, July 12th, 1921)

1. The Fallacy of "Neutrality"

The bourgeoisie is holding the working class in subjection, not only by means of violence but also by the most refined deception. The school, the church, parliament, art, literature, the daily press—all of them represent powerful means of deceiving the working masses, and of imbuing the proletariat with the ideas of the bourgeoisie.

One of the bourgeois ideas, which the ruling classes have succeeded in inculcating among the working masses, is the idea of trade union neutrality, that is, the idea of the non-political and non-party character of the trade-unions.

For the last decades of modern history, and especially after the close of the imperialist war, the trade-unions throughout Europe and in America have become the largest proletarian organizations, in some countries embracing the entire working class.

The bourgeoisie is fully aware that the near future of the capitalist system depends on the extent to which the trade unions are going to free themselves from bourgeois influences. Hence, the frantic efforts of the bourgeoisie and their myrmidons, the social-democrats throughout the world, to keep the trade unions at any price in the thrall of bourgeois social-democratic ideas.

The bourgeoisie cannot very well invite the trade unions quite openly to support the bourgeois parties. It is urging them, therefore, not to support any party, the revolutionary Communist Party included, but in reality the bourgeoisie means that the trade-unions must not support the party advocating Communism.

The doctrine of neutrality (or of the non-political and non-party character of the trade-unions) is not of recent growth. For decades this bourgeois idea has been inculcated in the trade-unions of Great Britain, Germany, America and other countries by the representatives of the priest-ridden Christian trade unions, as well as by the leaders of the bourgeois Hirsch-Duncker trade-unions, the leaders of the old pacific British trade-unions, the representatives of the so-called free trade-unions of Germany and by many representatives of syndicalism. Legien, Gompers, Jouhaux, Sidney Webb have been preaching neutrality to the trade-unions for decades. But in reality the trade-unions have never been and could never be neutral. Not only is neutrality harmful to the trade-unions, it cannot positively be maintained. In the struggle between capital and labor no mass organization of workers can remain neutral. Consequently, it is impossible for the trade-unions to remain neutral in their relations to the bourgeois parties and to the party of the proletariat. This the leaders of the bourgeoisie know full well. But just as it is imperative for the bourgeoisie that the masses

should believe in the after life it is imperative for them that the trade unions should maintain neutrality with regard to politics and with regard to the workers' Communist Party. For the exploitation of and the mastery over the workers the bourgeoisie needs not only the priest, the policeman and the general, but also the trade-union bureaucrats, the "leaders" who preached to the workers neutrality and non-participation in political struggles.

The fallacy of the neutrality idea had become more and more apparent to the advanced proletariat of Europe and America even before the imperialist war. This fallacy became still more apparent as the class contrasts became more acute. When the imperialist mass-murders began in real earnest, the old trade-union leaders were obliged to drop the mask of neutrality and to side quite openly with their respective bourgeoisies.

During the imperialist war those social democrats and trade-unionists who have had been preaching neutrality to the trade-unionists for many years, while driving the workers into the service of the most dastardly murder policy, unblushingly assumed the role of agents for certain political parties not for the parties of the working class, but for those of the bourgeoisie.

After the imperialist war these same social-democratic and trade-union leaders have again been trying to put on the mask of trade-union neutrality, etc. Now that the abnormal war conditions are at an end, these agents of the bourgeoisie are trying to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and want to lure away the workers from the path of revolution to the only path which is profitable for the bourgeoisie.

Economics and politics are closely connected. This connection becomes especially evident in such epochs as the present. There is not a single important question of political life which does not concern not only the labor party, but also the trade-unions, and vice versa. If the French imperialistic government orders the mobilization of a certain class for the occupation of the Ruhr basin and for the strangulation of Germany in general, can it be said that this purely political question does not concern the French trade-unions? Can a truly revolutionary French trade-unionist remain neutral, and take up a non-political attitude on such a question? Or to use another illustration,—if there is in England a purely economic struggle such as the present lockout of the miners, can the Communist party declare that this does not concern it, that it is a purely trade-union question? At a time when the struggle against misery and poverty is the order of the day for millions of workers, when the requisitioning of bourgeois houses is imperative for the solution of the housing problem of the proletariat, when the practical experiences of life force the workers to interest themselves in the question of the arming of the working class, when the seizure of factories by the workers is taking place in various countries, can it be asserted that in such a period the trade-unions must not take part in such a struggle and must remain neutral, which really means that they must serve the bourgeoisie?

With all the wealth of nomenclature of the political parties in Europe and America, these parties are to be divided into three groups with regard to their nature:

1) Parties of the bourgeoisie; 2) Parties of the petty bourgeoisie (chiefly the social-democrats), and 3) The party of the proletariat. All trade unions, which proclaim themselves to be non-party and declare their neutrality with regard to the above mentioned party groups, are practically supporting the parties of the petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie.

2. AMSTERDAM A BULWARK OF CAPITALISM

The International Trade Union Association of Amsterdam represents the organization in which the Second International and the Second and a Half International meet each other and join hands. The whole international bourgeoisie looks upon this organization with assurance and confidence. The principal idea of the International Trade Union Association is at present the idea of the neutrality of Trade Unions. It is not mere chance that this watchword is used by the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the social democrats, as well as the Right Trade-Unionists to unite the wide masses of workers in Western Europe and America. While the political 2nd International that openly took the side of the bourgeoisie experienced a complete collapse, a certain success may be noted in regard to the International Trade Union Association of Amsterdam that wants to act under cover of the idea of neutrality.

Under the flag of neutrality the Amsterdam Trade Union Association undertakes the execution of the dirtiest and most difficult commissions of the bourgeoisie; the strangling of the miners' strike in England (that task was fulfilled

by the well-known Thomas, who is at the same time president of the Second International and one of the best known leaders of the Amsterdam Yellow Trade Union Association); the decrease of wages, the organized plundering of the German workers for the sins of imperialist German bourgeoisie; Leipart and Grassman, Wiesel and Bauer, Robert Schmidt and J. H. Thomas, Albert Thomas and Jouhaux, Daszinsky and Zulawsky,—they have all distributed their roles among themselves: some have exchanged their posts as trade-union leaders for ministerial posts in the service of bourgeois governments or for minor government positions, while others who are allied to them in body and soul are at the head of the Amsterdam Trade Union International preaching to the workers of the trade unions neutrality in political struggles.

At the present moment the Amsterdam International Trade Union Association represents the chief support of International Capital. Whoever does not fully understand the necessity of the fight against the false idea of nonpolitical and non-party character of the Trade Unions cannot fight successfully against this capitalist fortress. In order to decide upon the most efficient fighting methods to be used against the yellow Amsterdam International, it will be necessary to clearly and definitely ascertain the mutual relations between the Communist Party and the trade unions of each country.

3. The Communist Party and the Trade Unions

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, that clearly recognized the ways and means to be used for the liberation of the proletariat from the capitalist yoke and consciously accepted the Communist program.

The trade unions represent mass organizations of the proletariat which develop into organizations uniting all the workers of a given branch of industry; they include not only the conscious communists but also the medium and backward ranks of the proletariat, who through the lessons taught by their life's experience are gradually educated to understand Communism. The part played by the trade associations in the period preceding the struggle of the proletariat for the conquest of power, and during the period of struggle for power is in many respects different from the part played by them in the period succeeding the conquest of power. But throughout the different periods the trade unions represent a wider organization, uniting a greater mass of people than the party and the relations between the party and the unions must be the same as between the centre and the periphery. Prior to the securing of power the truly proletarian trade unions have to organize the workers principally on an economic basis to fight for improvements that can be obtained before capitalism is completely defeated. Their principal object, however, must be the organization of the proletarian mass fight against capitalism and for the proletarian revolution.

During this revolution the truly revolutionary trade unions conjointly with the party organize the masses for the immediate attack on the forts of capitalism and undertake the laying of a foundation for social revolution.

After the power has been secured by the proletariat the trade unions concentrate the greatest part of their activity to the organization of the economic conditions on a Socialist basis.

During all these three phases of the campaign, the trade union must support the proletarian vanguard, the communist party, which takes the lead throughout the proletarian fight.

In order to achieve this end, the communists together with sympathizing elements must organize Communist fractions within the trade unions, (which must be completely under the control of the Communist Party).

The tactics adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International in regard to formation of communist fractions in every trade union proved to be fully up to the mark during the course of last year and have given good results in Germany, England, France, Italy and a number of other countries. The principles of the Communist International respecting the participation of communists in the trade union movement must not be influenced by the circumstance that considerable numbers of politically inexperienced workers, have lately left the free social democratic trade unions not expecting to have any direct advantage from the membership in the same (as has lately been the case in Germany). It is the task of the Communists to explain to the proletarians, that they will not find salvation in leaving the old trade unions before creating new ones, as this will only turn the proletariat into a disorganized mob; they must be told that it is necessary to revolutionize the trade unions, to expel the spirit of reformism together with the treacherous reformist leaders, and thus convert the trade unions into a real support of the revolutionary proletariat.

4. The Tasks of Our Parties

During the next epoch the principal task of all communists will be to concentrate their energy and perseverance on winning over to their side the majority of the workers in all labor unions. They must not be discouraged by the present reactionary tendency of the labor unions, but take part actively in the daily struggles of the unions and win them over to the cause of Communism in spite of all resistance.

The real test of the strength of every Communist Party is the actual influence it has on the workers in the labor unions. The party must learn how to influence the Unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. Only the Communist fraction of the union is subject to the control of the party, not the labor union as a whole. If the Communist fractions persevere, if their activity is devoted and intelligent, the party will reach a position where its advice will be accepted gladly and readily by the unions.

In France the labor unions are now passing through a wholesome period of fermentation. The working class is regaining strength after the crises in the workers' movement and is learning to recognize and punish the past treachery of the reformist Socialist and trade-unionists. Many of the revolutionary trade-unionists of France are still unwilling to take part in the political fight and are prejudiced against the idea of a political proletarian party. They still hold to the idea of neutrality as expressed in the well-known *Charte d'Amiens* of 1906. The point of view of this fraction of the revolutionary trade-unionists may be regarded as a source of great danger for the movement. If this fraction should gain control of the majority in the unions, it would not know what to do with this majority. It would be helpless against the agents of capitalism, the Jouhaux and the Dumoulin.

The revolutionary trade-unionists of France will remain without definite lines of demarcation as long as the Communist party itself lacks such lines. The Communist Party of France must strive to work in friendly cooperation with the best elements of revolutionary trade-unionism. It is, however, essential that the party should rely solely upon its own elements. Sections should be formed wherever three Communists are to be found. The party must at once undertake a campaign against neutrality. It must point out in a friendly but decided manner the defects in the position of revolutionary trade-unionism. This is the only possible way to revolutionize the trade union movement in France and to establish close cooperation between the party and the trade-union movement.

In Italy the situation is very peculiar. The majority of the trade-union members are revolutionary but the leadership of the Confederation del Lavoro is in the hands of reformists and centrists whose sympathies are with Amsterdam. The first task of the Italian Communists will be to organize a persistent daily struggle in every section in the trade unions; endeavor to systematically and patiently expose the treachery and indecision of the leaders and to wrest the trade-unions from their control. In regard to the revolutionary trade-union elements of Italy, the Italian Communists will have to adopt the same measures as the Communists in France.

In Spain we have a strong revolutionary trade-union movement, which still lacks a clearly defined final purpose, and a young and relatively weak Communist Party. In view of the existing conditions, the party must do everything possible to secure a firm foothold in the Trade Unions. It must support the unions in word and deed, and exercise a clarifying influence on the whole trade-union movement. It must likewise establish friendly relations with the unions and make every effort to organize the whole struggle in common.

Important developments are taking place in the British trade-union movement which is rapidly becoming more and more revolutionary. The mass movement is growing, and the influence of the old trade-union leaders is on the wane. The Party must do its utmost to establish itself firmly in the great Trade Unions (miners, etc.). Every member of the Party must work actively in some trade-union, and must endeavor to make Communism popular through active and persevering work. Every effort must be made to get into closer contact with the masses.

The same process is taking place in America, although at a slower rate. Communists must on no account leave the ranks of the reactionary Federation of Labor. On the contrary, they should get into the old trade unions in order to revolutionize them. Co-operation with the best sections of the I. W. W. is

imperative; this does not, however, preclude an educational campaign against the prejudices of the I. W. W.

In Japan a great trade-union movement has rapidly come into being, but it lacks an enlightened leadership. The Communist elements of Japan must support this movement and use every effort to direct it into Marxian channels.

In Czecho-Slovakia, our party is backed by the majority of the working class, but the trade-union movement is, to a great extent, still in the hands of the social patriots and centrists and is therefore divided by nationalities. This is because the party itself has lacked organization and clearly defined principles among the revolutionary-minded trade-unionists. The party must make a great effort to put an end to these conditions, and to get control of the trade-unions. For this purpose the creation of nuclei and of a united Communist Central trade-union organization to include all nationalities is absolutely indispensable. The utmost efforts must be applied in the direction of uniting the various divided national associations.

In Austria and Belgium the social patriots have with great cunning succeeded in getting control of the trade-union movement. The trade-union movement is the chief field for revolutionary action in these countries. That is why it should have received more attention from the Communist Parties.

In Norway the party which has the majority of workers behind it, must become more influential over the trade-union movement.

In Sweden the Party has not only to contend with reformism, but also with petty bourgeois tendencies in the Socialist movement.

In Germany the Party is gradually getting control of the trade-union movement. On no account should concessions be made to the partisans of the "Leave the Trade-Unions" movement.

This would play into the hands of the social-patriots. All attempts to expel Communists from the unions must be met by constant and energetic resistance if we are to win over to Communism the majority of the organized workers.

5. Relations of the Communist International to the Red Trade-Union International

These considerations will define the mutual relations to be established between the Communist International on the one hand, and the Red International of Trade Unions, on the other.

The task of the Communist International is not only to direct the political struggle of the proletariat in the narrow sense of the word, but to guide its entire struggle for liberation, whatever form it may acquire. The Communist International must be not only the arithmetical total of the central organizations of the Communist Parties of different countries. The Communist International must stimulate and coordinate the work throughout class struggle of all proletarian organizations, the purely political organizations, trade unions, the Soviet and cultural organizations, etc.

Quite unlike the Yellow International, the Red International of Trade Unions will in no wise adopt the point of view of non-partyism or neutrality. Any organization which would wish to remain neutral with regard to the Second, the "Two and a Half," and the Third International, would unavoidably become a pawn in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The program of action of the International Council of the Red Trade Unions which the Communist International will lay before the First Congress of Red Trade Unions, will be defended in reality by the Communist Parties alone and by the Communist International. On these grounds alone if we are to succeed in carrying out the new revolutionary tasks of the trade unions, the red trade unions will have to work hand in hand and in close contact with the Communist Party, and the Red International of Trade Unions will have to bring each step of its work in agreement with the work of the Communist International.

The prejudices of neutrality, of "independence," of non-party and non-political tactics, with which certain revolutionary syndicalists of France, Spain, Italy and other countries are infected, are objectively nothing more than a tribute paid to bourgeois ideas. The Red Trade Unions cannot conquer the Yellow Amsterdam International and consequently capitalism without repudiating the bourgeois ideas of independence and neutrality once for all. From the point of view of economizing and concentrating blows, the formation of a single united proletarian International would unite in its ranks political parties and all other forms of labor organizations. The future will undoubtedly belong to this type

of organization. However, in the present transitional period, given the actual variety of trade unions in the different countries, it is unavoidably necessary to create an International Association of Red Trade Unions, which will on the whole stand for the platform of the Communist International, but which will admit members much more freely than is done by the Communist International.

The Third Congress of the Communist International promises its support to the Red International of Trade Unions, which is to be organized on these lines. To bring about a closer union between the Communist International and the Red International of Trade Unions, the Third Congress of the Communist International proposes that it should be represented by three members on the Executive of the Red International of Trade Unions and vice versa.

The program of action which in the opinion of the Communist International should be accepted by the Constituent World Congress of Red Trade Unions, runs approximately as follows:

THE PROGRAM OF ACTION

1) The acute economic crisis spreading all over the world, the catastrophical fall of wholesale prices, the overproduction of goods combined with an actual lack of sale, the militant policy of the bourgeoisie towards the working class, the tenacious tendency towards the reduction of wages and the throwing of the workers far backwards; the growing exasperation of the masses on one side and the impotence of the old trade unions and their methods on the other,—impose new problems on the revolutionary class trade unions all over the world. New methods of economic struggle are required. Called forth by the decomposition of capitalism, a new aggressive economic policy of the Trade Unions is necessary in order to parry the attacks of capital, and strengthen the old position—passing over to the offensive.

2) The basis of the tactics of the trade unions is the direct action of revolutionary masses and their organizations against capitalism. The gains of the workers are in proportion to the degree of direct action and revolutionary activity of the masses. Under "direct action" we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the state: boycott, strike, street demonstrations, seizure of the factories, armed uprisings and other revolutionary activity, which tend to unite the working class in the fight for Socialism. The aim of the revolutionary trade unions is, therefore, to turn direct action into a weapon of education and fighting ability of the working masses for the social revolution and institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3) The last year of the struggle has shown with particular vividness the impotence of strictly trade union organizations. The fact of the workers in one concern belonging to several unions produce a weakening effect on the struggle. It is necessary—and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle—to pass from a strictly trade union, to an organization of trade unions on the struggle of production. "One union for one enterprise"—this is the militant motto in the organization structure. The fusion of related unions into one union should be effected in a revolutionary way putting this question directly before the members of the unions in the factories and concerns and further, before district and regional conferences, as well as before the national congresses.

4) Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members of the union and the union itself such as money collectors, representatives, proxies and others should be substituted by the formation of factory committees. The factory committee must be elected by the workers engaged in the given enterprise, independently of the political creed they profess. The problems imposed upon the supporters of the Red International of Trade Unions is to involve all the workers of a given concern into the election of their representative organ. The attempt to elect the factory committee exclusively among adherents of the same party, casting aside the broad non-party rank and file workers, should be severely condemned. This would be only a nucleus and not a factory committee. The revolutionary workers should influence and act upon the general meetings as well as upon committees of action and their rank and file members.

5) The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment, at the expense of the enterprise. It should not be permitted that workers should be thrown out into the streets without the enterprise being in the least concerned with it. The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed and mainly to the workers engaged in the enterprises, explaining

to the latter at the same time that the problem of unemployment is not to be solved within the capitalist regime, and that the only way to abolish it is the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6) The closing down of enterprises and curtailing of the workers' hours are at the present time the most efficient weapon for the cleansing of the industrial establishments of unreliable elements with the help of which the bourgeoisie is compelling the workers to accept the reduction of wages, increasing of the working day and the abolition of collective bargaining. The lock-out is taking more and more definitely a form of direct action on the part of the employers. For this purpose special controlling commissions should be instituted with regard to fulfilling orders controlling raw materials, in order to verify the quantities of available raw material necessary for production, as well as money resources in the banks. Specially elected controlling commissions must investigate in a most careful manner the financial co-relation existing between the given enterprise and other concerns and the practical task of abolishing commercial mastery should be imposed upon the workers for this purpose.

7) One of the ways of struggling against the closing down of concerns for the purpose of reduction of wages and standard of life, should be the taking hold of the workers of the factories and mills and proceed with production by themselves despite the owners.

Owing to the lack of goods it is highly important to continue production, and the workers should therefore oppose the premeditated closing down of factories and mills. In connection with local conditions and the condition of production, the political situation, the tension of the social struggle, the seizure of the enterprises may and should be followed by other means of pressure upon capital. On taking hold of the concern the management of the same should be confined to factories and workshops committees and a representative of the union specially appointed for the purpose.

8) The economic struggle should follow the motto of an increase in wages and of the improvements of the labor conditions to a much higher degree as compared with the pre-war period. The attempts to bring back the workers to the pre-war conditions of labor must meet with the most resolute revolutionary resistance. The exhaustion of the working class as a consequence of the war must be compensated by an increase in wages and the improvement of the labor conditions. The reference of capitalists to foreign competition should by no means be taken into consideration. The revolutionary trade unions are bound to approach the question of wages and labor conditions not from the point of view of the competition between rapacious capitalists of different nations, but solely from that of the preservation and the defense of the living labor force.

9) In the case of such tendencies of reducing wages taken up by capitalists of an economic crisis in the country, the task of the revolutionary trade unions should consist in their endeavors to prevent the reduction in wages by turn in each separate concern, in order not to be defeated in parts. The workers engaged in the enterprises of public welfare such as the mining, railroad, electric, gas concerns and others, should be drawn in at once, in order that the struggle against the onslaughts of capital should touch the very nerve of the economic organism.

All ways of resistance, from the separate intermittent strike up to the general strike embracing all large fundamental industries on a national scale, are, in such a case not only advisable but strictly necessary.

10) The trade unions must consider it their practical task to prepare and organize international action in each separate industry. The interruption in transport or coal mining on an international scale is a mighty weapon in the struggle against the reactionary attempts of the world bourgeoisie.

The trade unions must attentively study the course of events all over the world, choosing the most appropriate moment for their economic action, not forgetting for a single instant that international action is possible only when real revolutionary class conscious trade unions are formed on an international scale, having nothing in common with the Yellow Amsterdam International.

11) The belief in the absolute value of collective agreements propagated by the opportunists of all countries, must be met with a resolute and keen resistance from the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. The collective agreement is nothing more than an armistice. The owner always violates these collective compacts when the smallest opportunity presents itself for doing so. The respectful attitude toward collective agreements testifies only that the bourgeois conceptions are deeply rooted in the minds of the leaders of the working class. The revolutionary trade unions, without rejecting as a rule the

collective agreements, must realize its relative value and clearly define the methods to abolish these agreements when it proves to be profitable to the working class.

12) The struggle of the labor organizations against the individual and collective employer, while adapting itself to national and local conditions, should utilize all the experience acquired during the previous periods of the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Therefore, every large strike should not only be well prepared but simultaneously with the declaration of it, there must be organized special detachments for the struggle against scabbing and for counteracting the provocative movement on the part of all kinds of white guard organizations, encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the government. The Fascisti in Italy, the Technical Aid in Germany, the civil white guard organization consisting of ex-commissioned and non-commissioned officers in France and in England—all these organizations pursue the aim of disorganizing and forestalling all the actions of the workers with the purpose not only to replace the strikers by scabs, but to destroy materially their organizations and kill the leaders of the labor movement. The organization of special strike militia and special self-defense detachments is a question of life and death to the workers under similar conditions.

13) These militant organizations should not only struggle against the attacks of the employers and the strike-breaking organizations, but take the initiative by stopping all freight and products transported to their respective factories and all other enterprises, and the union of the transport workers ought to play a specially prominent part in such cases. The task of stopping the transportation of freight which has fallen on their shoulders can be realized by the unanimous support of all the workers of the given locality.

14) All the economic struggles of the working class should center around the slogan of the Party—"Workers' control over production"—which control ought to be realized as soon as possible without waiting for the ruling classes and the government to prevent the initiation of the same. It is necessary to carry on a merciless struggle against all the attempts of the ruling classes and reformists to establish intermediary labor affiliations and intermediary control committees. Only when control is realized directly by the workers themselves will the results be definitive. The revolutionary trade unions ought to fight resolutely against that perverted socialism and graft with which the leaders of the old trade unions, aided by the ruling classes, are practising. All the talk of these gentlemen about the peaceable socialization of the industry is done with the sole aim to divert the attention of the working class from revolutionary action and the social revolution.

15) In order to divert the workers from their direct problem and instill in them petty bourgeois aspirations, they advance the idea of workers participating in the profits, which means the return to the workers of an insignificant part of the wealth created by them, and which is called surplus value. This slogan, only meant for the demoralization of the workers, should be met by severe and rigorous criticism: "Not participation in profits, but the entire elimination of all capitalist profit," should be the slogan of the revolutionary unions.

16) For the purpose of crippling or breaking the fighting power of the working class, the bourgeois states have resorted under the pretense of protecting vital industries, to temporary militarization of individual industrial enterprises or entire branches of industry. For the ostensible purpose of preventing economic disturbances, they introduced compulsory arbitration and exchange of agreements for the further protection of capitalism. Also in the interests of capitalism, the burden of war expenditures has been placed entirely on the shoulders of workers by the introduction of the direct subtraction of taxes from their wages, which turns the employer into a tax-collector. Against these state measures calculated to serve only the interests of the capitalist class the bitterest fight must be waged by the trade unions.

17) While carrying on the struggle for the improvement of labor conditions, the elevation of the living standard of the masses and the establishment of workers control, it is always necessary to remember that it is impossible to solve all these problems within the limits of the capitalist forms of government. Therefore the revolutionary trade unions wrenching concessions from the ruling classes everywhere, forcing them to legislate socialistic laws, should always clearly explain to the workers that only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can solve that important question. Therefore, every local uprising, every local strike, and every small conflict should be guided by the above mentioned principle.

The revolutionary trade unions ought to make these conflicts general, elevating the consciousness of the workers to the comprehension of the inevitability of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

18) Every economic struggle is also a political, i. e., a general class struggle. No matter how great a working class section a given country may contain, such a struggle can only acquire a real revolutionary character, and result in the greatest benefit to the entire working class, only when the revolutionary trade unions act in perfect unity and maintain the closest co-ordination with the Communist Party of that country. The theory and practice of fostering a split of the workers in the class struggle into two independent parts is extremely detrimental to the present revolutionary period. This struggle requires the greatest concentration of forces, a concentration characterized by the greatest expression of revolutionary energy of the working class, i. e., of all the Communists and revolutionary elements. Dual actions by the Communist Party on the one hand and the red revolutionary trade unions on the other hand are doomed in advance to failure and miscarriage. Unity of action and organic co-ordination of the Communist Party with the trade unions are therefore preliminary conditions to success in the struggle against capitalism.

THESES ON THE WORK OF COMMUNISTS IN THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

(Adopted at the 22nd Session, July 10th, 1921)

1) In the period of a proletarian revolution two problems arise for the proletarian co-operatives—(a) to aid the working masses in the struggles for the conquest of political power, (b) where such power has already been seized, to assist them in the work of socialist reconstruction.

2) The old co-operatives pursued the path of Reformism and avoided the revolutionary struggle.

This consumers' co-operative embodied in itself the idea of a slow growth into "Socialism," without the aid of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It preached the political neutrality of the co-operative, in reality concealing under this watchword the subjection of the co-operatives to the political aims of the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

Its internationalism was limited to words. In reality it transforms the international solidarity of the workers into a collaboration of the working class with the bourgeoisie of its own country.

With such a policy the revolution is not furthered but impeded by the co-operatives. Instead of accelerating, they hinder the revolutionary development.

3) The various forms of co-operatives cannot equally serve the proletarian movement, for the consumers' co-operatives are the most adaptable. But among these there are many co-operatives which consist of bourgeois elements. Such co-operatives will never place themselves on the side of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle. Only the workers' co-operatives in town and country are capable of doing this.

4) The tasks of the Communists in the co-operative movement are as follows:

1) To propagate Communist ideas.

2) To transform the co-operative movement into an instrument of the revolutionary class struggle, without detaching the local societies from the national organization as a whole.

It is the duty of Communists to form groups within the Co-operatives whose aim should be to organize a Central Bureau of the Communist Co-operative in every country.

The groups, as well as the Central Bureau, must remain in constant touch with the Communist Party and with their representatives on the Co-operative Committees. The Central Bureau must work out the tactics for the Communists in the Co-operative Movement, setting forth the best methods to lead and organize the movement.

5) The practical problems which confront the revolutionary co-operatives of the West at any given moment will become clearer in the process of struggle, but even at the present time it is possible to mark out some of them.

a) Agitation and propaganda of the Communist ideas by printed word and by mouth. A struggle for the emancipation of the Co-operatives from the leadership and the influence of the bourgeois compromiser.

b) The alliance of the Co-operatives with the Communist parties and the Red Trade Industrial Unions. The direct and indirect participation of the Co-opera-

tives in the political struggle; in demonstrations and political campaigns of the proletariat.

The rendering of material support to the Communist Party and its press, and similar aid to strikers, locked-out workers, etc.

e) The struggle against the imperialistic policy of the bourgeoisie, and particularly the struggle against the intervention of the Entente in the affairs of Soviet Russia and other Soviet countries.

d) The creation not only of ideal and organizational connections, but also of business connections with workers' co-operatives of different countries.

e) The struggle for the speediest establishment of commercial treaties and commercial relations with Soviet Russia and other Soviet Republics.

f) The most active interchange of commodities with these republics.

g) The use of the natural wealth of the Soviet countries by obtaining concessions for the Co-operatives.

6) The functions of the Co-operatives will only fully develop after the triumph of the proletarian revolution. But the experience of Soviet Russia makes it possible to point out certain characteristic features now.

a) The Consumers' Co-operatives must take hold of all affairs connected with the distribution of food and products according to the plans given by the proletarian Government. This will lead the co-operatives towards an unprecedented expansion.

b) The Co-operative must become an organization which connects the small scattered industry of the peasants and handicraftsmen, with the central economic organs of the Proletarian Government. By means of Co-operatives, the latter will direct the work of the small scattered industries on a general plan. The Consumers' Co-operatives will be the organ which collects foodstuffs and raw materials from the small producers, for their transmission to members of co-operative societies and to the government.

c) In addition to this, industrial Co-operatives can bring the small producers together into Common Workshops, which will allow the application of machine work and scientific and technical processes of labor. This will give small industry a technical basis which will render possible the creation of a socialized industry, making for the destruction of the individualistic psychology of the petty artisan and the development of a collective psychology.

7) Taking into consideration the important parts which the revolutionary co-operatives will play during the epoch of a proletarian revolution, the Third Communist International advises the parties, groups and organizations to carry on energetic propaganda for the idea of Communist Co-operatives and the formation of Communist groups inside the societies, in order to transform the Co-operative movement and bring it into union with the revolutionary trade unions.

The Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International to organize a Co-operative Department whose duty it shall be to promote the tasks here enumerated; this department shall call meetings, conferences and congresses on an international scale for the realization of these Co-operative aims.

* * * * *

A CALL TO NEW WORK AND NEW STRUGGLES ADDRESSED TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Adopted at the Session of the Executive on the 17th of July 1921)

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES

The third Congress of the Communist International is over. The great review of forces of the Communist proletariat of all countries is ended. It has shown that during the past year, in a number of countries in which Communism has just begun to appear it has grown into a great power capable of moving the masses and of threatening capitalism. The Communist International which at its first Constituent Congress represented besides Russia only small groups of comrades, and which at its Second Congress sought for means of creating mass parties, has now at its disposal not only in Russia, but also in Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, France, Norway, Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria, parties around whose banner great masses are rallying. The Third Congress is now addressing a call to the communists of all countries to follow this path further

and to do all they can, in order to unite ever greater millions and millions of workers in the ranks of the Communist International. The power of capitalism can be broken down only when the idea of Communism will be embodied in the tremendous impetus of the greater majority of the proletariat, led by communist mass parties encircling the fighting proletarian class in an iron Solidarity. "To the masses" is the first slogan addressed by the Third International to the communists of all countries.

FORWARD TO NEW GREAT BATTLES

These masses are coming to us, streaming into our parties, because world capitalism is proving ever clearer and ever more palpably that the only way of prolonging its own life is by ruining the whole world and increasing ever more the chaos, poverty and enslavement of the masses. In view of the world economic crises, which are driving millions of workers into the streets, the cry of the social democratic flunkeys of capitalism "produce more!" is now hushed up, as well as the call of the bourgeois class which it used to address to the workers for years and years "work! work!"

The cry for work is becoming the war cry of the working class, and it will be realized only on the ruins of capitalism, when the proletariat will itself be in possession of the means of production which it has created. The capitalist world is on the eve of new wars. The American-Japanese, the English-French, the French-German, the Polish-German complications, the complications in the Near and Far East, are all driving Europe to increase armaments. They are arousing the terrible question: "Must Europe again tread the path of a new world war?" It is not the murder of millions that the capitalists are fearing. Already since the war, they have coolly condemned millions of people to death through starvation by their policies as well as by their blockade of Russia. What they are afraid of is that a new war will finally drive the masses into the army of the world revolution, that it will mean the final uprising of the world proletariat. They are trying therefore as they did before the war to bring about a relaxing of the tension by diplomatic jugglery. But the relaxing of the tension in one place only signifies an increase of the tension in another. The negotiations between England and America on the limitation of naval armaments of both these countries are inevitably creating a battle front against Japan.

The Franco-English rapprochement delivers Germany to France, and Turkey to England. Not peace, but a growing unrest, a growing enslavement of the conquered nations by the capitalism of the victorious countries; this is the result of the endeavors of world capitalism to bring order into the ever-growing world-chaos. The capitalist press is now talking of an era of world prosperity and calm because the German bourgeoisie has submitted to the dictatorship of the Allies, and, in order to save its power, has delivered up the German people to the hyenas of the Paris and London Stock Exchanges. But, at the same time, this same press is full of the development of the economic crisis in Germany, the unheard of taxes which in autumn will pour down like hail upon the masses doomed to unemployment, thus raising the price of every morsel of food, of every scrap of clothing. The Communist International, which is basing its policy on a calm, practical observation of the world situation—for the proletariat can only gain complete victory if it clearly sees and understands the battlefield—says to the proletariat of all countries: Capitalism up to now has proved itself incapable of ensuring to the world the degree of order which existed before the last war. It can only bring a prolongation of our sufferings, a prolongation of its own death process. The world revolution is marching on apace. The foundations of capitalism are shaking everywhere. The second call that the world congress of the Communist International is sending to the proletarians of all countries is:

Forward to meet new great battles! Arm yourselves for new struggles. Straighten out the general battlefront of the proletariat!

The world bourgeoisie is incapable of ensuring work and bread, housing and clothing to the workers; but it is showing its great capacity for organizing the war against the world proletariat. Since the moment of its first great embarrassment and since it has overcome its fear of the workers returning home from the war, since it has managed to drive the workers into the factories again and to overthrow their first attempts at revolt since it has succeeded, in spite of the war, in prolonging the agreement with the Social Democratic and Trade Union betrayers of the proletariat to keep the workers divided, splitting the

latter, it has been directing all its efforts to organizing a white guard against the proletariat and to disarming the workers. The world bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth. It is ready, not only to repulse all uprisings of the proletariat by force of arms, but it knows how to provoke, when necessary, premature uprisings of the proletariat which is only yet preparing for the struggle in order to defeat it before the general unconquerable front will have assembled. The Communist International must set its own strategy against such strategy of the world bourgeoisie. The Communist International has only one infallible weapon against the cash-boxes of world capitalism, which sets armed brigands against the organized proletariat, namely, the proletarian masses, the united compact front of the proletariat.

The cunning and the power of the bourgeoisie must give way before the onrush of the close ranks of the millions of proletarians; then the railroads, which carry the white guards of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat will come to a standstill. There will be panic among some sections of the white guards. The proletariat will seize their arms in order to turn them against other white guard formations. If we succeed in leading the united proletariat into the struggle, capitalism and the world bourgeoisie will be deprived of the most important guarantee for victory, i. e., the faith in victory which has been restored to them only through the treachery of Social Democracy and the splitting up of the working masses. Only by winning the hearts of the majority of the working class can the victory over capitalism be achieved. The Third Congress of the Communist International appeals to the Communist parties of all countries and to the Communists within the trade-unions to use their whole strength and all their efforts in order to free the widest possible masses of workers from the influence of the Social Democratic parties and the treacherous trade-union bureaucracy. This is only possible if the Communists of all countries prove themselves, in these trying times, when every day brings new privations for workers, the champions of the workers in all their every-day needs, by leading them in the struggle for more bread and for the lessening of the burdens which capitalism is imposing on them in ever-increasing measure. It is essential to show the working masses, that it is the Communists alone, who are fighting for the betterment of their conditions, and that the Social Democrats and the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats, rather than fight, would see the proletariat perish before their eyes. We cannot beat the betrayers of the proletariat and the agents of the bourgeoisie by theoretical discussions on democracy and dictatorship, but only by supporting the workers in their struggles for bread, for wages, for houses and all the necessaries of life. The most important battlefield on which we must meet them and conquer them is the field of the Trade-Union movement, the struggle against the Yellow Amsterdam Trade Union International, the struggle for the Red Trade Union International. It is a struggle over the question of capturing the enemy forts within our own camp, and a struggle for the formation of a battle front before which world capitalism must give way.

Steer clear of centrist tendencies and develop the fighting spirit. It is only through the struggle for the ordinary needs and interests of the workers that we can build up a united front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and put an end to the splitting up of the proletariat, which is the basis for the continued existence of the bourgeoisie. But this proletarian front can only grow strong and eager for battle if it is kept together and led by strong and united Communist Parties with an iron discipline. Therefore the Third World Congress of the Communist International joins to its call: "To the masses! Build up a united proletarian front" by the further call to the Communists of all countries: "Keep your ranks clear of elements capable of vitiating the fighting morale and the fighting discipline of the shock troops of the world proletariat—the Communist Parties." The Communist International Congress confirms the expulsion of the Italian Socialist Party until the latter severs all connection with the reformists and expels them from its ranks. By this decision the Congress expresses its belief that the Communist International cannot harbor in its ranks reformists (whose object is not the proletarian revolution, but reconciliation with the bourgeois and the latter's reform), if it is to lead millions of workers into the revolutionary struggle. Armies which tolerate leaders who contemplate reconciliation with the enemy are always sold and betrayed to their enemy by these very leaders.

The Communist International has also recognized the fact that there are still remnants of reformist tendencies in various parties although the latter had

excluded the reformists from their ranks, and that these parties, while not working for the reconciliation with the enemy, are nevertheless not sufficiently energetic in their propaganda against capitalism, and for the revolutionizing of the masses. Parties, which in their daily work fail to become the inspiration of the masses, which are not capable of continuously increasing and strengthening the will to fight of the proletariat, by their own energy and impetuosity, such parties are bound to miss good opportunities for struggle, and to allow spontaneous outbursts of the proletariat to remain without results, as was the case in the occupation of the factories by the Italian workers, and during the December strike in Czecho-Slovakia. The Communist Parties must develop the fighting spirit within their ranks. They must get ready to become the General Staff of the revolutionary movement, which will be able to make the best use of our forces. The Third International says to you: "Be the vanguard of the working masses when they begin to march forward; be their heart and their brain. And to be the vanguard means—to march at the head of the masses as their bravest, most conscious and most circumspect section. It is only by forming such a vanguard, that the Communist Parties will be able, not only to build up a united proletarian front, but also to lead the proletariat to final victory.

Pit the strategy of the proletariat against the strategy of capitalism. Prepare your battles.

The enemy is strong because for centuries he has had the power in his hands; this has fostered in him the consciousness of power and the desire to keep it. The enemy is strong because he has been learning for centuries how to split, subdue and keep down the proletarian masses. The enemy is experienced in the conduct of civil war, and therefore the Third Congress of the Communist International calls upon the Communist Parties of all countries not to leave out of consideration the danger arising from the perfect strategy of the ruling and possessing class, as against the faulty, newly developing strategy of the proletariat, which is struggling for power. The March events in Germany have shown the great danger, that the front ranks of the working class, the Communist vanguard of the proletariat, may be forced by the enemy into the fight, before the gathering of the great masses of the proletarians has taken place. The Communist International has welcomed the ready assistance given by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout Germany to the menaced workers of Middle Germany. In this spirit of solidarity, in the rising of the proletarians of the entire country, and even of the entire world to defend a menaced portion of the proletariat, the Communist International sees the road to victory. It has welcomed the fact that the United Communist Party of Germany placed itself at the head of the working masses that hastened to the defence of their menaced brothers. But at the same time, the Communist International deems it its duty to declare frankly and distinctly to the workers of all countries: When the vanguard is unable to evade the open fight, when such fights cannot force the mobilization of the entire working class, the vanguard must not let itself be drawn into decisive fights alone and isolated, that when forced into isolated fight, the vanguard of the proletarian army must evade the armed clash with the enemy, because the source of the victory of the proletariat over the armed white-guards consists in its reliance upon the masses.

If it does not march as an overwhelming mass, the vanguard must not expose itself to the armed enemy as an unarmed minority. And the March events have taught yet another lesson, to which the Communist International draws the attention of the workers of all countries. The broad masses of the workers must be prepared by constant, daily, ever-increasing and extending revolutionary agitation for the coming struggle which shall be entered upon, under the watchwords that have become familiar and understandable to the widest proletarian masses. The strategy of the enemy must be met by wise and deliberate strategy on the part of the proletariat. The militant will of the front ranks does not suffice, nor do their valor and determination. The fight must be so prepared, so organized, that it shall bring along the widest masses into the struggle, which should recognize it as the fight for their vital interests. The struggle must mobilize the masses. The more advanced the position of world-capitalism will be, the more it will attempt to prevent the future victory of the Communist International by destroying its front ranks isolated from the great mass. This plan, this danger, must be met by an all-pervading, all-arousing mass agitation of the Communist Parties, by vigorous organizational activity which assures its influence upon the wide masses, and enables cool judgment of the battle situations, by deliberate tactics of evading the

fight against superior forces of the enemy and by taking the offensive in a situation where the enemy is divided and the masses united.

The Third World Congress of the Communist International recognizes that only through experience in fighting will the working class form Communist Parties that will be able to attack the enemy with lightning rapidity wherever he can be trapped in a tight corner, and to evade him where he has the upper hand. It is therefore the duty of the proletarians of all countries to appreciate and make use internationally of any lessons that the working class in any given country may have gathered through great sacrifices.

Take care of militant discipline!

The working class and the Communist Parties of all countries prepare themselves not for a period of quiet agitation and organization, but for prolonged struggle which capital will now force upon the proletariat, in order to beat it into submitting to all the burdens of capitalist policy. In this fight the Communist Parties must develop the highest militant discipline. Its Party leaders must coolly and deliberately consider all the lessons of the fight, they must prudently review the battlefield, uniting enthusiasm with the greatest deliberation. They must forge their militant plans and their tactical course in the spirit of collective thinking of the entire Party, giving due consideration to all criticism by comrades of the Party. But all the Party organizations must unhesitatingly carry out the course adopted by the Party. Every word and every step of every Party organization must be subordinate to this purpose. The Parliamentary factions, the press of the Party, the Party organizations must unwaveringly obey the order given by the Party leadership.

The world review of the Communist front ranks has ended. It has shown Communism to have become a world power. It has shown that the Communist International has to create and to form ever greater armies of the proletariat. It has announced our determination to carry these fights to victory. It has shown to the world's proletariat how to prepare and how to achieve this victory. It is now for the Communist Parties of all countries to make the decisions of the Congress, derived from the experiences of the world's proletariat, the common knowledge of the Communists of all countries, in order that every Communist working man and woman may become the leader of hundreds of non-Communist proletarians in the struggles that are to come.

Long live the Communist International!

Long Live the World Revolution!

Get to work for the preparation and organization of our victory!

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Germany: Heckert, Froehlich.

France: Souvarine.

Czecho-Slovakia: Burian, Kreibich.

Italy: Terracini, Gennari.

Russia: Zinoviev, Bucharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky.

Ukraine: Shumsky.

Poland: Warski.

Bulgaria: Popoff.

Jugo-Slavia: Marcovicz.

Norway: Scheffle.

England: Bell.

America: Baldwin.

Spain: Merino, Gracia.

Finland: Sirola.

Holland: Janson.

Belgium: Van Overstraaten.

Sweden: Tschilbum.

Latvia: Stutschka.

Switzerland: Arnhold.

Austria: Koritschoner.

Hungary: Bela Kun.

Executive of the Young Communist International:

Munzenberg, Lekai.

Moscow, July 17, 1921.

EXHIBIT No. 19

{Source: Excerpts from the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, published for the Communist International by the Communist Party of Great Britain. Meetings of the Fourth Congress were held in Petrograd and Moscow, November 7-December 3, 1922}

* * * * *

Zinoviev then read the following telegram from Comrade Lenin:—

"I deeply regret that I cannot be present at the first session of the Congress, and can only send you a written greeting * * *

"It is Soviet Russia's greatest pride to be able to help the world proletariat in the difficult task of overthrowing capitalism. The victory will be ours.

"Long live the Communist International."

V. ULIANOV-LENIN [page 6]

* * * * *

The Comintern does not regard its Executive Committee as a conciliation committee but as a leading organ. It is only natural that the Executive Committee had to "intervene" in the affairs of nearly everyone of the parties adhering to the International Federation. [page 12]

* * * * *

The Executive Committee of the Comintern took an active part in the preparation of every congress and of every conference of the most important of its parties. The Theses and resolutions which were to be put before the Congresses of the various parties were (according to regulation) previously discussed at the E. C. C. I. or in its Presidium. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. attended nearly all the most important congresses of the sections of the Comintern, giving these congresses the benefit of their advice and guidance. During this period the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. was enabled to get thoroughly acquainted with the personnel of the leading organs of our most important parties. [page 12]

* * * * *

The International Communist Movement stands in need of a firm General Staff, of a strong and authoritative International Central Committee. [page 13]

* * * * *

From our communist viewpoint it is perfectly clear that the Communist International is of the greatest importance for Soviet Russia, and vice versa. It is utterly ridiculous to ask who is the exploited, who the subject and who the object. The Republic and the International are as foundation and the roof of a building, they belong to each other. [page 14]

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We were able to send a delegate to America who remained there for some time. [page 25]

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There is still another point. The Executive has resolved that the National Congresses of the Communist Parties should as a rule be held after the World Congress * * * But what, indeed, was the meaning of this decision? It means that we were determined to be a centralized world party, a party directed from one centre. [page 28]

Election of Executive Committee of the Communist International

The list prepared by the Small Commission has been confirmed by the Presidium with certain modifications, and I am instructed to present it to you. It is as follows:—

Chairman—Zinoviev.

France—Two delegates, Frossard, Souvarine; one substitute, Duret * * *
 Russia—Two delegates, Bukharin, Radek; two substitutes, Lenin, Trotsky * * *

America—One delegate, Carr; one substitute, Damon. [page 295]

fight against superior forces of the enemy and by taking the offensive in a situation where the enemy is divided and the masses united.

The Third World Congress of the Communist International recognizes that only through experience in fighting will the working class form Communist Parties that will be able to attack the enemy with lightning rapidity wherever he can be trapped in a tight corner, and to evade him where he has the upper hand. It is therefore the duty of the proletarians of all countries to appreciate and make use internationally of any lessons that the working class in any given country may have gathered through great sacrifices.

Take care of militant discipline!

The working class and the Communist Parties of all countries prepare themselves not for a period of quiet agitation and organization, but for prolonged struggle which capital will now force upon the proletariat, in order to beat it into submitting to all the burdens of capitalist policy. In this fight the Communist Parties must develop the highest militant discipline. Its Party leaders must coolly and deliberately consider all the lessons of the fight, they must prudently review the battlefield, uniting enthusiasm with the greatest deliberation. They must forge their militant plans and their tactical course in the spirit of collective thinking of the entire Party, giving due consideration to all criticism by comrades of the Party. But all the Party organizations must unhesitatingly carry out the course adopted by the Party. Every word and every step of every Party organization must be subordinate to this purpose. The Parliamentary factions, the press of the Party, the Party organizations must unwaveringly obey the order given by the Party leadership.

The world review of the Communist front ranks has ended. It has shown Communism to have become a world power. It has shown that the Communist International has to create and to form ever greater armies of the proletariat. It has announced our determination to carry these fights to victory. It has shown to the world's proletariat how to prepare and how to achieve this victory. It is now for the Communist Parties of all countries to make the decisions of the Congress, derived from the experiences of the world's proletariat, the common knowledge of the Communists of all countries, in order that every Communist working man and woman may become the leader of hundreds of non-Communist proletarians in the struggles that are to come.

Long live the Communist International!

Long Live the World Revolution!

Get to work for the preparation and organization of our victory!

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Germany: Heckert, Froehlich.

France: Souvarine.

Czecho-Slovakia: Burian, Kreibich.

Italy: Terracini, Gennari.

Russia: Zinoviev, Bucharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky.

Ukraine: Shumsky.

Poland: Warski.

Bulgaria: Popoff.

Jugo-Slavia: Marcovicz.

Norway: Scheffle.

England: Bell.

America: Baldwin.

Spain: Merino, Gracia.

Finland: Sirola.

Holland: Janson.

Belgium: Van Overstraaten.

Sweden: Tschilbum.

Latvia: Stutschka.

Switzerland: Arnhold.

Austria: Koritschoner.

Hungary: Bela Kun.

Executive of the Young Communist International:

Munzenberg, Lekai.

Moscow, July 17, 1921.

EXHIBIT No. 19

[Source: Excerpts from the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, published for the Communist International by the Communist Party of Great Britain. Meetings of the Fourth Congress were held in Petrograd and Moscow, November 7-December 3, 1922]

* * * * *

Zinoviev then read the following telegram from Comrade Lenin:—

"I deeply regret that I cannot be present at the first session of the Congress, and can only send you a written greeting * * *

"It is Soviet Russia's greatest pride to be able to help the world proletariat in the difficult task of overthrowing capitalism. The victory will be ours.

"Long live the Communist International."

V. ULIANOV-LENIN [page 6]

* * * * *

The Comintern does not regard its Executive Committee as a conciliation committee but as a leading organ. It is only natural that the Executive Committee had to "intervene" in the affairs of nearly everyone of the parties adhering to the International Federation. [page 12]

* * * * *

The Executive Committee of the Comintern took an active part in the preparation of every congress and of every conference of the most important of its parties. The Theses and resolutions which were to be put before the Congresses of the various parties were (according to regulation) previously discussed at the E. C. C. I. or in its Presidium. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. attended nearly all the most important congresses of the sections of the Comintern, giving these congresses the benefit of their advice and guidance. During this period the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. was enabled to get thoroughly acquainted with the personnel of the leading organs of our most important parties. [page 12]

* * * * *

The International Communist Movement stands in need of a firm General Staff, of a strong and authoritative International Central Committee. [page 13]

* * * * *

From our communist viewpoint it is perfectly clear that the Communist International is of the greatest importance for Soviet Russia, and vice versa. It is utterly ridiculous to ask who is the exploited, who the subject and who the object. The Republic and the International are as foundation and the roof of a building, they belong to each other. [page 14]

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We were able to send a delegate to America who remained there for some time. [page 25]

* * * * *

There is still another point. The Executive has resolved that the National Congresses of the Communist Parties should as a rule be held after the World Congress * * * But what, indeed, was the meaning of this decision? It means that we were determined to be a centralized world party, a party directed from one centre. [page 28]

* * * * *

Election of Executive Committee of the Communist International

The list prepared by the Small Commission has been confirmed by the Presidium with certain modifications, and I am instructed to present it to you. It is as follows:—

Chairman—Zinoviev.

France—Two delegates, Frossard, Souvarine; one substitute, Duret * * *

Russia—Two delegates, Bukharin, Radek; two substitutes, Lenin, Trotsky * * *

America—One delegate, Carr; one substitute, Damon. [page 295]

EXHIBIT No. 20

[Source: Excerpts from "Resolutions and Theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Held in Moscow Nov. 7 to Dec. 3, 1922." Published for the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2]

* * * * *

XIV. The Comintern as a World Party.

The Communist International must, to an increasing degree, and simultaneously with its establishment as an international party from the point of view of organisation, also act as an international party politically. It must control the political actions in whole groups of countries.

XV. International Discipline.

In order to carry out the United Front tactics internationally and in every individual country, the Comintern must insist more than ever on strict discipline within the sections, as well as on an international scale.

The Fourth Congress categorically demands of all its sections and members to observe strict discipline in carrying out the adopted tactics, which can be successful only if they are systematically applied in all the countries, not only in words, but in deeds.

The acceptance of the 21 conditions implies the carrying out of all the tactical decisions of the world congresses and of the Executive, as the organ of the Comintern, in the period intervening between the world congress. The Congress instructs the Executive to demand and watch over the fulfillment of the tactical decisions by all the parties.

Only the well-defined revolutionary tactics of the Comintern can guarantee a speedy victory of the international proletarian revolution. [pages 34, 35]

* * * * *

REPORTS TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

25. The Executive of the Communist International will diligently follow each practical step taken in the indicated sphere of action, and it asks all parties to communicate to it all details of attempts and achievements on the lines of this policy. [page 45]

* * * * *

KNOWLEDGE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE PARTY AND THE COMINTERN.

1. Every member of the Communist International must be acquainted not only with the most important decisions of his own Party, but also with the most important decisions of the Communist International.

2. All organisations of the affiliated sections must see to it that every member of the Party knows at least the programme of its own Party and the 21 conditions of the International, as well as the decisions of the Comintern regarding his own Party. The members should be tested as to their knowledge.

3. Every responsible member shall be acquainted with every important tactical and organisational resolution of the World Congress, and shall be submitted to a test on these topics. This is also desirable for the other members of the Party, but not obligatory.

4. The Party Central Executive in every section must issue the proper instructions to its organisations to carry out this decision, and report to the E. C. C. I. on the results during the coming spring. [page 89]

* * * * *

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International therefore, regards it as the duty of every workers' party and organisation, and especially of the Communist Parties, to render practical support to Soviet Russia through economic relief action for the reconstruction of her industry in addition to the political revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. [pages 90, 91]

* * * * *

MINUTES OF NATIONAL PARTIES.

It is the duty of the central committees of all sections to furnish regularly to the Executive the minutes of all their meetings.

EXCHANGE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

It is desirable, for the purpose of mutual information and for the co-ordinated work, that the more important sections of neighboring countries shall mutually exchange representatives. The reports of these representatives shall be simultaneously furnished to the Executive.

It is further desirable that the appointment of such representatives should take place with the consent of the Executive. [page 95]

* * * * *

RESIGNATIONS

The Congress in the most decisive manner condemns all cases of resignations tendered by individual comrades of the various central committees and by entire groups of such members. The Congress considers such resignations as the greatest disorganization of the Communist movement. Every leading post in a Communist party belongs not to the bearer of the mandate, but to the Communist International as a whole.

The Congress resolves: Elected members of central bodies of a section can resign their mandate only with the consent of the Executive. Resignations accepted by a Party Central Committee without the consent of the Executive Committee are invalid. [page 95]

* * * * *

REPRESENTATION IN THE PROFINTERN

The Congress instructs the Executive, in conjunction with the Executive of the Profintern, to work out the form of mutual relations of the Comintern and Profintern. The Congress further points out that now more than ever is the economic struggle closely bound up with the political campaign, and consequently a special internal co-ordination of forces of all the revolutionary organizations of the working class must be effected. [page 96]

EXHIBIT No. 21

[Source: The Party Organization, with an Introduction by Jay Lovestone, published by the Workers (Communist) Party of America, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois: undated, but approximately 1925. Pages 3-40]

THE PARTY ORGANIZATION WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY JAY LOVESTONE

Workers (Communist) Party of America, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA

"More Communist Strongholds," Introduction by Jay Lovestone. Letter from the Communist International to the Central Executive Committee. Constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, with introduction by C. E. Ruthenberg. Organizational Charts. Index. Price 15c. Published by The Workers (Communist) Party of America, By the Daily Worker Publishing Co., 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Chapter I.

MORE COMMUNIST STRONGHOLDS

(By Jay Lovestone)

There is no more urgent problem before the Workers (Communist) Party today than the re-organization of its Party apparatus on the basis of shop nuclei and the development of these nuclei into politically vigorous units of the Party.

This is not a question involving merely a basic readjustment of our Party's structure, important as this phase of our task may be. It is a question of outstanding political significance and of a most pressing nature for us, since it vitally involves the very development of our Party, the success of every one of our campaigns.

Our Present Organizational Structure

Our present organizational structure, based primarily on arbitrary territorial divisions, is a heritage from the Socialist party. The Socialist party was and still is first and foremost an election apparatus. Consequently, it was based simply on the territorial divisions most convenient for the bourgeoisie in their organization of election campaigns. In short, the territorial basis and the decentralized, the federalist character of the Socialist party cannot be separated from its all-important tasks of participating in the parliamentary campaigns and striving to reform the capitalist order.

Our Party is suffering too much from this heritage. The time is at hand to cast overboard whatever structural forms we have inherited from the old Socialist party. The time is at hand to remove completely the vestiges of social-democratic organization noticeable in our Party. The time is at hand to eradicate these serious obstacles to developing our Party into a genuine Bolshevik organization.

Our Party Today

Comrade Zinoviev declared before the sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International held last April, that the American Party must recognize that it is "necessary to fuse the national sections of the Party into a real united Party." In the opinion of the Comintern there are few of its sections which have more organizational defects than the Workers (Communist) Party. The seriousness of this criticism becomes obvious when one considers that an effective organizational structure is an absolute prerequisite for the success of a working-class party in executing its decisions, in mobilizing the proletariat for action.

All we have to do is to look at our eighteen language sections. These separate language federations form, in effect, eighteen parties within one party. The existence of these language federations tends to isolate the Party center from the membership and the Party itself from the working masses in general. It must be remembered that mere orders from a central executive committee do not serve as the electric power cables for stirring up a Communist Party to action. What we need is such an inter-relationship between the Party center and the general membership as will promote the most direct contact between the two and which will thus serve to lend life to every Party decision and facilitate its execution.

And when we consider our present branch system we find how sick the Party is organizationally. The comrades gathered in the branches spend very little of their time at branch meetings for political purposes. The very basis of the branch organization, insofar as the execution of Party plans is concerned, is accidental. This basis has not been chosen by us because of its having been found helpful to our Party.

Let us look at the order of business of a usual branch meeting in our Party. The meetings are usually paralyzed by the palsied hands of Roberts' Rules of Order. Every regular meeting opens with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. Then communications are read. It will not be out of place to confess at this time that most of these communications are uninteresting and altogether too long. Very seldom do these communications have a political character. Seldom, if ever, do these communications deal with the political problems of the American working class. These branch communications rarely serve to stimulate the political development of our membership, their effectiveness as Communist workers in the ranks of the proletariat. If the road to the revolution were to be paved with these communications as cobblestones, we would have to picnic and dance our way to the proletarian dictatorship.

What is a Communist Party?

A Communist Party aims to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, strives for the winning of complete political power by the working class and works unceasingly for the realization of Communism. Thus a Communist Party has, for its paramount task, the winning of the majority of the working class through its vigorous participation in the everyday struggles of the working masses and through its consequent leadership of these masses. It is clear, even to the most politically purblind, that only through the closest contact with the masses in the centers where they are found, can a proletarian party hope to achieve this program, this Communist objective.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International declared categorically that "No Communist Party can be seriously considered as a solid, organized, mass Party unless it has strong Communist nuclei in the shops, factories, mines, on the railways, etc." Our present pure and simple territorial structure is therefore in more ways than one a millstone around our Communist neck. First of all, our present territorial structure is in conflict with the final aim of Communism. Second, the present system of our Party organization is replete with serious obstacles to our immediate tasks, to the success of all the campaigns through which the Party can be developed into a mass Communist Party.

Plainly speaking, what our Party needs is much more than a mere surface reorganization. What our Party needs is a fundamental, a deep-going change in its structure, in its organization anatomy. Only such a re-organization can lay the necessary sound foundation for the political development, for the Bolshevization of our Party.

Reconstructing our Party

Our entire Communist press is now printing articles aiming to enlighten our membership about the character of our re-organization program and to convince the Party of the necessity of rebuilding the Workers (Communist) Party on the basis of shop nuclei. General membership meetings in the various Party centers, meetings of branch functionaries, branch meetings and section conferences, devoted mainly to a consideration of Party reconstruction, are additional features of the intense ideological campaign organized to insure the success of giving a Communist basis to our Party.

Already a majority of our Party is for the reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei. The primary purpose of this ideological campaign is to promote a more conscious acceptance, a real understanding of the political significance of the organization of our Party on the new basis.

After the Party has completed its preliminary ideological and organizational campaign we will proceed with the organization of shop nuclei on a wide scale. Wherever three or more of our Party members work in a mill, mine, factory, shop, etc., they will be organized into a shop nucleus. Immediately upon organization, this shop nucleus is a basic unit of our Party. In cases where less than three Party members work in a shop or factory they will, in many instances, be temporarily attached to another shop nucleus in the same industrial section. In some cases we will form shop nuclei consisting of a number of individual comrades working in separate plants in a specific industrial area. Of course we will bend all of our efforts to form big, powerful shop nuclei in as many factories as possible.

Those Party members who are not employed in shops, mills, mines, etc., will, as a rule, be organized into street nuclei. These street nuclei may also be called international branches—particularly by our Party with its minimum of eighteen national language sections. Such international branches or street nuclei will not be based on the present lines of language spoken by a particular national group. Often, when an individual comrade works in a plant and when there is no shop nucleus in the neighborhood to which he or she may be attached, the comrade in question will be permitted to be a member of a street nucleus.

It must be remembered that the more completely the Party is organized on the basis of shop nuclei, the stronger will it be. In the early stages of our organization many street nuclei may be set up. With the development of the Party as a mass Party, with the increase of our Party's influence over the working masses found in the big basic industries, over the industrial proletariat massed in the giant factories, the number and importance of our street nuclei as units of the Party will decrease and the number and strength of the shop nuclei will increase.

The shop and street nuclei are to be co-ordinated into sub-sections, where conditions require them, and into sections, sub-districts and districts, through executive committees. The guiding center of the Party, the Central Executive Committee, will be in a position to transmit its policies and instructions directly to the comrades at the head of the various Party centers, shop nuclei, in the factories, in the mines and on the railways, etc., where the great industrial proletarian masses are found. The gap between the Party directing center and the Party masses and the chasm between the Communists and the army of workers congregated in the giant capitalist establishments, will thus be reduced to a minimum.

The Shop Nuclei at Work

The center of gravity of the political and the other numerous activities of our Party will swing towards the shop nuclei.

Our shop nuclei units will participate actively in the election campaigns of the Party, for it is in the factories that the greatest number of workers are found who are responsive to the Communist program. It is in the shop that the Communist has the opportunity to make the most effective individual appeal to the non-Communist worker.

In plants where a Party nucleus has sufficient strength it will publish a factory newspaper dealing with the immediate, tangible, and pressing questions of the workers. But these shop nuclei papers will not limit themselves to the immediate factory problems only. The papers of, by, and for the workers will strive to broaden the point of view of the non-Communist workingmen, will, on the very basis of these immediate issues, educate and inspire these workers to class action, to political action.

These shop nuclei will become the veritable steel rods of the organized workers, of the existing trade unions. In cases where the workers have not yet been organized into trade unions, our shop nuclei will serve as powerful agencies for the unionization of the unorganized workers.

And particularly because the shop nuclei will be centers for developing militancy among the great non-Party masses in their struggles for their immediate every-day demands, will these shop nuclei provide the most organically suitable basis for politicalizing our own Party and for developing the political, the class consciousness of the American proletariat.

In the shop nuclei our Party members will also have the best opportunity to show that the Communists are the most loyal champions of the interests of the working class and that the reactionary bureaucrats and the social-democrats are the enemies of the working masses.

More than that, the shop nuclei, forming as they do veritable Communist phalanxes in the ranks of the employed masses, will be in a strategic position to prevent misunderstandings between the employed and the jobless workers and to unite both against the capitalists and their government.

In the shop nuclei our members will have a genuine opportunity to lend blood and life to the idea of workers' control of production and to win over the non-Communist proletariat, working side by side with them, to the idea of working-class ownership of the machinery of production and exchange, to the idea of the socialization of industry.

And when the workers of one industry, or of one plant, are attacked by the municipal, state, or federal strikebreaking agencies of the capitalists, the various government bodies, the shop nucleus system of Party organizations will enable the Communists to rouse the workers in the other industries, in the other factories, to rally to the defense of their attacked brothers. With Communists embedded deep in the ranks of the industrial proletariat, defense of the Communists by the proletarian masses will be much facilitated.

These are only a few of the countless ways in which the shop nucleus units of our Party will afford a far better basis for building our Party.

The Why and Wherefore of Shop Nuclei

Lenin has said that "Every factory is our stronghold." The reorganization of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei, on the basis of organized Communist groups in the factories, is an absolute necessity for our Party's realizing this great truth spoken by Lenin.

To enumerate briefly, we may say that the following are the outstanding advantages of the shop nucleus system of organization:

1. The shop nucleus affords our Party the best opportunity of establishing continuous and close contact with the proletarian masses.

2. The shop nucleus lays the most suitable basis for our Party's realizing the needs and gauging the reactions and sentiments of the masses. A full understanding of the moods and demands of the masses is an absolute prerequisite to the Party's achieving success in its campaigns against the exploiters and their government.

3. The Party's being organized on the basis of shop nuclei gives added life to all our campaigns, for we are thus enabled to appeal most directly to the broadest masses whom we must reach in order to take our campaigns out of the columns of the newspapers and into the avenues of reality.

4. The organization of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei will proletarianize our Party. It will put us eye to eye with the actual class conflicts of the American workers. The factory becomes at once the battle ground for our forces and the reservoir for our new adherents. Being based on the units, on groups of Communists found in the shops and mills, our Party will have the opportunity to be a proletarian Party in the truest sense of the word and spirit.

5. The shop nucleus brings our Party into vital touch with the everyday demands of the workers and thus gives an immediate concrete basis to the plan of the Communists, and to the struggle of the workers who are not yet in our Party, for proletarian control of production. This problem of working-class control of production must not, and cannot, be relegated to the realm of the actual moment of the revolution. Workers' control of production assumes increasing importance with the intensification of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to promote their fraudulent schemes of class collaboration.

6. Last, but not least, the organization of our membership into shop nuclei will tend to increase the initiative of our individual members. Increasing sections of our members will be placed in positions where they will have to assume responsibilities and take the leadership in the struggles of the workers employed in the same mines or factories with them. There can be no better guarantee for the development of our Party into the real advance guard, into the undisputed leadership of the American proletariat, than the enhancement of Communist initiative in our rank and file membership.

Experiences with Shop Nuclei

Many of our European brother parties have already made considerable headway in reorganizing themselves on this basis of the shop nucleus plan. The mightiest political party in the world, the Russian Communist Party, is organized on the basis of shop nuclei. It is precisely because of this that it has such a sound organizational foundation for achieving its splendid political victories.

The French Communist Party has in recent months shown marked improvement. It will be no exaggeration to state that the success of the French Communist Party in its campaign to reorganize itself on the basis of shop nuclei has played a very important and decisive part in its latest successful political campaigns. The shop nuclei of the French Communist Party have facilitated tremendously the Party's mobilization of the masses against the imperialist war in Morocco, for trade union unity and against political reaction.

In our own Workers (Communist) Party we have not had such big scale experience with shop nuclei. The number of shop nuclei organized today does not exceed sixty. Not all of these are functioning well. Hitherto the Party's campaign for reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei has not been co-ordinated and has lacked energy and planfulness. Yet meager as our experience with shop nuclei has been to date it is already clear that the road to the saving of our Party, the road to laying a proper organizational foundation for the Bolshevization of our Party, lies in such a complete and fundamental reorganization.

One of our comrades who is a member of a shop nucleus organized in a big automobile factory has thus summed up his experiences to me: "In all of my fifteen years of labor movement activity, I never saw the comrades take so much interest in having the papers (the Daily Worker) distributed at their respective plants as on this May Day. In the past comrades went from house to house where they were unmolested in their work, but this year, especially at the Ford shops, with all the police interference, the comrades went at it in a revolutionary spirit. . . . They were going to have their shopmates read their paper and they were interested in having their shop organized."

Such spirit and determination as were shown by these comrades characterizes the activities of our comrades in the shop nuclei in the other Party campaigns.

Towards Bolshevization

The first step towards the Bolshevization of our Party is the Party reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei. With the reorganization on this basis, our Party will rid itself of its social-democratic elements. Regardless of the theoretical correctness of our program, regardless of the true Communist character of our campaigns and slogans, our Party cannot be a Bolshevik party unless it has a Bolshevik basis of organization.

Bolshevization of the Workers (Communist) Party means the application of the lessons of the proletarian revolution in Russia and the lessons of the experiences

of the Russian Communist Party to the specific conditions before our Party. The experiences of the proletarian Russian revolution and of the Russian Communist Party indicate that a Communist Party can achieve success in its struggle for the destruction of bourgeois rule and the establishment of the Soviet power only to the extent that the Party organization is based on the proletarian masses. A Communist Party cannot lead the working masses unless it is in constant contact with them and their needs.

The reorganization of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei is the building of new, impregnable Communist strongholds. The building of our Party on the basis of shop nuclei is the setting up of Communist fortresses in every factory.

Chapter II

LETTER FROM COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

TO THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA

DEAR COMRADES: During the visit of the representatives of your Party to Moscow we held with them a consultation on the immediate tasks of the Workers Party in the sphere of organization and the methods of carrying out the decision of the Plenum as expressed in the Theses of Comrade Zinoviev on Bolshevization in the Section dealing with the duties of the Workers Party, the second point of which (the decision) states that it is necessary "to fuse the national sections of the party into a real united party." The conclusion arrived at in our consultations on this question was unanimously agreed to by all present.

We observe with great satisfaction that the Workers Party has recently been achieving undoubted successes in its political activities. Nevertheless, it may be safely said that these successes would have been greater if the Workers Party possessed a proper organizational structure. Every member of the Workers Party is aware that there is no party or political organization in the United States, apart from the Workers Party, which really stands for, and endeavors to defend the interests of all toilers. Nevertheless, every member of the Workers Party will admit that this party—the only party of the workers and farmers—is still far from having received from the majority of the workers, the interests of whom it is out to defend, that recognition which the party should and can win. It is obvious to every comrade how much stronger would be the position of the American workers and farmers if they followed the Workers Party and if the influence of the latter were the dominating factor in the movement of the masses. Therefore, every member of the Workers Party should ask himself the question, what in reality is preventing his party from gaining that influence?

Provided the policy of the party is a correct one it may be safely said that one of the chief reasons for such a state of affairs lies in the defects of the organizational structure of the Workers Party, which are greater than in any other party and therefore affect it to a greater extent than other parties. It cannot be denied that it will be extremely difficult for the party to consolidate its successes, and that the extension and interpretation of its political influence will be hampered very considerably both in respect of embracing by our agitation the wide sections of the workers and farmers who are still outside our influence and by winning over those workers from other mass organizations which our enemies still hold firmly in their grasp, as well as in the protection of our movement from possible destruction by the bourgeoisie, if our party does not possess a well-constructed organization. This consideration, in our opinion places before the Workers Party, with greater insistence than ever before the question of a correct organizational structure.

For a party of the working class a proper structure is, first and foremost, a guarantee that its decision will be carried into effect by all its organs and members.

What importance can a party have, what part can it play in the political life of the country, if its decisions remain only on paper, are not carried into effect, and assert no influence on real affairs? The party must know how to act, counting upon the whole of its membership and the help of its organs. For that purpose its organization must be a united and centralized one. If its organs and members act in an isolated way, each after its own fashion, it is hopeless to expect useful and desirable results. Moreover, the party must be able to bring the masses into the movement, which demands that its structure should be such that its organs can penetrate deeply into the nonparty mass of the workers, exert

influence over them, organize them for the struggle, guide their organizations and also introduce the decisions and slogans of the party into those organizations.

The present organizational structure of the Workers Party is not adapted to these requirements. Those advantages which centralized activity bring a working class party are absent in the Workers Party. It does not even possess a real single guiding party center capable of directing the activities of the party as a whole, nor does unity prevail in its ranks. A party of the working class can, if it has a centralized party organization, simultaneously lay duties upon the whole party and direct the whole of its forces towards putting them into effect. The result is a situation in which the party is able to carry out its policy firmly, uniformly, and without distortion, in all parts of the country and in all organizations in which the party has its members, and, in fact, everywhere where the members of the party come into contact with the non-party workers and peasants. The federal structure of the Workers Party stands in the way of such a successful conduct of its work. Each of its 17 national sections represents almost a separate and independent party within the Workers Party, enjoying a large portion of independence in relation to the leading organ, the Central Committee. The National Sections have their own district, town, and national bureaus; they summon their own conferences and collect their own membership contributions. The fundamental organizational requirement of a party defending the interests of the whole working class, namely, that the decisions of the leading party organs should be carried out by all the party organizations, is to a large extent dependent in the Workers' Party on whether the national organizations are willing or not, to carry out the corresponding decisions of the superior party bodies. Therefore, unlike a centralized party, the Workers Party as it is at present constituted, is not a party of united action. The party members of the various national sections are not fused together into one whole, but divided among themselves. They do not discuss questions interesting all the workers and the whole party. They live the exclusive life of their own national minority, or of its working class section, so isolated from the American workers that they even do not sufficiently know the direct interests of the whole working class of the United States. As a result, instead of unity of action, instead of general decisions which would unite and consolidate the party, disorganization and differences inevitably arise in the course of its work.

Of course, we do not for a moment believe that this state of affairs exists because the various national sections desire it, or that it is not in any way due to objective causes and the past development of the party. It is also clear that the absolutely essential reorganization of the Workers Party, with a view to centralization, cannot be at once accomplished upon the mere orders of the Central Committee. It is quite natural that in so nationally diversified a party as the American party centralization cannot be as easily achieved as in some other working class parties. But the abnormality of the present situation must be made clear to every member of the Workers Party whatever national section he belongs to. It is necessary that every member of the Workers Party fully realize the absolute necessity for centralization, the actual harmfulness of the present divisions in the ranks of the party, and realize the part which national sections ought to play, in such a party like the American party. If that is achieved, then whatever the difficulty which the task of reorganization may encounter, their solution will be possible.

The beginnings of the reorganization above referred to are already to be found in the successes achieved in the work of the existing factory nuclei in the Workers Party. It is essential that the formation of these nuclei should be vigorously proceeded with, a task which according to the DAILY WORKER has already been well begun. The factory nucleus is the best organizational method of uniting comrades belonging to different nationalities and bringing them into contact with the working class masses. Therefore, the work of properly organizing the party will be best accomplished by the organization of factory nuclei. The party should also make it its duty to form street nuclei. In these nuclei the national factor will no longer count, too. We will not dwell here on the question as to how the factory and street nuclei should be formed, since that question is dealt with in special instructions and resolutions, from which you may obtain all necessary information. We would only refer to one fact which we learned from the reports in the DAILY WORKER on the work of the factory nuclei. In these reports the names of active comrades are openly mentioned, and facts are cited which may assist the employers in taking repressive measures against the members of the nuclei. We desire to draw your attention to the fact that a nucleus, without isolating itself from the non-party workers and clerical employes ought so to

conduct its work as not to permit the employer or his agents to see how the nucleus is working or to ascertain who its members are. The activities of a nucleus must be concealed from the eyes of the enemy and yet keep close to the working class masses (see our letters of December 6, 1923, No. 1313, and January 10, 1925, No. 490 on this subject.)

Another essential step in the reorganization of the party should be the creation of united party committees in all towns and urban districts, which would unite under their leadership all the members of the party residing in the given town or town-district, independent of nationality. The town and town district committees which according to your delegation, exist in New York and its districts, cannot meet the demands of a centralized party, since they, in fact, do not guide the party work; the work is not carried out in the various national groups according to the instructions of the New York town or district committees. But the situation is still worse in other towns where there are not town district committees, and where there is no sign of united party work, since if the national groups receive its instructions at all regarding party work, it is only from the bureau of their own national section.

While devoting every possible attention to the creation of nuclei, the party must also make it its aim to set up district and town party committees. In the town district—into which the large town must be divided, if that has not already been done—meetings must be summoned of all the members of the nuclei already formed and from all the national groups still existing in the given town district. If the number of members in such a district is too large to make it feasible to summon a general meeting, a town district conference may be summoned instead consisting of delegates from all the nuclei and the still existing national and other groups of the given district. At the district meeting, or conference, a single town district committee for all the national groups or nuclei should be elected to carry out all the work of the district. Town committees should be elected in a similar way in small towns, where it is not advisable to mark off town district. In very large towns, such as New York, Boston, Chicago, etc., the town committee should be elected at the conference of town district delegates elected at the district meetings or conference.

Some remark should be made concerning the election of town district committees and the town committees in small towns.

We must make one very important observation regarding the composition of town district and town committees. They must not be federal bodies, or, so to speak, co-ordinating elements under the control of one member who regards himself as the representative of "his" national group and believes his tasks to be to defend the interests of "his own" national organization. Therefore, during the preparations for summoning and conducting the electoral meeting (or conference) it must be clearly emphasized that at the meeting the participants must regard themselves as members of a united party and not as representatives of national sections, and that questions, even those which concern their sections, can only, and will only, be considered from the point of view of the whole party. Similarly, the lists of candidates for the district and town committees must not be drawn up on the principle of proportional national representation. In the election to the committee, one must consider the capacity of the comrades elected to guide the party organization, and the candidates must therefore, be put forward only on INDIVIDUAL considerations. Nevertheless, the candidates should be selected from all the large national sections, so that the future committee should be guaranteed contact with them. This remark applies also to the elections to the Central Committee.

It is equally important for the rule to be adopted that where factory nuclei already exist their representatives should unconditionally be elected to the party committees, and in numbers guaranteeing the influence of the factory nuclei in the affairs and work of the given party organization. If the factory nuclei are already sufficient numerous, their representatives must be given the majority of the party committees.

LANGUAGE FRACTIONS

Thirdly, it is equally important to bear in mind the necessity of arranging the general meetings of the nuclei, the party meetings, the conferences and the meetings of the party organs (committees, etc.) in such a way that the comrade belonging to the various national groups should be able to take part in the meetings, themselves speaking and understanding everything that is said—in a word that they should feel no inconvenience from the fact that they know no language

but their own. To that end it is essential that at all meetings where comrades from different national groups attend there should be translators, they should be so organized as to hamper the proceedings of the meeting as little as possible.

One more remark regarding the size of the town districts. In certain towns the town districts are inordinately large, both as regards territory and the number of inhabitants. For instance, in New York, Brooklyn, which has a population of two million, is regarded as a single town district. Of course, it is impossible to cover and be of service to Brooklyn without dividing it up. In determining the size of districts the possibilities of helping them must be borne in mind. It should also be borne in mind that the town districts must coincide with the municipality, or unite within their territory several municipalities wards, without breaking them up.

When the Workers Party in the towns adopts the system of town district and town party committees common to all nationalities it will already be possible to some extent to carry into effect the decisions of the leading party centers throughout the whole organization, from top to bottom and to carry them into the factories, workshops and other undertakings. The question of district committees and organizations will then be solved with less difficulty.

The election of town district and town committees—which can be preceded with even before nuclei have been formed in the majority of the factories—is, after the formation of nuclei, the second radical step towards the re-formation of the federal-national organization of the Workers Party. With the growth of the nuclei the national organizations will cease to be the fundamental part of party structure, and will begin to play a different role. One has to grasp the new role of national sections in order to understand that a correct reorganization of the party will only help to strengthen the work among the proletariat of each individual nationality. Even before now, the national sections of the Workers Party have to a certain extent exercised some influence upon the public opinion of the workers of their nationality, since it was they chiefly who were the active workers, in all the, sometimes fairly numerous, educational, social and other working class institutions in their language (such as for instance, the "People's Houses" of the Finns). Moreover, the national sections actually control their point of view of general party interests. For instance, a party policy was not always pursued, since the national sections, owing to the fact that they are separated from general party life and the inadequate (and sometimes distorted) understanding of general party duties which resulted could not always be fully acquainted with the forms of agitation and propaganda corresponding with the aims of the party in each given period. Moreover, this work could not be sufficiently intensive, since its nature was dictated by local interests and did not embrace the interests and aims of the struggle of the whole working class of the United States. Only by bringing the national sections together and fusing them will it be possible to extend and intensify their activity.

The existing national sections, or federations must not lose their mass character. On the contrary, they must attract all the workers and clerical employees of their nationality who accept the view of the class struggle.

The existing national federations by their agitation and propaganda work in the working class bodies and organizations of their particular nationality must win the workers belonging to the national minorities of America away from the influence of the social-democrats, the nationalists, the clericals and other bourgeois tendencies. The national federations must be a reservoir drawing the best elements into the Workers Party and the workers and clerical employees of their particular nationality into the American Trade Unions. The national federations must not isolate themselves from one another, but on the contrary, set up closer contact not only among themselves, but also with the American workers belonging to their trade unions, and interest themselves generally more than hitherto in American life.

It will of course be understood that the national sections in the form above indicated cannot enter the Workers Party as a whole. The party members belonging to the present national sections must join the party nuclei of the factories where they work, or, if they do not work in enterprises, the nuclei of the streets in which they reside.

It is there that they must pay their party dues. Thus the national sections will not form parts of the Workers Party. The members of the present national sections will enter the party thru the nuclei.

All members of the Workers Party, Finns, Germans, Russians, etc., must set up party fractions within their wide national sections, which will elect their

town district, town regional, state and national leading organs (bureaus). BUT . . . The national fraction bureaus must abandon their isolation and become bodies for adapting the party members of their nationalities to general party life. Hence in the work of reorganization the duty arises of bringing the national fraction bureaus close to the general guiding organs of the party, identifying them with the general party machine, thus enabling them to strengthen and improve the quality of their work.

That is why such a structure must be created for the agitational and propaganda party committees. In order to guide the work in the agitational and propaganda departments of the party committees the national fraction bureaus should be included in full force, or where this is not required, in part, so that they may be able to conduct the work among their nationals in their own language. The leadership, responsibility and control of their activities lie with the Agitprop Department and the correspondent party committee as a whole.

It will therefore be seen that the national bureau fractions will be by no means limited to the extent of their activities, but on the other hand, they will be included in the system of a united party machine and their functions will be different from what they have been hitherto. While the national bureaus hitherto were independent leading party bodies representing the national sections in the party, and had the right of directing the whole work of the national section without exception and to collect membership dues, they will now lose those functions, but, on the other hand, will become a part of the general party apparatus, working under its control and direction and according to its directions and performing the whole of the agitational and propaganda work among their own nationalities.

The Central Committee should see that statutes be drawn up regulating the work of the fraction bureaus of the national sections in their new form. These statutes should provide for the ratification by the Agitprop Departments of the party committees of the decisions of the national fraction bureaus, the summoning of national conferences with the agreement of the competent party committee, etc.

Within a town district the comrades belonging to one nationality and using one language avail themselves of the Agitprop Department of the town district committee (that is, the competent national bureau) for agitational and propaganda work among the workers of their nationality within the town district, within the working class organizations, etc. The most capable comrades should be entrusted with responsible work—reports, lectures and other forms of propaganda and agitational work among the workers of their nationality in their native tongue. Comrades speaking the same language may and should be assembled within the limits of a town district, in order to listen to reports and to take part in theoretical discussions, in order to raise the level of party education and to determine the methods of agitational, propaganda, party educational and club work. These meetings have no right to adopt DECISIONS on party questions—questions of policy or internal party questions, etc. This right belongs to the factory nuclei, the street nuclei and the locals, (where they still exist) the general meeting of the party members or the party conference which are to be the party organizations of the urban district or town, since for the party there can be no difference of interests demanding discussion or decision by a national section alone. The work of the Agitprop Departments of the town district committees, as all the activities of the latter are directed by the town committee, which also has its Agitprop Department, which in its turn includes the national fraction bureaus, whose function it is to control the agitational propaganda work among their own nationalities. Similar bureaus must be formed in the superior party committee (Regional and Central Committee).

Within the non-party working class organizations and instances of the various nationalities—Finns, Poles, Jews, etc.—such as co-operatives, People's Houses, mutual aid societies, etc., the duty of the party members of the corresponding nationality is that of a party fraction with the same functions as the party fractions within the Trade Unions have or should have (see our instructions of February, 1924, on fractional work and the corresponding section of the thesis on party structure adopted by the organizational conference). In these national non-party organizations—such as co-operatives, mutual aid societies, clubs, people's houses or printing, publishing, newspaper and similar limited liability companies—the comrades come into direct contact with wide sections of workers, clerks or farmers of their own nationality and speaking in their own tongue. Consequently, the influence of the party will to a large extent be exercised thru the national fractions in the above-mentioned organizations, and the work and

policy which the national sections of the Workers Party are carrying on at present, as well as the agitational and propaganda work among the working class masses of their own nationality, will be carried on inside of the national fractions in close contact with the corresponding party committees. While the agitational and propaganda work will be conducted by the reformed national bureaus, included in the apparatus of the Agitprop Departments, the work of the fractions in the co-operatives, publishing houses, banks, etc., will be directed by other corresponding departments of the party committees, trade union, organizational, etc. It is, therefore, necessary to organize such national Communist fractions in all non-party organizations, Latvian, Lithuanian, Jewish, Polish, etc., both town district, town, regional district and national. The national fractions in all the above-mentioned organizations—workers' clubs, workers' insurance societies, sport societies, etc.—will carry out the policy of the Communist Party, raise questions for discussion and bring forward proposals corresponding with the general tactics of the party, or upon the special decision of party bodies, will carry on agitation on the instructions of the Workers Party, explain the activities of the fraction among the non-party working class members of the organizations, etc., etc.

At the head of the national Communist fractions of the local, district and central national bodies of the organizations there should be bureaus for guiding the fractional work. Their activities as we have said, will be guided and controlled by the competent party committees—town district, town, etc.

It should also be provided that the bureaus of all fractions of similar institutions of one nationality, for instance fraction bureaus of Finnish workers' co-operatives, may have a single central bureau uniting the activities of all the local and regional bureaus. Those bureaus in their turn should maintain with the local regional and central committees of the party thru the corresponding departments of these committees. The latter may also unite the fraction bureaus (co-operatives for instance), of all nationalities, in order to exchange experiences, co-ordinate activities and even for united action. As in the case of the nuclei, we shall not here give these regarding the fractions, but would refer you to the instructions which were adopted by the presidium in February, 1924, and by the organizational conference in March, 1925.

The alteration of the functions of a national organization within the organizational structure of the party, raises the question of party dues. It will of course, be understood that after reorganization party dues will not go to the national organizations, but to the town committee (thru the town district committees), which should retain a certain percentage for its own needs and transfer the remainder to the superior party committee. The question will arise, as to what means the national organizations will conduct their work (agitation, propaganda, education, etc.). The only answer can be that this work will be financed by the party committees which will assign the necessary funds for this purpose.

The very first steps towards the reorganization of the national sections will come up against the question of the party press. The situation which at present exists in the Workers Party with regard to the party press is entirely abnormal. As a matter of fact, the party and the central committee have no control whatever over the party papers issued by the various national sections in their own languages. The papers of the national sections can write what they like without even following the general policy of the Central Committee and the party. This "freedom" of the press from party control is in full accord with the general independence of the national sections of the party center. This situation must also be changed especially after the election of party committees common for all nationalities. The Central Committee must place the party press in all languages under its control. The Central Committee or some other competent party committee must be in a position to give direct instructions on policy to the editors of all papers which are recognized, or desire to be recognized, by the party as party papers. The party should transmit its instructions on policy to the press thru the competent national fractions, i. e., thru those party members who are shareholders in a national paper, or are on its directing bodies, editorial boards, etc. In this way the Central Committee may, thru the corresponding fractions, exercise a controlling influence over a paper which is not officially a party paper, introduce desirable comrades on to the editorial boards or have them appointed as editors, etc. Of course, with regard to the papers which belong to the party, the Central Committee must have the unconditional right of directly ratifying the appointment of the editors.

In conclusion, we desire to draw your attention to two important points. First, it is quite clear, as we stated above, that it is no easy matter to reform the

old structure of the party immediately. The old organization has become deep-rooted, a fact which must not be underestimated. Therefore, great caution must be observed in the reconstruction of national sections. First of all, an extensive ideological campaign must be initiated for the reorganization of the Workers Party, for transforming it into a centralized party and for breaking down the federalist principle of party structure as absolutely failing to comply with the requirements of an active proletarian party. This ideological campaign must be pursued simultaneously and parallel with a determined agitation for the construction of the party on the basis of factory and workshop nuclei explaining this measure. A number of instructive reports for agitators, editors and active workers must be devoted to questions concerning the reorganization of the Workers Party, and these comrades must be clearly given to understand the need for this measure and be made active advocates of reorganization. The Central Committee and the other competent party committees must direct this campaign in the press. It will thereby become possible still further and still more extensively to acquaint the members of the party with the proposed reconstruction and its absolute necessity and usefulness. The comrades belonging to the national sections must understand that their organization is not a measure directed against the national sections, but that it exclusively pursues the general aims of the party and is in the interests of the whole party, including the national sections themselves. The aim of reorganization is not, by clumsiness and carelessness to destroy the organizations and work created by the national sections, but to strengthen the organizational influence of the Workers Party over the proletarians of all nationalities in the United States. By making use of all the available material, by demonstrating the advantages of the new forms of organization over the old, by treating the question seriously and in a business-like fashion, and insistently quoting the arguments in favor of the reorganization of the Workers Party, insistently repeating them if necessary in the press, at party meetings, conferences, etc., the leading organs of the party may achieve success, all the more since the first practical steps and the success which accompanies them will speak eloquently in favor of the course adopted.

The second point is this: Perhaps in addition to the inevitable conservatives and sceptics there will be found comrades who under-estimate the difficulties and who will want to break up the national sections before the new form of organizations—the nuclei—will be sufficiently numerous and strong in a particular town district, town, or region and sufficiently adapted to life, to serve as a foundation for the new form of party organization. We issue a warning against such a step. Only when the town district and town committees, as the result of the organization of factory and street nuclei, establish close contact with these nuclei, will it be possible finally to reorganize the old organization, the national sections and the given town district or town. To break, however, one organization without creating something in its place, would be extremely disastrous. The first thing is to organize factory and street nuclei, to set up ward, town district town and regional committees, which are to be elected at the meetings or conferences of all the members of the party of all the nationalities in the ward, town district, town or region (we repeat that the organization of certain ward, town district, town, etc., committees may be proceeded with even before there are nuclei in all factories and streets). At the town or town district conferences the delegates to the party congress are to be elected. The Central Committee, elected at the congress, after carefully examining all the pros and cons and after careful preparation, will thru the regional, town or town-district committees, proceed to the reorganization of one or several of the existing 17 national sections, which are sufficiently prepared for such reorganization on the basis of the fraction as above set forth. Only when the reorganization of the national section has given good results, of which we do not doubt, it will be possible gradually to proceed to the reorganization of the remainder.

The rate at which reorganization is undertaken, you must determine for yourselves. We shall help you in every way we can. But for that purpose you must send us information as to the progress of the work.

I. Ideological Campaign

1. There is to be printed a series of articles in all party papers dealing with the problems of reorganizing the party on the basis of shop nuclei. These articles are to be written by C. E. C. members, district organizers, and the leaders of the various language sections of the party.

a. The C. E. C. members will write from the general party viewpoint and specifically from the point of view of their special departments. For example, the heads of the Agitprop, industrial, etc., departments are to emphasize the influence of party reorganization on the particular field of party activity for which they are responsible.

b. The district organizers are to write of shop nuclei from the specific angle of the application of the party's reorganization plan in their respective districts.

c. The language section leaders are to write from the viewpoint of the special conditions characterizing the party's activities among the working masses of their respective languages.

2. The party shall issue a pamphlet on reorganization to be translated also by the leading language sections. This pamphlet shall contain the following:

a. The new constitution.

b. The Comintern organization letter to our party.

c. Organization charts.

d. Special foreword on party reorganization by the organization department.

3. The organization department shall publish a series of articles on the party constitution, in which there will be presented an analysis of every section thru a concrete application of the various provisions. These articles are to be featured prominently in every language organ of the party.

4. The organization departments shall have a special press service for the entire party press. There shall be a special section in the DAILY WORKER given over to the organization department. This press service shall deal mainly with:

a. The progress of party organization.

b. The organizational and political experiences of specific shop nuclei.

c. Letters and reports from shop nuclei members themselves covering their various activities.

5. In every district there shall be called general membership meetings addressed by special C. E. C. representatives. The subjects of these meetings shall be:

a. Bolshevization.

b. Party reorganization.

II. Definitions

1. *Shop Nucleus*.—A group of party members, not less than three in number, working in the same shop, or sometimes from a group of factories.

2. *Street Nucleus* (International Branch).—A group of party members, otherwise unattached, united on a street or neighborhood basis regardless of language grouping.

3. *Sub-Section*.—The next highest organizational unit which can be made up as follows:

a. Entirely of shop nuclei within a given industrial or working area.

b. Of shop and street nuclei (International branches) within a given industrial or working area.

c. Entirely of street nuclei (International branches) within a given industrial or working area or a given territorial, residential area.

Each of these units of the party, the shop nucleus, the street nucleus (International branch) or the sub-section, is to have general and periodic meetings of all the members of the component units.

4. *The Form of Party Organization Shall Be*:

a. The shop or street nucleus (International branch) as defined above.

b. The sub-section as defined above.

c. The section, a given industrial or working area of the city consisting of a combination of sub-sections or containing isolated shop nuclei and street nuclei.

d. The city.

e. The sub-district.

f. The district.

g. The national organization.

III. Organizational Campaign

1. The C. E. C., in consultation with the district committee, shall appoint special party reorganization commissions for the various districts to co-operate with the organization department of the C. E. C. in the campaign for party reorganization. This shall be done immediately by the New York and Chicago districts.

2. The C. E. C. shall, in consultation with the various language bureaus, immediately appoint a special reorganization commission for each language section to co-operate with the organizational department of the C. E. C. in party reorganization.

a. The C. E. C. shall appoint representatives to every language bureau. These representatives are to attend the language bureau meetings regularly, make reports to the C. E. C. on the activities of the various bureaus, and see to it that every bureau regularly submits minutes and reports of its activities to the C. E. C.

3. The organization department of the C. E. C. shall call conferences in the various cities in the districts, of shop nuclei and branch organizers, industrial organizers, and branch and shop nuclei secretaries. Such conferences shall be called first of all in the New York and Chicago districts.

a. At these conferences of party functionaries there is to be a more detailed and thoro discussion of party reorganization led by C. E. C. representatives.

4. The comrades present at these conferences of party functionaries are to report back to the units they represent which are to hold meetings especially arranged for receiving these reports. Special preparations shall be made to secure the maximum attendance at these meetings which shall be devoted to a discussion of the campaign for party reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei.

5. The organization department of the C. E. C. and the district reorganization commission shall arrange for a temporary division of New York and Chicago cities into a definite number of sections.

6. Membership meetings shall be held in each of these sections.

a. Every member present at the branch meetings to which the functionaries reported shall be given a certain number of names and addresses of comrades absent at the branch meetings and shall be responsible for bringing these absent comrades to the section membership meetings.

7. The comrades attending the conference of party functionaries shall be divided into committees temporarily representing the various sections of the cities.

a. These comrades shall be charged with the tasks of organizing and mobilizing the section membership meetings.

b. These comrades shall check up the attendance at the section meetings of the members of their respective branches and shall arrange to visit personally every one of their absent comrades and secure from these absent comrades the necessary information for party reorganization purposes.

8. At these special section membership meetings the following shall be the procedure:

a. Talks on party organization by C. E. C. District Reorganization Commission and in certain cases language section representatives in their respective languages.

b. Every member present at these section membership meetings shall fill out a blank answering the following questions.

1. Name.

2. Age.

3. Address.

4. Occupation.

5. Trade Union affiliation.

6. Name and address of place of employment.

7. Name and address of any other comrades you know to be employed in the same place of work.

8. How long in the party?

9. Are you a subscriber to the Daily Worker?

c. Special registration committees will be appointed at these section membership meetings for each language group in order to facilitate securing the necessary information at these meetings for party reorganization.

d. Special prominent publicity for these section membership meetings shall be given to the Daily Worker and the respective language papers.

9. At these section membership meetings there are to be elected temporary section committees for carrying on further reorganization and other party work.

10. As far as possible there shall be formed at these section meetings shop nuclei which shall start to function without delay.

10a. On the basis of information gained at these section meetings, street nuclei (international branches) shall be organized as quickly as possible.

11. Wherever necessary the District Reorganization Commission, in cooperation with the national organization department, shall divide the sections into sub-sections.

12. As soon as we have organized in a particular section, a definite number of shop nuclei, the remaining comrades not members of shop nuclei, shall be organized into street nuclei (International branches) or

a. If deemed advisable, shop nuclei shall be formed of party members working in a number of shops and factories within a given area in a section. Such a shop nucleus shall aim to develop at the earliest moment regular shop nuclei. Such a form of shop nucleus can often take the place of street nuclei and often lays the basis for regular shop nucleus organization.

Efforts shall be made that sub-sections shall not contain over 50 members. Sub-sections which contain more than 75 members shall be further sub-divided. The maximum of the street nuclei shall be 25 members, and shall be sub-divided when they exceed 25.

13. The provisional section committees shall, as soon as the reorganization of the section is completed or nearly completed, call a conference of delegates from shop nuclei, street nuclei or sub-sections, for the purpose of electing permanent section committees.

14. In cases where sections have been divided into sub-sections delegates conferences shall be called in these sub-sections to elect permanent sub-section committees to direct the party work in this sub-division.

15. In the subdivision of industrial areas special care must be taken to consider also the efficacy of the party apparatus in functioning in parliamentary campaigns.

16. By the first of December, 1925, reorganization of New York and Chicago districts will have been completed. Any member of a present territorial branch not in a shop or street nucleus will then no longer be considered a member of the party.

a. Special efforts shall be made by the section committees to draw in every party member thru making a card index and having a follow up system.

17. In general the same plans will be applied in all other cities of the New York and Chicago districts as well as the other districts in which there are city central committees. Details will be worked out for these centers by the Org Department and the District Reorganization Commissions.

18. Unattached branches shall be handled separately.

19. A city executive committee shall be elected in each city where there is a city organization and no district committee and then the city central committee shall cease to exist.

20. It is absolutely necessary that in all cases where party members know of other party members working in the same places with them, they should immediately take the initiative to get together and organize themselves into a shop nucleus. The comrades should then inform the district organizer who will arrange for official approval of these shop nuclei.

21. In special cases of need, where shop nuclei do not have sufficiently experienced members, the section committees shall attach temporarily to these shop nuclei experienced members from other party units in order to train and to help these shop nuclei members.

22. Wherever possible, shop nuclei functioning in plants employing fair-sized members of workers, shall get out at regular periods, mimeographed bulletins for these factories. Wherever comrades are attached to shop nuclei, they should be so attached also with the end in view of helping the nucleus in such propaganda work. These bulletins with increasing strength are to be developed into regular factory papers, mimeographed or printed. The initiative of the shop nucleus itself in this work must be constantly stimulated.

23. Every nucleus organizer shall fill out special activity reports at each meeting of the shop nucleus. These activity reports must be filled out and read before the close of every shop nucleus meeting. The reading of these activity reports must be made a permanent point on the order of business of every shop nucleus. These activity reports are to be mailed without delay to the next highest unit as the local conditions demand.

24. The plan herewith proposed for New York and Chicago shall be the model plan for the other districts. While the C. E. C. is concentrating on the reorganization of the New York and Chicago districts the comrades of the other districts are expected to proceed with the reorganization in various divisions of their own districts.

CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA—THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

INTRODUCTION

By C. E. Ruthenberg, General Secretary, Workers Party

The new constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party which follows contains two new developments of the party which are of the utmost importance.

The first of these is contained in the fact that the party declares itself "the American Section of the Communist International."

The Communist Party of America, organized in 1919, proudly declared itself the "American Section of the Communist International," but the Workers Party, up to the last convention could only declare its fraternal affiliation and acceptance of the leadership of the Communist International. With the adoption of the constitution which follows our party becomes openly "the American Section of the Communist International," and takes its rightful place with the other Communist parties of the world as an organic part of the Communist International.

The party still retains the name Workers Party, but includes in it the word "Communist" preparatory to the change which will undoubtedly be made by the next convention of the party to complete the transition and have the party adopt its rightful name, "The Communist Party of America, American Section of the Communist International."

While unheralded in the reports of the convention this change marks an important stride forward and should inspire new pride in the party in the heart of every member of our party.

The second point of importance is that this new constitution outlines the form and structure of the party as it will appear after the reorganization of the party. Because of this fact it should be carefully studied by every member of the party.

The party member who has a clear picture in his mind of the new structure of the party will be able to more readily fit himself into that structure. He will be able to aid in the work of re-organization, which is one of the most vital tasks before the party.

The party described in the constitution which follows is not an organization hanging in the air or existing for itself. The form of organization will root the party deep in the masses of workers. Through its nuclei in the factories, mines, mills, stores and wherever the members are employed it organizes itself where the workers are. Through its fractions in the trade unions, co-operatives, benefit societies, etc., it reaches to penetrate other groups of workers with revolutionary influence.

The party organized, as described in this constitution, will be a much more powerful organization than the party we have, even though the party does not add a single new member. But the reorganization experience as shown in other countries will mean the rapid growth of our party. It will be a party capable of influencing a greater number of workers and of quicker action.

Every member must know this organization. Every member must study it and come to his party branch prepared to take intelligent action to quickly transform the organization of our party to that of a Bolshevik Party.

* * * * *

Article 1. Name of the Party

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Workers (Communist) Party of America, the American section of the Communist International.

Article 2. Emblem

Section 1. The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin having at the top: "Workers (Communist) Party of America" and underneath "Workers of the World Unite."

Article 3. Membership

Section 1. Every person who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Workers (Communist) Party, who becomes a member of a basic sub-organization of the Party, who is active in this organi-

zation, who subordinates himself to all the decisions of the Comintern and of the Party, and regularly pays his membership dues may be a member of the Party.

Section 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Workers (Communist) Party and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

At the time of being accepted as a member of the Party this pledge shall be read to the applicant who shall indicate his endorsement of same.

Section 3. New members must join a shop nucleus or a street nucleus (international branch) of the Party and the application must be accepted by a vote of the membership of the unit to which application is made and the acceptance ratified by the leading committee of the territorial division of the Party in which membership is held.

Section 4. Members who change their place of work, or in case they are members of an international branch, their place of residence, must secure a transfer card from the Party unit in which they have held membership and present this card to the unit to which they transfer. A duplicate of the transfer card given the member shall be sent to the leading committee of the territorial section from which the member transfers and transmitted by this committee to the territorial section to which the member transfers.

If the member transfers from one section of a city organization to another, the transfer card shall be transmitted thru the city executive committee; if the member transfers from one city in a district to another the transfer card shall be transmitted thru the district executive committee; if the member transfers from one district to another the transfer card shall be sent thru the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. Members of the Party who desire to leave the country and go to another country must obtain the permission of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Section 6. Every member of the Party who is eligible to be a member of a trade union must become a member of the union to which he is eligible.

Article 4. The Structure of the Party

Section 1. The Workers (Communist) Party, like all sections of the Comintern is built on the principle of democratic centralization. These principles are:

a) Election of the subordinate as well as the upper party organs at general meetings of the Party members, conferences and conventions of the Party.

b) Regular reporting of the Party committees to their constituents.

c) Acceptance and carrying out of the decisions of the higher Party committees by the lower, strict Party discipline, and immediate and exact application of the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the Executive Committee of the Party.

d) Any Party committee whose activities extend over a certain area is considered superior to those Party organizations whose activity is limited only to certain parts of this area.

e) The discussion on Party questions can be carried on by the members only until the proper Party committee has decided them. After a decision has been adopted at the Congress of the Comintern, the Party convention, or by the leading Party committee, it must be carried out unconditionally even if some of the members or some of the local organizations are not in agreement with the decision.

Section 2. The highest authority of each unit of the Party is the general meeting of Party members, conference, or Party convention.

Section 3. The membership meeting, conference, or Party convention elects the leading committee which acts as the leading Party organ in the interim between the membership meeting, conferences or conventions and conducts the work of the Party organization.

Section 4. The units of the Party organization shall be as follows:

a) The shop nucleus, of which the leading committee is the nucleus bureau.

b) The street nucleus (the international branch of which the leading committee is the street nucleus bureau.

c) In small cities having not more than two hundred members the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) shall send delegates to a city conference, or if the membership is not large, a general membership meeting shall be held at which a city executive shall be elected.

d) Larger cities shall be divided into sections and sub-sections. The shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) in each of these sections and sub-sections shall hold conference of delegates which shall elect the section and sub-section executive committee. The sections of the city organization shall hold conferences of delegates which shall elect the city executive committee, except in the headquarters city of a district organization in which case the District Executive Committee acts as the City Executive Committee.

e) The city organization in each district shall send delegates to a conference which shall elect the district executive committee.

f) The delegates from the district organization shall send delegates to the national convention which elects the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. For the conduct of special work each leading committee organizes departments, such as the Agitprop Department, Organization Department, Trade Union Department, Women's Work Department, and such other departments, the need for which arises. These departments are subordinate to the leading committee and work in accordance with its instructions and carry out its decisions.

Article 5. The Shop Nucleus and the Street Nucleus (International Branch)

Section 1. The basis of the Party organization is the shop nucleus (in factories, mines, workshops, offices, stores, agricultural enterprises, etc.) which all Party members working in these places must join. The nucleus must consist of at least three members. Newly organized shop nuclei must be endorsed by the leading committee of the territorial section in which the shop nuclei are organized.

Section 2. In factories where only one or two members are employed, these members are affiliated to the nearest working nucleus or form a factory nucleus joining with the members working in neighboring factories.

Section 3. Party members who cannot be immediately affiliated with a shop nucleus, shall join the street nucleus (international branch) in the section of the city in which they reside.

Section 4. The nucleus is the organization which links up the Party with the workers and poor farmers. The tasks of the nucleus are to conduct Party work among the non-party masses of workers and peasants by means of systematic Communist agitation and propaganda, to recruit new members to distribute and sell Party literature, to issue a factory newspaper, to conduct cultural work, to discuss Party problems, to carry on the work of enlightenment and education of the Party members in the fundamental principles of Communism. The members of the nucleus should strive for all official positions in the workers' organizations in the factory, participate in all economic conflicts and demands of the employees, interpret these from the standpoint of the revolutionary class struggle and seek to win the leadership of all the struggles of the workers by tireless nucleus work.

Section 5. The street nucleus (international branch) conducts similar work among the workers living in that section of the city in which it is organized.

Section 6. The shop nucleus and street nucleus (international branch) elects a bureau to conduct its work. This bureau should consist of from three to five members and conducts all nucleus work, assigns it to the individual members of the nucleus or international branch, as, for instance, propaganda, distribution of papers, fraction work in the trade unions, shop committee work, work among women, defense work, connection with the youth nucleus, etc. The nucleus bureau is responsible for this work and makes periodical reports to the next higher committee.

Section 7. The shop nucleus or street nucleus (international branch) bureau elects an organizer-secretary, whose duty it is to maintain the connections between the shop nucleus or street nucleus (international branch) and the next higher committee, conduct the correspondence of the shop nucleus or street nucleus and to carry out the decisions of the bureau.

Article 6. Sub-Sections, Sections and City Organizations

Section 1. In the small cities (of not more than two hundred members), the shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) shall each hold general membership meetings periodically, not less often than each three months. These membership meetings in January and July shall elect the city executive committee which shall direct the Party work in such cities.

Section 2. Larger cities shall be divided into sections by the city executive committee of such cities. The party members affiliated with the shop nuclei or

street nuclei (international branches) in each section of such cities shall meet in a general membership meeting once each three months to discuss general party problems. At the membership meetings held in January and July or at a special conference of elected delegates from the shop and street nuclei a section executive committee which shall direct the work of the Party in this section, shall be elected.

Section 3. In the very large cities such as New York and Chicago, the city shall be divided into sections and sub-sections. The shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) in each sub-section shall hold periodic membership meetings in January and July shall elect a sub-section executive committee which shall direct the work of the Party in the sub-section.

b) There shall also be held periodic conference of delegates from the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) in each section, and the conferences in January and July shall elect a section executive committee which shall direct the work of the Party in the section.

c) In January and July of each year, there shall be held a conference of delegates elected by the section or sub-section conferences (of representatives of the shop and street nuclei) in the city, which shall elect the city executive committee, except in those cities which are the headquarters of the district executive committee. In the latter cities, the district executive committee functions as the leading committee.

Section 4. The size of the sub-section, section, and city executive committees, shall be determined by the respective conferences which elect these committees.

Section 5. As soon as the Party reorganization progresses so that at least 25 per cent of the Party members are organized in shop nuclei, at least fifty per cent of the members of the sub-section, section, and city executive committee shall be elected from the shop nuclei.

Section 6. The sub-section, section, and city executive committees elect a secretary-organizer, who is responsible for the maintenance of connections with the next higher unit and for the execution of the decisions of the committees.

Article 7. Sub-District Organization

Section 1. Wherever the district executive committee considers that the functioning of the Party organization will be improved, it may with the consent of the Central Executive Committee, create a sub-district organization, thru the combination of several cities. Such sub-district organizations shall hold a conference of delegates from the city organization or from shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) in the sub-district in January and July of each year and elect a sub-district executive committee.

Section 2. The number of members of which the sub-district executive committee shall consist shall be determined by the sub-district conference. Where the basic organizations of a sub-district are made up of shop nuclei to an extent of at least twenty-five per cent, fifty per cent of the members of the sub-district executive committee shall be elected from the shop nuclei.

Section 3. The sub-district executive committee shall elect a secretary-organizer who shall maintain connections with the next higher unit of the Party, and execute the decisions of the sub-district executive committee.

Section 4. In the city in which the sub-district committee has its headquarters, the sub-district committee acts as the executive committee of that city.

Article 8. District Organization

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee of the Party shall divide the country into districts. Once each year there shall be held a district conference made up of delegates from the city organizations in the district and such unattached nuclei and international branches as there may be in the district. This district conference shall elect a district executive committee. Special conferences may be called by the district executive committee or by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 2. The district conference also elects the District Control Committee which shall be charged with the control of the financial accounts of all the Party units in the district and which also deals with the appeals from the decisions of lower Party units against disciplinary action.

Section 3. The District Executive Committee is the highest Party authority in the district between district conferences. The District Executive Committee must be composed partially of factory workers and should include representatives of the chief towns of the district. The district committee determines how often

full meetings of the district committee are to be held. But these must be held at least once a month. The district committee where composed in part of members not residing in the city of the district headquarters shall elect an executive council for the conduct of its current business.

Section 4. The District Executive Committee elects the district organizer in agreement with the Central Executive Committee. The district organizer must have been a member of the Party for two years. If a district paper is published the District Executive Committee elects the editor of the paper with the agreement of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. The district executive committee shall organize such departments for the conduct of the Party work as Agitprop, organization, trade union work, woman's work, etc. As a rule members of the district committee should be placed at the head of these departments. These departments carry on their work under the direction of the District Executive Committee and submit periodic reports to the District Executive Committee.

Section 6. The District Executive Committee is responsible for its work to the district conference and the Central Executive Committee. It must submit a monthly report of its activities to the Central Executive Committee.

Section 7. In the city in which the District Executive Committee has its headquarters the city organization does not elect a city executive committee and the Party work in this city is directed by the District Executive Committee.

Article 9. The Party Conference

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee may, when it deems it necessary, call party conferences. The delegates to these party conferences from the districts shall be elected by the district committee. The Central Executive Committee may co-opt individual party workers to attend the party conferences in an advisory capacity without voting rights.

Section 2. The decisions of the Party conference are not valid and binding on the party unless endorsed by the Central Executive Committee.

Article 10. The Party Convention

Section 1. The party convention is the highest authority of the Party and shall be called by the Central Executive Committee at least once a year in agreement with the executive committee of the Communist International.

Section 2. Special conventions which shall have all the powers of regular conventions, may be called by the Central Executive Committee either at its own initiative and in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International or at the initiative of the Communist International, or upon the demand of party organizations representing half the members of the Party. Special conventions, however, can only be called with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Section 3. The call for the national convention and the proposed agenda of the convention shall be submitted to the membership at least one month before the date of the convention.

Section 4. The number of delegates to the convention shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee. Delegates shall be apportioned to the districts in proportion to the membership to be decided in accordance with the provision of article 10 of this constitution.

Section 5. The party convention shall hear the reports of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee, decide the questions of Party program, formulate resolutions on all political, tactical and organizational questions, elect the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee.

Article 11. Elections of Delegates

Section 1. Election of delegates to all party conferences and conventions shall be based upon the number of members in good standing on the first of the month prior to the date of the election. No party member can vote in the election if more than two months in arrears in dues payments. The secretary of the Party unit shall submit with the results of the election a certified list stating the names of the good-standing members in the Party unit. No election of delegates to any conference or convention shall be valid unless 5 per cent of the good-standing members in the Party unit participated in the elections.

Section 2. The highest committee of the unit of the Party in which a conference or convention is to be held shall decide the basis of representation, that is, the number of good-standing members necessary to elect delegates.

Section 3. The shop nucleus and the street nucleus (international branch) or in case of large cities the sub-section, shall elect delegates to the city convention in accordance with the number of delegates they are entitled to based upon the certified list of good-standing members which the secretary shall send to the city convention in certifying the results of the elections.

Section 4. The city convention shall elect the number of delegates it is entitled to according to the ratio fixed for the election of delegates from the city convention to the district convention based upon the number of members in good standing in the city as certified by the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches).

Section 5. The district convention shall elect the number of delegates it is entitled to according to the ratio fixed for the election of delegates from the district convention to the national convention based upon the number of good-standing members in the district as certified by the city convention.

Section 6. The same rule shall apply in the election of delegates to section and city conferences, provided for in Article 5.

Article 12. Central Executive Committee

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee of the Party shall be elected by the Party convention and shall consist of 19 members elected by the convention, a representative of the Young Workers League and a neutral chairman with decisive vote. The convention shall also elect six candidates who shall have a right to participate in the full sessions of the C. E. C. with a voice but no vote. In case of vacancies the candidates shall become members of the C. E. C.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee is the highest authority of the Party between the party conventions. It represents the Party as a whole over and against other Party institutions and other institutions, organizes various organs of the Party, conducts all its political and organizational work, appoints the editors of its central organs who work under its leadership and control, organizes and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party, distributes all the Party forces and controls the Central Treasury. The Central Executive Committee conducts the work of the Party factions within bodies of a central nature.

Section 3. The Central Executive Committee elects from among its numbers a Political Committee for conducting the work of the C. E. C. between its full sessions. The Central Committee shall elect a general secretary, and a secretariat for conduct of the permanent current work, and establish an agitprop department, organization department and such other departments as the Party requires. The members of the Central Executive Committee should be the heads of these departments wherever possible.

Section 4. The Central Executive Committee shall divide the country into districts and create district organizations. The Central Executive Committee has the right to combine or divide existing organizations, either according to territory or otherwise in conformity with their political and economic characteristics.

Article 13. The Central Control Committee

Section 1. The Party convention shall elect a Central Control Committee of four members which shall audit the books and accounts of the national organization and supervise similar control of the financial accounts of the Party as a whole.

Section 2. The Central Control Committee shall also pass upon appeals from decision of lower party units in reference to branches of discipline. The decisions of the Central Control Committee in such matters are subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Article 14. Qualifications

Section 1. Members of the Central Executive Committee, general secretary, editor, and all candidates for political office must have been members of the Party for two years at time of their nomination.

Section 2. Members of the District Executive Committee, must have been members of the Party for two years at the time of their nomination.

Section 3. Members of City Executive Committees must have been members of the Party for one year at the time of their nomination, and of section and sub-section committees must have been members of the Party for six months at the time of their nomination.

Article 15. Party discipline

Section 1. The strictest party discipline is the most solemn duty of all Party members and all Party organizations. The decisions of the Communist International and the Party convention, of the Central Executive Committee and all the leading committees of the Party must be promptly carried out. Discussion of questions over which there have been differences must not continue after the decision has been made.

Section 2. Breaches of party discipline by individual members may be punished by censure, public censure, dismissal from office, suspension from the Party, and expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party committees may be punished by removal of the committee by the next higher Party committee.

Section 3. Charges against individual members shall be made in the shop nucleus or international branch and the decision of the Party unit shall be confirmed by the Party committee in the territory in which the unit is located. Charges against individual members may also be made in any leading committee of the Party and such committees have full power to act. The member expelled may appeal to the next higher committee. Appeals can be made only by the punished members themselves or by a party organization in his behalf.

Section 4. No leading committee of the Party has power to suspend any of its members from the committee. Charges against members of committees must be filed with the next higher committee.

Article 16. Dues

Section 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of 50c which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the Central Executive Committee. The entire sum shall go to the national organization.

Section 2. Each member shall pay 50c per month dues, which shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee. Members whose earnings are more than \$100.00 per month shall pay additional dues to the amount of one per cent of their earnings above \$100. The payment of the additional dues shall be receipted for by special stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 3. The district organization shall purchase regular dues stamps from the Central Executive Committee at 25c per stamp, the city organization shall purchase dues stamps from the city organization at 40c; the sub-section organization shall purchase dues stamps from the section organization at 42½c; and the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) shall purchase stamps from the sub-section organization at 45c. Where no sub-sections exist the shop nuclei and international branches purchase their stamps from the section organization at 45c. Where no sections exist, the shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) purchase stamps from the city organization at 45c.

Section 4. Special assessments may be levied by the national convention or the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamp.

Section 5. Members unable to pay dues or assessments on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness, or similar reason shall by vote of the nucleus or international branch be furnished with exempt stamps. No district organization shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than ten per cent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps, except by decision of the C. E. C.

Section 6. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member of the Party shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

Article 17. Language Fractions

Section 1. All members of the Party now members of language branches must become members in either shop nuclei or international branches in the

reorganization of the Party on the basis of this constitution, in order to retain their membership in the Party.

Section 2. The former members of the language sections of the Party, in addition to their membership in the Party, through affiliation with the shop nuclei or international branch shall form language fractions.

Section 3. The language fraction shall consist of all the members of the Party who speak a certain language, who are members of a sub-section, section, or city organization of the Party. The units of the language fraction should be formed on the basis of the most efficient method of working among their particular language group. The D. E. C. or City Executive Committee shall decide as to the units to be formed.

Section 4. Where there is more than one sub-section in a section organization, in which language fractions of a particular language group are organized, these language fractions shall hold general membership meetings of all the members of the language fraction, in the section in January and July of each year, and elect an executive committee of the language fraction for the section. Where there are several sections of a city in which fractions are organized, the members of the language fraction shall hold a city membership meeting in January and July of each year, and elect a city executive committee of the language fraction, subject to the approval of the respective Party committee.

Section 5. Once each year, there shall be held a district conference of delegates from the language fractions in the party districts which shall elect a district executive committee for the language fraction. The D. E. C. for the language fraction must be approved by the Party D. E. C.

Section 6. The Central Executive Committee of the Party may, if it deems it advisable, permit the holding of a national conference of a language fraction of a particular language group. When such national conferences are held, they shall elect, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee, a national language bureau. In cases where the Central Executive Committee does not deem it advisable to hold national conferences of a language fraction, it shall appoint a national bureau for the language fraction.

Section 7. The language fraction is an auxiliary organization of the Party, for work among a particular language group. Only Party members who are affiliated to the shop nuclei or the street nuclei (international branches) and pay dues to the basic units of the Party, can be members of the language fraction of the Party. The language fraction of the Party does not collect dues, but may, with the consent of the Central Executive Committee carry on special campaigns among their language groups for funds to carry on the work of the language fraction. The Central Executive Committee shall also provide a definite monthly appropriation from the dues receipts for the work of the language fraction national bureaus.

Section 8. It is the work of the language fraction to carry on agitation, propaganda, and organization work among the working masses of its language group. The language fraction must also organize fractions of party members in the fraternal and benevolent organizations of its language group, as provided for in the section of this constitution dealing with the organizational question, and carry on a systematic campaign to establish Communist influence and bring these organizations under the influence of the party, ideologically and organizationally.

Section 9. The language fractions of each language group shall also organize a workers' club of their particular language group in each city or the sections of the city. These workers' clubs shall consist of both party and non-party members. The language fraction shall function as a fraction in these clubs to carry on agitation and propaganda and bring the non-Party members under Communist influence and recruit them for membership in regular Party units.

Article 18. Fractions

Section 1. In all non-Party workers' and farmers' organizations (trade unions, co-operatives, cultural societies, educational societies, fraternal and benevolent societies, sports and other clubs, war veterans' organizations, factory councils, unemployed councils, at conferences and conventions, in local administrative bodies, state legislatures and the national congress) where there are at least two Communists, a Communist fraction must be organized for the purpose of increasing the influence of the Party in applying its policy in the non-Party sphere.

Section 2. The fractions are organs of the Party within non-Party organizations. They are not independent, fully authorized organizations, but are subordinate to the competent local Party committee.

Section 3. In case of differences arising between the Party committee and the fraction, the Party committee must investigate the question anew, together with the representatives of the fraction and come to a decision which must be carried out unconditionally by the fraction. In case an appeal is made against the decision by the fraction, the question shall be finally settled by the next higher Party committee.

Section 4. If questions are discussed by a Party committee which concerns a fraction, the committee shall accept a representative of the fraction concerned, who shall attend the meeting of the committee in an advisory capacity.

Section 5. The fractions elect their own officers who, however, must be endorsed by the Party committee in the section in which the fraction operates. The officers of the fraction are responsible for their activities to the fraction and to the Party committee.

Section 6. The Party committee, which directs the Party work in the territory in which a fraction is organized, has the right to send its representatives into the executive committee of any fraction or to recall any member of that body, after the reason for such action has been explained to the fraction.

Section 7. Candidates for all important positions in the organization in which the fractions are working are selected by the fraction, in agreement with the Party committee for the section.

Section 8. Questions which come up for decision in the organization in which a fraction is working must be discussed in advance in the meeting of the fraction, or by its leading committee. On every question on which a decision is reached in the fraction, or a decision made by the leading committee, the fraction members must act unanimously in the meeting of the organization and vote together solidly. Members who break this rule are subject to disciplinary measures by the Party.

Article 19. Relations to the Y. W. L.

Section 1. A corresponding committee of the Young Workers League shall be entitled to send one representative with voice and vote into all sub-sections, sections, city and district and central executive committees of the Party, provided there is a corresponding Y. W. L. organization to the organization of the party to which the representative is sent.

Section 2. The Party executive committee, in the sub-section, section, city, district, and the Central Executive Committee shall send a representative with voice and vote into the corresponding Y. W. L. committee.

Section 3. The corresponding Y. W. L. organization shall be entitled to send representatives to all conferences and conventions of the Party organization. The number of representatives which shall be given to the Y. W. L. in such conferences and conventions shall be decided by the Party committee which calls the conference or convention.

Section 4. All members of the Party under 21 years of age must join the Young Workers League. All members of the Young Workers League over 21 years of age, should join the Party and must join the Party if 23 years of age or over, or be excluded from the League.

Section 5. Members of the Y. W. L. who are under 21 years of age and who are also members of the Party, shall be exempt from paying Party dues upon presentation of their Y. W. L. dues card, with dues stamp affixed. An exempt stamp, marked "Y. W. L." shall be affixed to the Party card of such member.

Section 20. Schedule

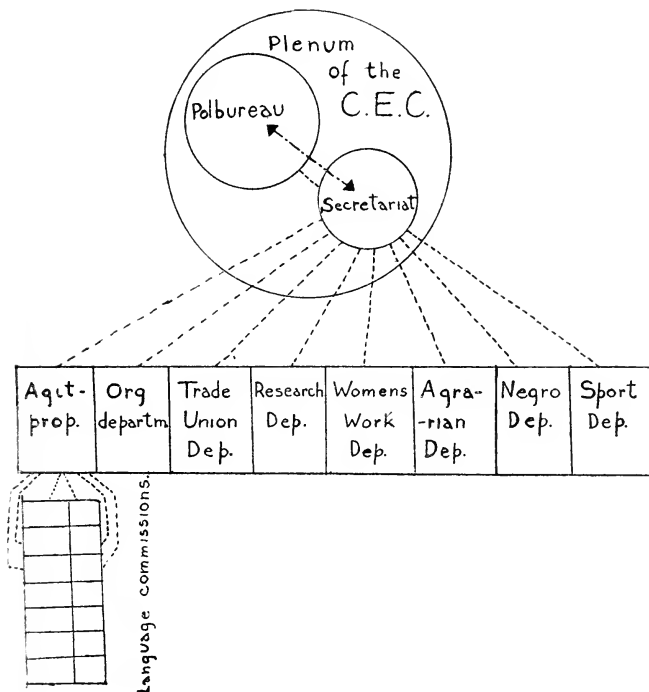
1. The provisions of this constitution in relation to purchase of dues stamps from the district committee and city organizations by the basic units of the Party go into effect on October 1, 1925. Language branches which have not been reorganized by that date must purchase their dues stamps from the district and city organizations.

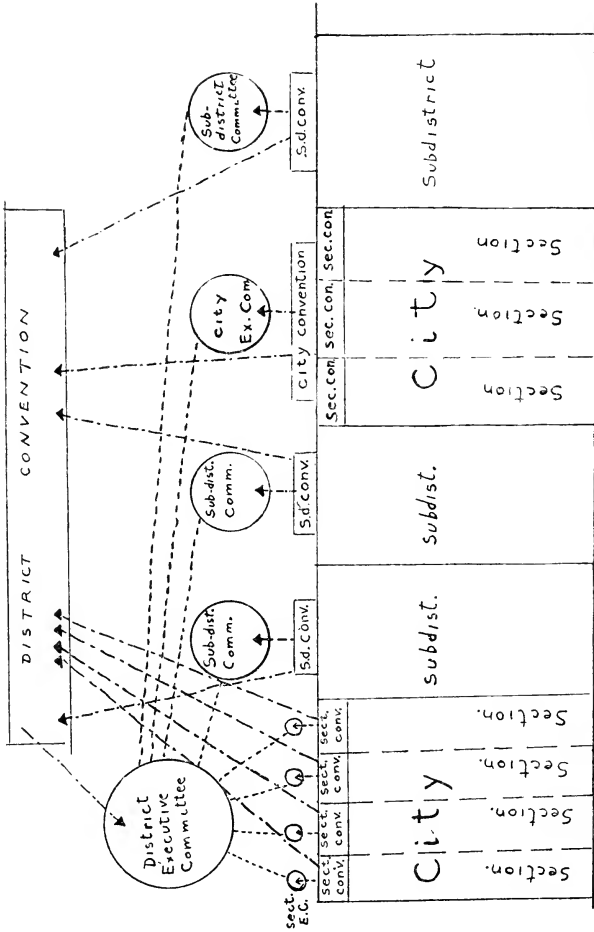
2. The provisions of this constitution in regard to the elections of the sub-section, section, city and district committees go into effect as fast as the reorganization of the Party on the basis of this constitution take place in a

locality. This provision also applies to the organization of language fractions which must be organized as fast as the Party reorganization takes place. The provisions of the previous constitution of the Party apply in a locality until such time as the reorganization takes place, except that the City Central Committee shall hold one session to constitute a City Executive Committee and then be abolished.

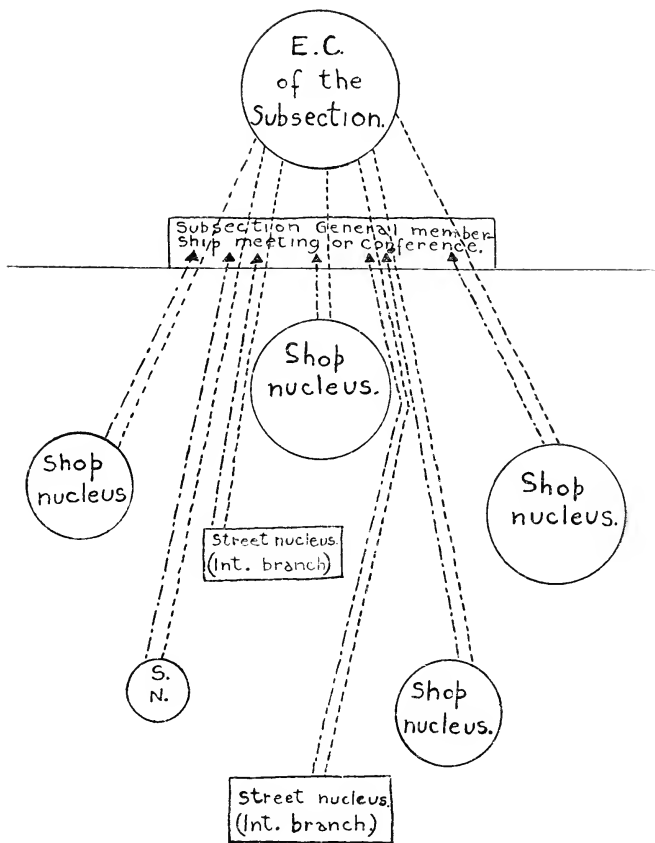
3. The reorganization of the entire Party on the basis of the provisions of this constitution shall be completed within 6 months from the time of its adoption (Sept., 1925). The Central Executive Committee is instructed to take all the necessary steps to carry out the reorganization in the period allotted.

The C.E.C. and its Departments.





District.



A shop-nucleus and its working groups.

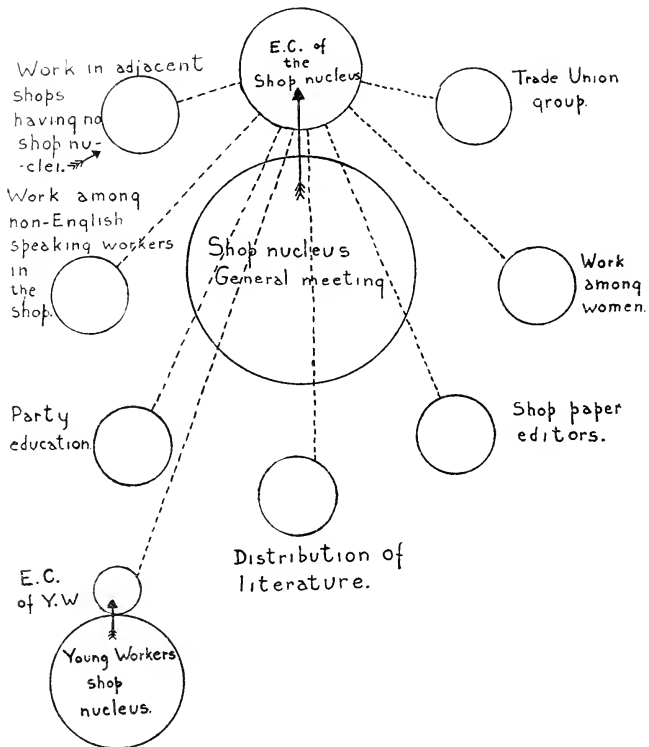


EXHIBIT No. 22

[Source: Our Immediate Work—Program adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America, published by Literature Department, Workers Party of America, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois: 1924]

OUR IMMEDIATE WORK

PROGRAM

Adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America Price 5 cents. Published by Literature Department, Workers Party of America, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

PROGRAM OF ACTION ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Program as a Whole

In March the Central Executive Committee issued a statement entitled "Activities of the Workers Party," in which was pointed out the necessity for a balanced program of action for the Party. At that time attention was called to the tendency of various groups in the Party to unduly stress certain activities of the Party and neglect others. The consequence of this course naturally leads to a lopsided development of the Party and to the growth of unnecessary factionalism. The Central Executive Committee stressed the necessity of so organizing its program of work that the tasks of building the Party, educating its membership, and utilizing it in the class struggle would go ahead simultaneously and in such manner as to give the Party a thoroughly rounded character. The present Program of Action, herewith outlined, is the putting into effect of the principles enlarged upon in the statement, "Activities of the Workers Party."

The Program of Action contains several points: 1) Labor Party and election policy; 2) Trade Union and industrial work; 3) Party membership campaign; 4) Educational work; 5) Reorganization of the Party on the shop nuclei basis; 6) Unemployment policy; 7) Daily Worker subscription campaign. These propositions cover most of the main activities of the Party and consist of the matters to which the Party must direct its concentrated attention. This does not mean, however, that other activities of the Party shall be neglected. On the contrary, they, too, shall be pushed with redoubled energy.

In order that the Program of Action may be put into effect systematically, energetically and uniformly throughout the organization, and all these activities carried on continuously in the sense of their comparative importance, a certain amount of specialization and organization will have to take place around each policy. This will develop from the top to the bottom of the Party. In the Central Executive Committee individual members will be commissioned to devote special attention to the various phases of the Program of Action, this specialization not to interfere with the proper centralization of the Party. The District Executive Committees will also carry out the same principle, organizing the necessary committees to specialize upon each of the points of the program. Likewise the City Central Committees and local branches will create the necessary specialization so that they can be brought systematically and effectively into the work of putting the whole Program of Action into operation.

In addition to creating the necessary committees around each phase of the Program of Action, a fundamental necessity is to require that all of these responsible individuals and committees submit regular reports as to what is being accomplished in the line of activity directly under their supervision. Thus the Central Executive Committee will require regular reports from those of its members commissioned to carry out these activities. Likewise, the Central Executive Committee will receive similar reports from all District Organizers explaining in detail what is being done in their respective territories relative to all the points on the Program of Action. So far as practical the District Executive Committees, City Central Committee, and local branches should put the same principle into effect. Only in this manner, by creating the necessary specialized machinery and then seeing to it that this machinery functions effectively, will it be possible to achieve the highly beneficial effects possible under this program.

The following statement of policies and the manner of their application deals in the main with general principles. Detailed instructions on each policy will be sent to the Party units.

Our Election Campaign and the Farmer-Labor Party

In June, 1922, our Party declared, in a manifesto dealing with the application of the United Front policy in the United States, that the problem of the United Front politically was the problem of the formation of a Labor Party.

Since that time the Party has carried on a consistent United Front campaign with the end in view of uniting those workers and farmers who were ready to break with the capitalist parties in a mass Farmer-Labor Party with which the Workers Party would be affiliated. This campaign has been the major political campaign of our Party.

We have during this campaign advanced the cause of independent working class action and made the Farmer-Labor Party an issue in the American labor movement. We can also say, without danger of the statement being challenged, that our Party had made the greatest gains for itself through this campaign for the Labor Party. It is through this Farmer-Labor Party campaign that our Party has established itself as a political force in the United States. It is through this campaign that it has established its prestige and its leadership among the masses of workers and farmers. Nothing has contributed so much to develop our Party from a sectarian group to a recognized political force in the life of the labor movement of this country than our manouvers in relation to the Farmer-Labor Party.

The Central Executive Committee declares that the campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party was a correct estimation of the situation in the United States. It declared further that the campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party must be continued and will be a major campaign of the Party in the future.

We must, however, consider fundamentally the situation which our Party faces in the present election campaign. The June 17th Farmer-Labor Party was not successful in mobilizing all the Farmer-Labor forces of the United States for a Farmer-Labor campaign. The convention made tentative nominations and adopted a tentative platform and organization plan. It was considered possible that the Farmer-Labor elements which still adhered to the Conference for Progressive Political Action would break away from that Conference when it again betrayed their hopes for a Farmer-Labor Party and that an alliance with these forces would create the basis for the Farmer-Labor Party campaign in this election struggle.

The group in the Conference for Progressive Political Action which is for a Farmer-Labor Party, did not have sufficient courage to take a stand for the principle of class Farmer-Labor action in the United States. Without protest it accepted the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive movement. The Conference for Progressive Political Action has become a petty bourgeois progressive United Front extending from LaFollette to Debs.

It is the supreme duty of our Party to raise against this petty bourgeois progressive alliance which is misleading the workers with the slogans of revolutionary class action. LaFollette is a menace to the labor movement. It is placing the workers under the leadership of the petty bourgeois class with a program in direct contradiction to the interests of the workers and liquidating their class movement. If the Farmer-Labor Party, as formed at St. Paul, represented a real United Front, unifying a mass movement of farmers and workers which would stand firm and carry on the fight against LaFolletteism and the petty bourgeois progressive alliance, unquestionably the fight against LaFolletteism should be made through the Farmer-Labor Party. This is not the situation. Part of the organizations participating in the June 17th Convention are themselves infected with LaFolletteism and will be swept along in the wake of the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive movement.

Our Party, therefore, faces the question whether it shall participate in a Farmer-Labor Party campaign in which the Workers Party will have to bear the brunt of the work and will have to largely conduct the campaign through its organization, or whether it shall conduct a Communist campaign against LaFolletteism in the name of the Workers Party. A campaign in the name of the Farmer-Labor Party would, in the face of the Cleveland betrayal, unite only a relatively small part of the Farmer-Labor forces with the Workers Party. On the other hand, our Party would be greatly hampered in its agitation and propaganda and could not use the political campaign for the direct upbuilding of the Party, if the campaign were conducted under the name of the Farmer-Labor Party. The United Front campaign is only of value to our Party if it unites with us large groups of workers for common action.

The degree to which this would be true in the Farmer-Labor campaign is not sufficient for such a United Front campaign. The Central Executive Committee of the Party therefore has unanimously decided that the Workers Party shall enter the campaign in its own name, nominate Communist candidates and conduct a Communist campaign.

The alignment in the elections will be: The capitalist Republican and Democratic parties, the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive alliance, and the Workers Party raising the slogan of working class action on a Communist program against the capitalists and against the petty bourgeois misleaders of the workers. This situation should nerve every member of our Party for the most aggressive and militant struggle our Party has ever made.

Our program and policy during the campaign will be the following:

1. To run candidates nationally, in the states, and locally, under the names of the Workers Party, wherever it is possible for us to put these candidates on the ballot, this to include the nomination of presidential electors in every state in which we can get on the ballot.

2. The National Executive Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party formed at St. Paul has endorsed the candidates of the Workers Party in this campaign and called upon all Farmer-Labor groups who stand for working class action to support these candidates. Our Party shall urge all local and state Farmer-Labor Party organizations to endorse the Workers Party candidates, maintaining their organization intact and using them to support the Workers Party campaign during the election struggle, thus also preparing the ground for continuance of the fight for the Farmer-Labor Party after the election campaign.

2-a. A campaign fund of \$100,000 shall be raised through circulation of subscription lists and donations from sympathetic organizations.

3. Every unit of the Workers Party must at once form election campaign committees for the purpose of organizing and carrying on the work in support of the campaign of the Party.

4. The National Office will at once place in the field a corps of speakers who will be routed to every part of the country in a speaking campaign in support of our candidates and program.

5. The National Organization will issue a series of campaign leaflets which must be distributed by the Party organization in millions of copies.

6. The Party National Organization will print during the campaign a series of campaign pamphlets dealing with the issues of the campaign and with the fundamentals of the Communist movement for the purpose of education of the workers to support our movement.

7. Party papers in all languages must give special attention to the election campaign supporting the Party campaign in every way possible.

8. We must make consistent use of the election campaign for the upbuilding of our Party. No meetings must pass without inviting the workers present to join our Party. No piece of literature can be issued without containing a similar appeal.

Membership and Daily Worker Campaigns

The strengthening of our Party as an organization is essential to the future growth of the influence of the Party among the masses of the workers. Increase of the membership will furnish a wider basis for all of our activities. An increased membership will furnish both the workers and the financial support necessary to widen the scope of our work.

The activities of the Party during the past two years have created a large group of sympathizers with our movement. We have, however, failed in carrying on the organization work necessary to bring those workers who are ripe for membership in our Party into the organization. Our Party must now take up this work energetically. We must create in every unit of the Party a committee charged with the work of systematically conducting a campaign for membership. Our slogan during the election campaign must be: 10,000 new members for the Party.

The Daily Worker

Our Party made a splendid successful effort in the campaign for the DAILY WORKER. The fact that we were able to raise the funds to establish the DAILY WORKER with its own plant is a monument to the willingness of the members of our own Party to work for the upbuilding of the movement.

The establishment of the DAILY WORKER, however, does not complete our task. Our Party, since the DAILY WORKER has come into existence, has not

given it the organized support in the effort to build up its subscriptions that must be given. A daily paper, under any circumstances, is a mountain of strength for our Party, but we can make it even of greater service if our Party gives it organized support and thus builds up its influence among the workers thru extension of the number of its readers. As part of the immediate program of activity of the Party we must carry on the organized campaign of support for the DAILY WORKER thru building the subscription of the DAILY WORKER. Just as the increase of our membership makes possible the increase of all of our activities, so the increase of the subscribers for the DAILY WORKER extends and broadens our influence and broadens the possibilities of our actually being among the masses.

Combined Membership and Daily Worker Drive

The membership and DAILY WORKER subscription campaign will be combined as one campaign. The C. E. C. asks that every member of the Party secure one new member and a new subscription for the DAILY WORKER. The program will be the following:

1. A letter from the Central Executive Committee to each member of the Party will be furnished to the branches in such quantities as will supply every member. This letter will set forth the campaign for the DAILY WORKER and membership.

2. With this letter each member will receive an application card and a DAILY WORKER subscription card which he must use to secure one new member and one new subscriber for the DAILY.

3. Each branch will create a Membership and DAILY WORKER Campaign Committee which will keep record of every member who turns in the subscription and application card.

4. When the subscription is turned in or the application is turned in, the member of the Party turning same in will be furnished a special stamp to be placed in his dues book certifying that he has done his full Communist duty in the campaign.

5. Each branch is expected to appoint as a member of the Campaign Committee a DAILY WORKER subscription agent who will function permanently as the agent of the DAILY WORKER.

6. All Party mass meetings during the election campaign must be used for the purpose of securing new members.

7. Subscription lists of all Party papers must be systematically canvassed for new members. All members of unions and other organizations must approach those sympathetic with our Party to bring them into the Party.

8. The Party press will carry a series of articles on the necessity for Membership and DAILY WORKER campaigns.

Educational Work

Party educational work is to be developed manifold. It must be established in all sections of the Party as an indispensable department of Party activities to be carried on in a systematic manner thruout all periods of the year alongside of special campaign of the Party. In order to insure the permanence and continuity and Communist character of the Party educational work thruout the Party, all phases of work must fall under the central direction of the C. E. C. and be developed from year to year according to a national co-ordinated scheme. For the furtherance of the educational work, the following decisions are to go into effect.

1. The C. E. C. shall establish an educational committee, which shall have full direction and supervision of the Party educational work in all of its aspects. The direct administrative responsibility of the national Party educational work shall be in the hands of the national educational director who shall be a member of the Educational Department of the C. E. C. and shall be responsible for the carrying out of its decisions. The educational committee and the national educational director shall be directly responsible to the C. E. C. for the whole educational program of the Party and must make regular and systematic reports of the progress of the work.

2. Every District Executive Committee and City Central Committee must immediately establish its educational committee and appoint its district or local educational director. The district and local educational committees and educational directors shall be responsible for the development of systematic educational work in their respective fields. Each district and local educational director shall

be in direct communication with the educational director of the C. E. C. and shall develop the district and local work according to the general plan and under the general supervision of the National Educational Committee.

3. The Educational Department of the C. E. C. shall take steps at once to set the following program of educational activity into action:

(a) Develop the circuit system of educational lectures and classes in at least one district of the Party according to the plans laid down in the educational program adopted last Fall and put into practice in the Chicago and Boston districts.

(b) Arrange for the systematic routing of Party lecturers on subjects dealing with the fundamentals of Communist principles.

(c) Begin the periodical publication of books and pamphlets of a theoretical nature and continue such publication according to a worked-out plan.

(d) Conduct a section in the Party press on educational work in order to popularize this Party activity and keep it constantly before the attention of the Party members.

(e) Work out plans for holding of a Party School in Chicago after the election campaign for the purpose of giving intensive instructions to a selected group of Party leaders from the various Districts.

(f) Work out the plans and make arrangements for the holding of special lectures by the most prominent Party leaders on questions of Communist principle and arrange special debates with other political bodies on the same subjects.

(g) The New York Party School, which is under direct supervision of the C. E. C., must be encouraged and supported by every possible means in order that it may soon establish itself as a solid and permanent institution for the training of Party comrades in the New York District.

(h) All the comrades responsible for the educational work in every department of the Party must make special efforts to draw into this educational activity the most active members of the Young Workers League.

(i) Special means should be provided for the adequate financing of the Party educational work. The Educational Department of the C. E. C. shall prepare and submit for the approval of the C. E. C. an approximate budget for the carrying on of the activities provided for in this program. Upon approval of the budget, the C. E. C. shall directly provide the required finances.

Trade Union and Industrial Work

The effectiveness of the Communist movement everywhere depends directly upon the success it has in sinking its roots into the industrial organizations of the working class. This principle is so generally recognized that the Communist International has reiterated time and again the supreme necessity for carrying on intensive and persistent work among the trade unions in all countries. The Workers Party, following the general policy, has also repeatedly insisted upon the need for well-organized efforts among the industrial workers. But nevertheless our Party has not yet come to realize the great importance of it. The trade union and industrial work is still in its infancy. Many units of the organization ignore it altogether. They seem to look upon the Trade Union Educational League as either some foreign organization or one capable of running along entirely upon its own resources. The consequence of this glaring neglect of trade union work is that the Party is failing to draw sustenance from the richest field of opportunity lying before it. All its activities suffer accordingly. A firm grip in the industries is the first consideration for the success of our whole movement.

The Central Executive Committee is determined that the Party shall take the industrial work much more seriously than in the past. For this purpose all the Party units will be required to make it a definite and constant feature of their activities. The present state of neglect must come to an end at once. We must aim to a condition wherein every industrial center there is a large and flourishing section of the Trade Union Educational League, and where every party of our Party is functioning vigorously industrially. The real health and growth of our Party depends upon the accomplishment of this condition. As the most vital present necessities of the industrial work, the Central Executive Committee calls upon the Party to put into effect the following general measures:

1. *Build the League.*—In every industrial center where the Party has local branches there must be formed local groups of the Trade Union Educational League. In the organized Districts the District Organizers shall consider it

a part of their most urgent tasks to see to it that in every industrial city or town within their Districts there is an active section of the League. They will be held responsible for the rigid fulfillment of this provision. The District Executive Committees, the City Central Committees, and local branches shall give the fullest co-operation in this matter.

2. *Industrial Registration.*—A first necessity for successful work among the trade unionists and unorganized masses in the industries is a complete industrial registration of all Party members. Such a registration will be carried out by the Central Executive Committee in the near future. All Party units, including Federations, District Executive Committees, City Central Committee, and local branches, are instructed to make this a special order of business. The District Organizers are especially instructed to see to it that the industrial registration is a success in their respective Districts.

3. *Industrial Organizers.*—In order to carry out the industrial work successfully, it is necessary that the various units of the Party commission industrial organizers and industrial committees to have charge of the work. The local branches shall each appoint an industrial organizer. The District Executive Committees shall specialize themselves accordingly and shall devote direct attention to the industrial work. The function of the industrial machinery of the Party shall be to bring the Party membership into the League and into the industrial work generally, in accordance with the policies of the Party.

4. *Union and League Membership.*—It shall be a leading aim of the industrial work to bring all working class members of the Party into the mass trade unions. Where none exist, they must be organized. The Party members who work in industry must also join the Trade Union Educational League and take an active part in its work. The campaign to bring the members into the unions and into the League must be prosecuted vigorously throughout the Party from top to bottom.

5. *Finances.*—In the near future the Trade Educational League will establish the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund. The purpose of this will be to regularize the financial support of the League. The Party units and membership everywhere shall give this Fund the most active support and look upon its maintenance as a Party duty. In addition, in order to further the industrial work, there shall be at least one picnic and one entertainment or dance organized to benefit the Trade Union Educational League each year in each important locality.

6. *The Labor Herald.*—The Party shall give active support to the circulation of *The Labor Herald*, official organ of the Trade Union Educational League. District Organizers will undertake to systematize the circulation of the *Labor Herald* in their respective districts.

7. *Build the Party.*—The Party membership must constantly bear in mind the fact that the prime aim of the trade union work is to build up the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party. To this end there must be a steady campaign carried on to bring all League sympathizers and members into the Workers Party. At the present time there are many workers who belong to the League but not to the Party. The welfare of the Party demands that all available workers made sympathetic through the work of the League be brought into the Party at the earliest moment and there developed into real Communists.

Shop Nuclei

From its inception the Communist International has never ceased to point out the absolute necessity of reorganizing the Communist Parties in the various countries from a territorial form of organization to one based upon shop nuclei. The territorial form of local branches is an inheritance from the Social-Democratic Party. It is unfit for effective Communist work, which can only be carried on when the Communists are thoroughly organized in the places where they work. For many reasons this change to a shop nuclei basis is vital to the progress of the Workers Party. One of these reasons, which may be noted, is the necessity of our eventually carrying on campaigns to organize the industrial masses into trade unions. This we can accomplish only if we have established elaborate connections by the institution of shop nuclei throughout the industries. These shop nuclei are in turn united upon the territorial principle. Likewise, the effective application of the whole program of the Workers Party depends upon our gaining the close contact with the working masses which can only be had through a well developed system of shop nuclei.

All over the world the Communist Parties are now in process of changing from the territorial to shop nuclei form as the basis of the local Party organization.

The Workers Party must follow suit. Everywhere the transition is a very difficult one. Especially is this the case in the United States where the situation is greatly complicated by the language problem. Pursuant to the resolution adopted at the last convention of the Workers Party, the Central Executive Committee will now proceed directly to the formation of shop nuclei. Inasmuch as the problem is such a difficult one, the work will be done carefully and largely in an experimental way so that our Party organization will not be injured, but, on the contrary, will be strengthened from the beginning. The Central Executive Committee will instruct the District Organizers to institute certain numbers of shop nuclei in their districts and to develop these directly under the guidance of the Central Executive Committee. As soon as possible the network of shop nuclei will be extended and developed as the basis of the Party. In order to make the shop nuclei campaign a success it is absolutely essential that the industrial registration be carried out 100%. Only if the Party is fully informed of the actual places of work of its members, can it possibly organize them into nuclei. The membership generally are urged to give their active support to this beginning of the shop nuclei reorganization of the Party.

Unemployment

Within the past 30 days the growth of the unemployment crisis has taken on new impetus. There is little doubt that it will rapidly become worse. While up to the present this has resulted in activity among the unemployed, on a mass scale, only in a few centers, such as the textile towns of New England and in some mining fields, movement of the unemployed may be expected on a national scale before many months, especially if stimulated and organized by the militant unionists and Communists. In this situation it is the duty of every member and unit of the Workers Party to apply the unemployment program, making themselves thoroughly familiar with it, and to inaugurate the following immediate steps:

1. Make unemployment a leading issue in all election campaign meetings.
2. Distribute the pamphlet on unemployment to be published by the Party, giving it a wide circulation.
3. Introduce resolutions in all labor unions and other bodies, calling for action to combat unemployment, along the lines of the Workers Party program.
4. Agitate for the organization of unemployed councils in districts such as the New England textile towns.
5. Bring the unemployed into close touch with the Workers Party and recruit new members from among their ranks.
6. Organize demonstrations in localities where unemployment is acute.
7. The Research Department is to issue weekly bulletins on the unemployment situation, and all Party papers are instructed to publish same and comment editorially.
8. The program of the party is to be studied in all Party units, and popularized among the masses of workers, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed.

The campaign against unemployment shall be carried out under the following slogans, applied in each case to the particular conditions of the locality, industry, or the circumstances of the action being taken:

Political

Government operation of non-operating industries and shops.
 Inauguration of public works.
 Maintenance of unemployed at union rates of wages.
 Nationalization of mines, railroads, and public utilities.
 Abolition of child labor.
 Recognition of and trade relations with Soviet Russia.
 Unemployment insurance administered by the workers.
 Grants by the Government.

Industrial

Industry must be responsible for maintenance of its workers.
 Equal division of work among members in each industry and shop.
 Assessment of employed for relief of unemployed.
 Establishment of control commodities of workers to regulate production and investigate accounts.

Struggle against sabotage of employers.

Unemployment insurance supported wholly by the employers and administered wholly by the workers.

EXHIBIT No. 23

[Source: The Second Year of the Workers Party of America—Theses. Program. Resolutions, published by the Literature Department of the Workers Party of America, 1009 N. State Street, Chicago, Illinois: 1924]

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THE SECOND YEAR OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION
HELD IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DEC. 30, 31, 1923, AND JAN. 1, 2, 1924

THESES—PROGRAM—RESOLUTIONS

Published by the Literature Department, Workers Party of America, 1009 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

INTRODUCTION

The Workers Party As a Revolutionary Force. By C. E. Ruthenberg. (*Reprinted from the February Liberator.*)

After four years of persistent struggle, during which the Communists wandered along many by-paths, there has come into being in this country a Communist party, which has learned how to reach the workers, make itself part of their struggles and to become a leader in those struggles.

At the second convention of the Workers Party it was already clear that the Party had formulated correct policies, but little had been done in the actual application of those policies. The past year has been a period of putting those policies into effect, of actual work, of achievement, of establishing the influence of the Party and building a following among the workers.

From its Third National Convention the Workers Party emerges as a growing political force in the life of this country.

I

The task which the Communists have set themselves is of herculean proportions. We have in the United States a social system more firmly rooted than anywhere in the world. The industrial order upon which it rests has reached a development which is gigantic and unrivaled elsewhere. The ruling class in this country possesses wealth and power, which has not been equalled in human history.

Here are thousands upon thousands of factories, mills, mines, railways, steamship lines, stores, banks, all the enormous, monstrous, intricate machinery of production and distribution upon which one hundred and ten million people are dependent for their livelihood, owned and controlled by the exploiting class. Here exist thousands of newspapers, magazines, schools, colleges, churches, moving picture theatres, all of which are cleverly exploited to shape the thoughts and ideas of the people in support of the existing social order and the industrial system upon which it rests.

The fact that this social system was created in a virgin land, that we have no past history of the uprooting of one social system and the establishment of a new, such as that which replaced the feudal system in Europe with capitalism, is an added element of strength for the capitalist system of the United States. Capitalism, in its early forms, came with the Pilgrims. It has grown and developed and dominated thruout the history of the white race in this country.

The state power, which expresses the rule of the capitalists, had its origin in events which have given it added elements of strength. Our government institutions had their birth after a revolution. That a counter-revolution intervened is hidden from the masses. With the supposed revolutionary origin of our government as a basis it has been easy to foster the illusion that it is "a government of the people, by the people and for the people." The belief in the democratic character of our government is deeply entrenched and has behind it the authority of more than a century of general acceptance.

Add to this economic power, the tradition of the rights of property, of the capitalist system as the only possible method of production and distribution, of

the government as a government of the people, the organs for repression, the laws and courts, the police, the army and navy, and the picture of the strength of the existing social order is overpowering.

This mighty, powerful, colossal capitalist order the Workers Party of America is fighting to overthrow and to replace with a new social order. The twenty-five thousand men and women who are today the members of the Workers Party dare hope—may, believe, are certain—that in spite of the economic power of the capitalists, in spite of the traditions which support their industrial system and government, in spite of laws, courts, police, army and navy, they will win in this struggle and establish a Communist social order in the United States.

Truly this is the epic struggle of the ages—the great adventure. Twenty-five thousand workingmen and women stand in battle array against this mighty colossus of capitalism. Their means of struggle are the meagre funds spared from the scanty living capitalism grants them, their intellectual ability, and—**a SOCIAL SCIENCE.**

Let us look at the twenty-five thousand—the members of the Workers Party—on the road to the victory over capitalism.

II

Other organizations have set as their aim the creation of a new social order in the place of capitalism. It will, by contrast, throw some light on the principles and tactics of the Workers Party, if we first examine their principles.

The Socialist Party, which once had a hundred thousand members and polled a million votes for its candidate, stated as its aims the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Its method of achieving that goal was theoretical propaganda about the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth, thru which it hoped to educate a majority of the workers to an understanding of the need of the new social order and thus win their support. To this theoretical propaganda it added a long list of abstract demands, the enactment of which were to slowly transform into the co-operative commonwealth.

The Socialist Labor Party, and its latest prototype, the Proletarian Party, both believe that they can educate the voters thru abstract propaganda to an understanding of the necessity of replacing capitalism with socialism. Educate a majority on the theory of surplus value, educate a majority to an understanding of the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth, and some fine day you will achieve it. To this conception the Socialist Labor Party added the idea of a theoretically perfect industrial union, which was to aid in the achievement of the co-operative commonwealth.

The Workers Party, too, states its goal to the workers—the achievement of a new social order. It holds before the workers the ideal of Communism. It seeks to educate the advance guard in the basic principles of Marxian science. But these are the only points of similarity between its methods and those of the organizations referred to above. The Workers Party does not believe that a majority will be educated to an understanding of the theory of surplus value nor that they will be inspired to overthrow capitalism by the beauties of an abstractly presented co-operative commonwealth. Its methods of struggle are based upon quite a different conception.

"The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles," wrote Marx in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. That is the key to the policies of the Workers Party, and of all communist parties.

In the capitalist United States the people are divided into economic classes with clash-economic interests. There is not only the main economic division of capitalist and worker, employer and employee, but there are the working farmers, the small shopkeepers, the professional groups, yes, even within the capitalist class there are economic groups with clashing economic interests.

The guiding principle of Communist policy, of the policies of the Workers Party, is to use the class struggles growing out of these conflicting economic interests to mobilize the forces which will wrest from the capitalists the state power through which they maintain their system of exploitation and to use the power thus gained as the instrument to transform capitalism into communism.

This does not mean only a campaign on the basic economic issue, which sharply divides the interests of the capitalists and the workers—privately owned industry, operated for exploitive purposes versus socialized industry, operated for service. The conflict between economic groups in capitalist society manifests itself in continuous struggles over immediate questions. The work-

ers fight for better wages and working conditions. They engage in struggles against restrictive laws, against injunctions, the use of the armed power of the government against them. The farmers fight against high railway rates, against the trustified marketing interests, against the banks, which hold the mortgages on their land, they seek legislative action to improve their economic position.

These daily struggles are the starting point of the Communist struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. By entering into all of these struggles, which grow out of the every day life of the exploited groups, championing the cause of the exploited, becoming their spokesmen, winning their confidence, the Communists establish their leadership of all those who suffer under the whip of capitalism. Thus the Communist Party combines under its direction all the forces in opposition to the capitalists in preparation for the day when the sharpening economic conflict will enable it to mobilize these forces for the blow which will make an end to the capitalist power.

III

The reports and resolutions of the Third National Convention of the Workers Party graphically illustrate the practical application of this policy and the growing strength of the Workers Party as a revolutionary force.

The sharp conflicts between the industrial workers and capitalists over wages, working conditions and the right to organize during recent years, conflicts in which the government has appeared regularly as the agency of the capitalists fighting the workers; the farm crisis, which has bankrupted millions of farmers, has developed a wide-spread movement for independent political action through a farmer-labor party. The Workers Party has been in forefront of this movement. Thru its aggressive campaign, thru the struggle it waged at the July 3rd Convention, it has greatly extended its influence among both industrial workers and farmers and today holds a position of leadership in the movement for a mass farmer-labor party, which will fight the political battles of the industrial workers and exploited farmers.

In the trade unions the reverses of recent years has created a demand for more effective organization. The Workers Party stands before the organized workers as the exponent of amalgamation of the trade unions into industrial unions and a more militant leadership in their struggles. Representatives of hundreds of thousands of workers have voted in conventions in support of these proposals of the Party and these workers see in the Workers Party the leader in the struggle to create more effective fighting organizations upon the industrial field.

The capitalist government aims a blow at the whole working class in its proposal to register foreign born workers and for selective immigration. These measures would create a class of coolie labor so tied down with restrictive legislation that it would be unable to offer resistance to the exploiters. The Workers Party, thru the action of its second convention, reaffirmed by the third convention, takes up the cudgel in defense of the foreign born workers and of the standard of living of the whole working class in its campaign for protection of foreign born workers.

The working farmers of this country are facing a crisis which is deeper than ever before in the history of this country. The convention resolution analyses the situation of the poorer farmers and raises the demand of a five year moratorium for farmers and ownership of the land by its users.

The Negro workers of this country are an especially exploited class. The Workers Party proposes a campaign against all forms of discrimination against the Negroes and will assist them in organizing their strength to make an end to these discriminations.

American, Irelands, Egypt and Indians are appearing as a result of the advance of American imperialism. The Workers Party sees in the national groups exploited by American imperialism in the West Indies, Central America, Hawaii and the Phillipines, its natural allies in the struggle against the centralized, imperialist capitalist government at Washington and it raises the slogans of independence for the victims of American imperialism and endeavors to rally the masses of this country in support of these slogans.

Soviet Russia is a dagger thrust straight at the heart of the whole capitalist world. It is a flag which is the inspiration and rallying point of the exploited everywhere in the world. The Workers Party takes up the fight for Soviet Russia in the demand for recognition and trade relations.

IV

Thus there is being created a growing revolutionary force in American life. The capitalists hold in their hands a mighty power. But within the capitalist order there are generated those forces which weaken and disintegrate that power in the form of the continuous class conflict which capitalism engenders. What is needed is the organization which can combine for the struggle against the capitalists all the forces of opposition which it creates. That organization is here—a Communist party, the Workers Party of America.

REPORT ON CREDENTIALS

Credentials in proper form have been received from all districts. In view of the fact that there are no contests of any character the Central Executive Committee recommends that the following delegates be seated without the formality of electing a credentials committee and the convention proceed immediately to its organization:

District 1	District 10
William Simons	John Mihelic
C. J. Blockland	T. R. Sullivan
E. J. Sinisalo	District 12
J. F. Mullen	Ella Reeve Bloor
Henry Puro	W. H. Wilson
District 2	District 13
Ludwig Lore	D. Gorman
Juliet S. Poyutz	Paul Reiss
C. E. Rnthenberg	District 15
Benjamin Gitlow	Alfred Wagenknecht
J. Jampolsky	Agricultural District
Benjamin Lifschitz	Joseph Mauley
A. Bittelman	Unorganized Territory
A. Bimba	Fahle Buhman
C. Paivio	Young Workers League
J. Brahdý	John Williamson
District 3	Martin Abern
A. Bail	John Edwards
H. Benjamin	FRATERNAL DELEGATES
Peter Hansen	Workers Party of Canada
District 4	F. Custance
Peter Hansen	Armenian Federation
District 5	A. Zariarian
Paul Kucinic	Bulgarian Federation
Fred H. Merrick	Christ Koteff
District 6	Czecho-Slovak Federation
D. Spehar	None
W. White	Esthonian Federation
A. V. Severino	Joseph Kalousek
A. Schaeffer	Finnish Federation
M. Lerner	Fahle Buhman
District 7	German Federation
Edgar Owens	F. Herschler
Herman Richter	Italian Federation
Jos. Finnila	L. Candela
District 8	Jewish Federation
Arne Swabeck	M. J. Olgin
Charles Krumbein	Lettish Federation
P. Aronberg	W. Rodgers
William Z. Foster	Lithuanian Federation
James P. Cannon	Roy Mizara
J. Johnstone	
District 9	
Matti Tenhunen	
N. H. Tallentire	
C. A. Hathaway	
Geo. Halonen	
John Miller	
J. Skoglund	

	Polish Federation	A. Nastasievsky
J. Kolwalski		Rose Pastor Stokes
	Roumanian Federation	Marian Emerson
None		B. Bordisoff
	Russian Federation	Alexander Trachtenberg
George Ashkenuzi		M. J. Olgin
	Scandinavian Federation	William F. Dunne
N. Juul Christensen		A. Jakira
	South Slavic Federation	John Pepper
None		Robert Minor
	Ukrainian Federation	J. Louis Engdahl
M. Durdella		H. M. Wicks
	Friends of Soviet Russia	Jay Lovestone
Rose Karsner		Max Bedacht
	Daily Worker Campaign Committee	William F. Kruse
John J. Ballam		Edward Lindgren
	Labor Defense Council	Fable Buhman
Geo. Maurer		Israel Amter
	Central Executive Committee Members who are not Regular Delegates	L. E. Katterfeld
William Weinstone		The Executive Secretary will present to the convention any new candidate for fraternal delegates which are re- ceived.

RULES OF ORDER OF THE CONVENTION

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall govern the proceedings of the convention when not in conflict with these rules.

2. The Convention shall elect a chairman and vice chairman at the beginning of each day's session. A secretary and assistant secretary to serve during the convention shall be elected.

3. The Convention shall elect the following committees, each to consist of five members:

1. Committee on Constitution.

2. Committee on Resolutions.

4. The order of business of the Convention shall be as follows:

1. Election of chairman and vice-chairman.

2. Election of secretary and assistant secretary.

3. Election of Committees.

(a) Committee on Constitution.

(b) Committee on Resolutions.

4. Report of the Central Executive Committee.

(a) The Party Work During the Year.

(b) The Economic and Political Conditions in the United States and the Policies of the Party. Report by C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

Report to begin at 11 A. M. and to be finished at 2:15.

Adjournment at 2:15 to 3 P. M.

Debate on report under two headings.

(a) The Party Work.

(b) Policies of Party.

Adjournment at 5 P. M.

Monday, December 31

5. The Industrial Work and Policies of the Party

(a) Report from 10 A. M. to 11:30 A. M.

(b) Debate 11:30 to 1 P. M.

(c) Adjournment until 2 P. M.

(d) Debate 2 P. M. to 3:15 P. M.

(e) Fifteen minutes summary by reporter.

(f) Vote on Resolution 3:30 P. M.

6. The Communist International and the World Revolution.

(a) Report by J. Louis Engdahl 3:30 to 4 P. M.

(b) Debate until 4:30 P. M.

(c) Vote on Resolution.

7. American Imperialism.

- (a) Report from 4:40 to 5:30 P. M., by Jay Lovestone.
- (b) Debate until 6:30 P. M.
- (c) Summary by reporter and vote on resolution.
- (d) Adjournment until 7:30 P. M.

8. Recognition of Soviet Russia.

- (a) Report by Robert Minor from 7:30 to 8:30 P. M.
- (c) Summary and vote on resolution.

9. Protection of the Foreign Born Workers.

- (a) Report from 8:30 to 9 P. M. by Ludwig Lore.
- (b) Debate and vote on resolution.
- (c) Summary and vote on resolution.

10. The Daily Worker.

- A—Report from 9:30 to 10 P. M. by John J. Ballam.
- B—Debate until 10:30 P. M.
- C—Summary and vote on resolution.

11. The Party Press.

- A—Report by A. Jakira until 11 P. M.
- B—Debate until 11:30 P. M.
- C—Summary and vote on resolution.

Tuesday, January 1

12. Shop Nuclei Organization.

- A—Report from 10 to 10:45 by Max Bedacht.
- B—Debate until 12:45.
- C—Summary and vote on resolution 1 P. M.
- Adjournment 1 P. M. to 2 P. M.

13. The Agricultural Situation and Work of Party.

- A—Report from 2 P. M. to 2:30 by Joseph Manley.
- B—Debate until 3 P. M.
- C—Summary and vote on resolution.

14. The Young Workers League.

- A—Report from 3 P. M. to 3:30 by —— for Y. W. L.
- B—Report from 3:30 to 3:45 by C. E. Ruthenberg for Party.
- C—Debate until 4:30 P. M.
- D—Summary and vote on resolution.

15. Report of Committee on Constitution.

Report and debate until 5:30 P. M.

16. Election of the Central Executive Committee 5:30 to 6:30 P. M.

Adjournment until 7:30 P. M.

17. Educational Work of the Party.

- A—Report from 7:30 to 8 P. M. by Jas. P. Cannon.
- B—Debate until 8:30 P. M.
- C—Summary and vote on resolutions.

18. Report of Committee on Resolutions.

19. Adjournment.

5. Debate shall be limited to ten minutes for each speaker on the report of the C. E. C., the Party Policies and the Industrial Work of the Party, and to five minutes for each speaker on all other points of the agenda. No speaker shall speak a second time while others who have not had the floor desire to speak.

6. Debate shall close at the hour allowed to each point on the agenda without the previous question being moved and the convention proceed to a vote.

7. A roll call vote may be demanded by five delegates representing two or more districts.

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD NATIONAL
CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

By C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary

During the past year our Party has made the greatest step forward since its existence as an organization. At the last convention of our Party, we finally formulated the correct policies to govern the work of our organization. This report of the Central Executive Committee will state in detail the application of those policies and the results for our Party.

In opening this report, we may well summarize what has been achieved. The Central Executive Committee believes that during the past year the Communist party in the United States has for the first time become a real political factor influencing the life and struggles of the workers of this country.

United Front

The policies outlined by the Second National Convention had as their basis the application of the united front policy of the Communist International in the United States. It is the united front policy which has governed the work of the Central Executive Committee during the past year and it is through the application of this policy that we have achieved the progress which our Party has made. This policy has been applied in the following campaigns:

Michigan Defense Campaign

The Michigan Defense Campaign was, of course, begun before the last convention of the Party, but this campaign continued during the present year and the full results became apparent since the last convention. In calling for a united front of all workers organizations, for defense of the rights of free speech and free press and to secure the repeal of the criminal syndicalist laws, the Central Executive Committee applied the united front principle. Through this campaign we drew to our support organizations of workers and even liberal organizations in all parts of the country. It is a fact admitted by our enemies in the Michigan cases that our campaign resulted in turning the attack upon our Party into a victory for our Party. The connections which were established, the influence and prestige which we gained through the defense campaign materially strengthened the Party influence and aided in preparing the way for the Workers Party to become the openly functioning Communist party of the United States.

Foreign Born Protection

The Second National Convention adopted a resolution instructing the Central Executive Committee to begin a campaign for the protection of foreign born workers. The Central Executive Committee during the early months of last year began to build a united front organization to carry on this struggle. In a number of cities we were successful in creating committees for Protection of Foreign Born Workers in which various labor organizations, fraternal organizations and political groups were represented. A number of our federations, notably the Hungarian and German Federations, were also able to draw into united front organizations numerous fraternal and labor organizations in their respective language groups. At the time of the adjournment of the Congress, the Central Executive Committee had under way the launching of a National Council for the Protection of the Foreign-Born Workers in which various representative labor union members of national standing were to participate. However, in view of the fact that Congress adjourned without passing the legislation directed against the foreign-born workers, the campaign was left in abeyance for the time being. With the new development in the form of the recommendation of President Coolidge's message for the Registration of the Foreign-Born Workers, becomes a great issue in the life of the American workers.

The C. E. C. recommends that this convention re-endorse the resolution of the Second National Convention and that the incoming C. E. C. be directed to carry the campaign previously initiated forward with new aggressiveness. Even in the developments of this campaign during the past year, our Party particularly through the language sections was able to strengthen its position and win the support of new groups of workers.

Policy in the July 3rd Convention

The next move of the Farmer Labor Party was to issue a call for a national Conference on July 3rd to which were to [sic in original]

May Day United Front

In connection with the celebration of May Day, the Central Executive Committee launched the slogans "Amalgamation," "A Labor Party" and "A Workers

Government" and endeavored to build up a united front May Day Celebration on the basis of these slogans. This campaign brought into co-operation with our Party organization for the celebration of May Day, a greater number of labor unions and workers' fraternal organizations than were united in any of the previous campaigns of the Party.

Labor Party Campaign Before the July 3rd Convention

The campaign for a Labor Party was initiated prior to the Second National Convention, and the first action in this campaign in the form of the effort to seat our delegates in the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland took place just prior to the last national convention. Even in its action in this instance the Party increased its prestige and political influence. It was in the effort to seat our delegates in the Conference for Political Action that our Party first appeared as a political factor in this country.

In the Conference for Progressive Political Action the caucus of the Farmer Labor Party had voted to support the seating of the Workers' Party delegation. After the convention was over, however, when the Labor Party Resolution was defeated in this convention, the National Committee of the Farmer Labor Party, disgusted by the reactionary tendencies of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, decided to withdraw from that body. When the Central Executive Committee of the Party learned of this proposal, it expressed to the Farmer Labor Party its opposition to such a move arguing that the Farmer Labor Party should remain within the Conference for Progressive Political Action at least until its next convention and make an open fight for the Labor Party there and if possible to take with it out of that convention all those groups which favored the organization of a Labor Party. However, the National Committee of the Farmer Labor Party voted to withdraw and this organization severed its connection with the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

When the C. E. C. received this information from the National Committee of the Farmer Labor Party, it immediately accepted and pledged its support to make the July 3rd Convention a success.

From the beginning of the campaign for the July 3rd convention there was close co-operation between the Farmer Labor Party and the C. E. C. The Executive Secretary of the Party held a number of conferences with the secretary of the Farmer Labor Party at which the plans for the campaign were formulated. Our Party did not only give its support as an organization but it assisted in financing the work of printing and sending out the call for the convention.

During these conferences between the Farmer Labor Party and the representative of the C. E. C., it was agreed from the very beginning that prior to the July 3rd Convention there would be a conference between the Committee representing the Farmer Labor Party and a Committee representing the C. E. C. of the W. P. for the purpose of agreeing upon a program for the July 3rd conference.

Sometime early in June it appeared, however, that the Farmer Labor Party had lost some of its enthusiasm for the July 3rd conference. The Farmer Labor Party had expected that some of the International Unions and the S. P. would respond to this call, but found that these organizations which were tied up with the reactionary Conference for Progressive Political Action or even with the Gompers Machine were not going to send delegates to the Convention. It appeared from the viewpoint of the representatives of the Farmer Labor Party expressed that John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor appeared to be allied with the Workers Party in a federated farmer labor party which would include local unions, central bodies and farm organizations and would not include the international unions and the S. P. At a conference early in the month of June the representatives of the Farmer Labor Party proposed that in place of organizing a federated farmer labor party at the July 3rd Conference only an Organization Committee should be created in which the Workers Party and all other national organizations would be represented while the local unions and central bodies would be affiliated with the existing Farmer Labor Party.

This proposal was reported to the Central Executive Committee and considered by it. It was the decision of the C. E. C. that if a sufficient number of workers were represented at the July 3rd Conference the Party delegates

would have to fight for the organization of a federated farmer labor party, and it was the view of the Committee that if a half-million workers were represented that would be a sufficient basis for the creation of a federated farmer labor party. The Committee decided that if the fight were made for the labor party and we were defeated we would accept the Organization Committee as a compromise.

A sub-committee of the C. E. C. was sent to Chicago two weeks before the July 3rd Conference for the purpose of carrying on official negotiations with the Farmer Labor Party in regard to the working program for the July 3rd Conference. This Committee met with a Committee of the Farmer Labor Party. In the conference it was agreed by the representatives of the Farmer Labor Party that if the representation at the July 3rd Convention was sufficient (and it was considered that if there were a half-million workers represented that would be a sufficient number) a federated farmer labor party should be formed. It was agreed that a National Executive Committee of the federated farmer labor party so formed should be elected by the Convention in place of the existing National Committee of the Farmer Labor Party based upon state representation. It was agreed that the structure of the Farmer Labor Party should be used as the structure for the new federated farmer labor party. It was agreed that the Conference should pass a resolution containing a general statement of principles and a resolution for the recognition of Soviet Russia.

It was on the basis of this agreement that the C. E. C. and the delegates of our Party went into the July 3rd convention. At no time prior to the Convention did the Farmer Labor Party repudiate this agreement which it had entered into with the representatives of the Workers Party.

During the two days prior to the opening of the July 3rd Conference the representatives of the C. E. C. who formed the steering committee of our Party endeavored to continue the conferences with the Farmer Labor Party and made repeated efforts to arrange a conference with John Fitzpatrick, who it appeared, was opposing the plan which the Farmer Labor Party representatives had agreed to. But these efforts for such a conference were fruitless.

Prior to the opening of the July 3rd Conference the question arose as to which delegates would be seated in the preliminary Farmer Labor Party Convention. The Steering committee of the C. E. C. sent a letter to the National Committee of the Farmer Labor Party stating as its view that only delegates from bona fide affiliated organizations of the F. L. P. should be seated in the preliminary convention and received in reply assurance from the F. L. P. that it agreed with this principle and would put it into effect.

Much to the surprise of the steering committee of the C. E. C. when the convention opened, the credentials committee, entirely made up of representatives of the F. L. P. brought in a report seating all the delegates present. The steering committee of the C. E. C. was ready to accept this decision but during the process of debate on the question amendments were made which would have seated all the local unions and central labor body delegates not affiliated with the F. L. P. but would have excluded the Workers Party and a number of international organizations. The steering committee could not permit such isolation of our delegates and therefore insisted that either all delegates be seated or only the bona fide Farmer Labor Party delegates as per the agreement previously made. The motion of the steering committee for the seating of all delegates was carried in the convention.

During the proceedings of the convention which followed the steering committee made repeated efforts to come to a new agreement with the Farmer Labor Party. In the organization committee which was elected, the Farmer Labor Party representation was asked to state what they desired the convention to do on the question of organization. After the Resolution Committee had worked out an organization plan the steering committee made another effort for a conference with John Fitzpatrick, and the opening of the morning session of the convention was held up for several hours in the hope that such a conference could be arranged, but again our efforts were fruitless.

During the debate on the organization plan submitted by the Organization Committee Comrade Ruthenberg took the floor and in a speech made in the name of the steering committee asked the Farmer Labor Party delegates what they wish, and that if they would submit their plan to the convention that we would agree to any concessions except that involving the sacrifice of the organization of a federated farmer labor party. Our committee even went so far as to provide in the organization plan for five representatives of the Farmer Labor Party on the National Executive Committee altho the Workers Party was

only granted two representatives. The Farmer Labor Party in response to Comrade Ruthenberg's speech, asked for a recess of the convention and for an opportunity to caucus. While the caucus was going on, our steering committee informed the representatives of the Farmer Labor Party that it would be glad to send representatives to the caucus to discuss any question at issue and come to an agreement, but this offer was not accepted.

The result of the caucus of the Farmer Labor Party was that the Farmer Labor Party delegates brought in a resolution proposing to exclude the Workers Party from the conference and ask the conference to accept the 1921 program and constitution of the Farmer Labor Party. This, of course, was impossible of acceptance by our steering committee and the proposal was laid on the table by 500 delegates voting against about 40, and the organization plan and statement of principles proposed by the organization committee was adopted and the Federated Farmer Labor Party organized.

We believe that the facts as outlined above show that the C. E. C. made every effort possible to avoid the split at the July 3rd conference and that it was the fact that John Fitzpatrick had gotten "cold feet" because of fear of the Gompers' machine that caused the split of the July 3rd conference.

Labor Party Policy After the July 3rd Conference

Immediately after the July 3rd Conference the C. E. C. launched a campaign to assist in the organization of the Federated Farmer Labor Party. There had been represented in the July 3rd Convention more than 600,000 organized workers and the problem was to secure the affiliation of the organizations represented with the Federated Farmer Labor Party. The instructions sent to our Party units were to raise the issue of the Federated Farmer Labor Party in all local unions, and endeavor to secure a vote of affiliation. In those cities in which the conditions were ripe the Party units were directed to take the initiative to form a Committee for the organization of a branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in which all local unions, fraternal organizations and political organizations would be refused, provided that the support secured was in a ratio of ten to one of the members of our Party.

A few weeks later it appeared that the barrage of misrepresentation and lies carried by the capitalist press and the Gompers Labor Press in regard to the July 3rd convention was having an influence on the work of organizing the Federated Farmer Labor Party. The C. E. C. considered that under these conditions it was necessary to modify the original instructions to our Party in this work in support of the Federated and adopt a resolution which provided that in carrying on this work we should endeavor:

- (a) to secure affiliation wherever possible
- (b) to secure endorsements of the Federated where affiliation could not be secured
- (c) to secure delegates to the next convention of the Federated where neither affiliation nor endorsement could be secured.

At a meeting of the C. E. C. about the middle of August, the whole question of our work in support of the Federated was raised and thoroughly discussed. As a result of this discussion the C. E. C. adopted a two-fold policy so far as its relations with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was concerned.

- (a) That our support of the Federated Farmer Labor Party must take the form of assisting the organization of the Federated and that an organization campaign and organization work to build branches of the Federated must be initiated wherever conditions were ripe.
- (b) That in addition the Federated Farmer Labor Party must consider this as an instrument for the work of propagaunda and organization for a larger united front and must carry on a campaign in those organizations not ready to affiliate with the Federated for the idea of a united front labor party.

Since the August meeting of the C. E. C., this policy has been in force and has been successfully applied. The C. E. C., during the period between the August meeting and the present time, has adopted policies for a score of dissimilar situations in various parts of the United States. On the left there has been the policy of assisting the organization of the Federated Farmer Labor Party as in the case of New York City and Washington County, Pennsylvania. Where strong branches of the Federated have been brought into existence there has

been the policy of securing endorsements for the Federated; there has been the policy of securing delegates for the next convention of the Federated; and in some instances, as in the case of Massachusetts, there has been the policy of carrying on an educational campaign for a united front labor party without any reference to the Federated Farmer Labor Party.

The C. E. C. believes that a close examination of all the details of these policies in relation to the Federated Farmer Labor Party and the Labor Party issue since the August policy was adopted, will not show a single instance in which a mistake has been made. The policy of the C. E. C. has been elastic enough to fit itself to each individual situation and to secure for the Party the greatest results from each such situation.

Our Present Position in Relation to the Federated and a United Front Labor Party

On the basis of the present situation of our Party in relation to the Labor Party movement in this country, the C. E. C. declares its belief that the organization of the Federated Farmer Labor Party at the July 3rd convention has greatly strengthened the position of the Workers Party. Through the manœuvres carried on by our Party directly and by the Federated Farmer Labor Party with our assistance, our Party is now in a position which makes it impossible to challenge our leadership in the labor party movement. The Federated Farmer Labor Party, although it has secured the affiliation of but 155,000 of the 600,000 organized workers represented in the July 3rd Conference, enjoys a greater influence and prestige than the number of officially affiliated members would indicate. It has built for itself a position of powerful influence upon the whole labor party movement and its connections extend to practically every part of the country in which there is a labor party movement. On the basis of these facts and our co-operation in bringing about this situation the C. E. C. believes that its view that the July 3rd conference and its results were a very great victory for our Party cannot be successfully challenged.

During the last two months, following out the policy declared in the August statement and reiterated in the November thesis submitted to this convention for approval that our Party must assist the Federated in bringing into existence a greater united front labor party, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has entered into an agreement with the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington, the Progressive Party of Idaho and the Committee of 48 for a convention to be held in the Twin Cities of Minnesota on May 30th for the nomination of a candidate for President and Vice-President and adoption of a national platform. Thus the Central Executive Committee is able to present to the convention a successful culmination of this policy of assisting in making the Federated Farmer-Labor Party the nucleus for a greater united front labor party.

The Chicago Situation

While everywhere in the country except in Chicago the results of the July 3d Conference immensely strengthened our influence, in the city of Chicago, the reverse was true. It was in the city of Chicago that the Fitzpatrick group which bolted the July 3d Conference had its greatest influence and it was in that city that our organization had to meet the full brunt of the attack of this disgruntled element. In order to fully present the development in Chicago and to draw for the Party the lesson of that development for its future guidance, it is necessary to review the whole situation in that city so far as our united front policy is concerned.

For a considerable period before the July 3d Conference there was an informal united front relationship between the so-called "progressive" leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor and our Party organization. It is argued and correctly that this united front was the basis for the launching of a nationwide scale of the "Amalgamation" and "Labor Party" campaigns of the Party. Undoubtedly the fact that these policies secured the support of the Chicago Federation of Labor thru the influence of the Fitzpatrick group helped materially in carrying on a successful campaign for these issues.

It appears, however, that there was a fundamental weakness in our policy in the Chicago situation for after the July 3d Conference, in place of being able to hold in the hands of our Party a section of organized workers, we found our influence limited to those unions in which there was a clear-cut sentiment for

Communism and which our members represented in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

We did not during the process of united front build up our independent power and when the crisis came we were left only with those groups of workers who have come fully under our direct influence.

During the process of the development of the united front campaign in Chicago, the Central Executive Committee came in conflict with the District Committee on a number of issues. The first case of this character was in relation to the United Front Manifesto issued by the Party to which the District Committee objected on the ground that it made one of the demands of the United Front, the opposition to the Second International. The Central Executive Committee took this matter up with the District Committee in detail, explained its position, and its view was finally accepted by the District Committee.

The question of the relationship of the District Committee to the negotiations with the Farmer-Labor Party prior to the July 3d Convention has also been raised as an issue in the Party and it has been charged that the Central Executive Committee objected to the Chicago comrades maintaining a close contact with the Farmer-Labor Party group prior to the July 3d Convention. In order that this issue may be clearly presented to the convention we quote the following letters sent by the Executive Secretary to the organizer of the Chicago District, Arne Swabeck, in reply to a communication from Comrade Cannon endorsed by the members of the District Executive Committee.

"Your letter informing me of the action of the District Executive Committee in regard to the United Front policy of the Party has been received. I will present this letter to the Political Committee, which will close the incident.

"In regard the July 3d Conference, Comrade Cannon's letter was considered by the Executive Council of the Party and it is the decision of that body that a conference will be held with the representatives of the Farmer-Labor Party on or about June 12th as has been the plan from the very beginning of our work in favor of the Labor Party Conference. We have no need for permanent representation in Chicago at the present time and feel sure that all the matters pertaining to the convention can be handled best at the proposed conference in June.

"The above is written in view of my personal interview with Jay Brown on last Monday during which there did not develop the slightest friction of any character or anything that needed to be straightened out between our organizations. In fact, Brown congratulated me upon the circular letter which I had sent out instructing our Party members how to conduct the work for the Labor Party convention. This letter, by the way, instructed our branches as to the number of delegates we would elect.

"Fraternally,

"EXECUTIVE SECRETARY."

"June 4, 1923.

"It is the view of the Executive Council of the Party that the situation in regard to the Labor Party Convention can be seriously muddled up should there be any negotiations with the representatives of the Farmer-Labor Party conducted by comrades in Chicago. It, therefore, strongly recommends that in discussing the questions which may arise, the representatives of the Party in official positions in Chicago, particularly, Swabeck, Browder and Krumbein, shall merely secure information to be transmitted to the national office and considered by the Political Committee and not to discuss any details in regard to arrangements which might be made.

"The above does not, of course, apply to the convention of the Farmer-Labor Party which is to be held on June 11th as it is the duty of the Chicago comrades to take all the necessary steps to work out the details of what is to be done in this convention so as to protect the interests of our organization in relation to the coming convention on July 3.

"Please submit this letter to the comrades in question and also to the District Executive Committee.

"Fraternally yours,

"EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

It will be clearly seen from the above letters that the Central Executive Committee desired the Chicago comrades to keep in close contact and secure all the information possible and only reserve for itself the right to make any decision in regard to the Party policy.

The Central Executive Committee was also obliged to correct the policies of the Chicago district in relation to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party after the July

3d Convention. The District Executive Committee sent out a circular letter in which there appeared the following quotation:

"1. The Chicago local Federated Farmer-Labor Party must be organized immediately by obtaining the affiliation of all local unions, fraternal organizations, from which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party City Central Committee will be formed.

"2. Our attitude toward the Farmer-Labor Party is to be that we will not encourage any immediate conflict either with the officials of the old Farmer-Labor Party or in the unions that have been up until now affiliated with that party.

"3. If the conflict is forced upon us, either by an attack on the Federated Farmer-Labor Party by the officials of the Farmer-Labor Party or in any union now affiliated with the Farmer-Labor Party, we will fight for the new party."

The Central Executive Committee, upon receipt of these instructions issued the following statement to the District Executive Committee correcting them:

"That we instruct the Chicago district to carry on an aggressive campaign to secure the affiliation of all unions in Chicago with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, irrespective of any previous affiliation. This is to be conducted under the slogan of 'Unity in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of all Labor Organizations for Independent Political Action.' It should be pointed out that the Federated Farmer-Labor Party consistently followed the policy of unifying the forces of labor and that it is the old Farmer-Labor Party which is bringing about this disunity.

"There should be no personal attacks on Fitzpatrick and others in this campaign. Rather their past attitude should be held up in contradistinction to their present viewpoint. They were for a Labor Party at the Cleveland Conference, they were for seating the Workers Party in the Labor Party, why are they against the Labor Party and against the Workers Party now?

"The Chicago district should at once instruct its branches on the policies decided upon by the Central Executive Committee and see that every Party branch and every Party member carries out these policies.

"Fraternally yours,

"EXECUTIVE SECRETARY."

Before the receipt of the letter from the Central Executive Committee the Chicago district had sent out a new circular to the branches in which it itself changed the paragraphs above, to read as follows:

"In every local union not now affiliated to the old Farmer-Labor Party our members must organize for this campaign of immediate affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, basing their arguments upon the merits of the party itself, the numerous groups and organizations represented, its statements of principles and program, and the party as an actual live expression of united political action by the working class.

"In unions now affiliated to the old Farmer-Labor Party our members must organize for an aggressive campaign of propaganda for the new party, preparing the ground for affiliation at the earliest possible date. Their arguments should likewise be based upon the merits of the party and any possible attacks of domination by "reds," "advocacy of force and violence" or "connections with the Third International" should not be dodged but met in the same manner in which these were handled by the July 3d Convention. The actual status and strength of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party should be compared to that of the split-up, bankrupt old Farmer-Labor Party."

The Central Executive Committee replied to the second instruction as follows:

"Your letter enclosing a new statement to the membership in your district in regard to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been received. This statement seems to be in harmony with the instructions I sent you upon direction of the Political Committee excepting as to paragraph two which suggests only the preparation of the ground for affiliation of unions formerly affiliated with the Farmer-Labor Party. This should be changed to read to instruct the Party members in these unions to carry on an aggressive struggle to have them immediately affiliated with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. I think also that the ground should be prepared as quickly as possible for the calling of a convention in Cook County of the organizations supporting the Federated Party for the purpose of organizing a Chicago local of the Federated Party. Of

course, we do not want to call such a convention until we are certain of substantial support and the date will depend to a large extent upon how many organizations affiliate with the Federated Party.

"Fraternally yours,

"EXECUTIVE SECRETARY."

It will appear from the above that the Central Executive Committee's instructions in this instance were shown to be correct guidance of the District Executive Committee in view of the fact that the District Executive Committee itself acknowledged its original error by sending out the second circular.

Communist Propaganda

While carrying on the united front campaign of our Party the Central Executive Committee has not overlooked the necessity of continuous propaganda about the fundamentals of Communism, in order that the workers may not be misled as to the real character of our Party. It has kept in the foreground the necessity of the campaigns which would bring out the fundamental Communist principles and educating the workers to an understanding of the Communist program and goal. These campaigns have been the following:

a. Program Distribution.—Immediately after the last convention of the Party the Central Executive Committee undertook the distribution of a million copies of the Party program setting forth these principles. While this goal was not reached we were able to distribute a half-million copies of the program, with the resulting Communist education among the masses.

b. Michigan Trials.—Probably the greatest propaganda for the fundamentals of Communism was that carried on thru the defense in the Michigan trials. The Central Executive Committee considered the question of the policy to be followed during these trials and decided that advantage must be taken of the opportunity to reach the working masses of this country with Communist propaganda. As a result of this decision, Comrades Ruthenberg and Foster went on the witness stand to state the Communist principles. The fact that the testimony thus given was printed practically everywhere in the United States with the results that millions of workers for the first time heard of our movement and its principles is well known to the delegates to this convention.

It was also during the Michigan trials that the slogan of a "Workers' and Farmers' Government" was first thrown out, in accordance with the decision of the Central Executive Committee. The enlarged session of the Communist International, which adopted the slogan of "A Workers' and Farmers' Government" for the whole International, gave our Party credit for having first raised this slogan before the masses.

c. Why Every Workers Should be a Communist.—During the fall of the year, the Central Executive Committee, in connection with the membership drive, undertook the distribution of the pamphlet, "Why Every Worker Should be a Communist and Join the Workers Party," as part of the work of Communist propaganda. This pamphlet is still being distributed and the total number will run into the hundreds of thousands before the campaign is over.

d. Why Congress Should Investigate Communism.—Taking up the challenge of the Lewis machine of the United Mine Workers of America, that Congress should investigate the Communist movement in the United States, the Central Executive Committee arranged a series of mass meetings at which addresses were made on the question of "Why Congress Should Investigate Communism," and the fundamentals of our movement explained to the workers at these meetings.

e. Lectures.—The Central Executive Committee has had speakers in the field for the greater part of the past year. Comrade Cannon made a speaking tour lasting five months which took him to every part of the country. His meetings were universally successful and we reached thousands of workers thru his addresses.

Comrade Rose Pastor Stokes was also toured for a considerable time.

During the fall, Comrades Wicks, O'Flaherty and Bedacht made speaking tours in various parts of the country explaining the Party policies at membership meetings and speaking at mass meetings in each city.

f. November 7th Celebrations.—The November 7th celebrations, held under the auspices of The Daily Worker Campaign Committee were also used for Communist propaganda and were more successful than at any previous time in the history of our Party.

Organizations

g. Consolidation of the Party.—At the beginning of last year our Party still consisted of numerous groups with factional inclinations. Groups were definitely organized around certain auxiliary institutions of the Party. It has been the policy of the Central Executive Committee to consolidate the Party into one centralized organization in which factional difficulties would not exist. We believe that the Central Executive Committee has been successful in this work and that in spite of any divisions on questions of policy which may exist within the organization our Party has now definitely become an organization which can no longer be torn asunder by any divisions upon policy which may arise in the Party in the future.

Membership

The following shows the development of the Party membership since the organization of the Party.

In order to contrast the membership figures for the four months of last year on which the convention apportionment of delegates was based with that of this year and to show the present make-up of our Party the following tables are presented:

Membership—July, August, September, October, 1922 (average)

District	Czech-Slovak	Finnish	German	Greek	Hungarian	Italian	Jewish	Letkish	Polish	Russian	South Slavie	Lithuanian	English	Total
1.....	59	---	1,469	25	---	5	71	139	62	6	195	---	---	2,031
2.....	543	38	1,189	110	20	83	508	135	273	2	213	13	58	3,175
3.....	45	---	54	6	---	30	123	5	91	1	36	---	20	411
5.....	19	---	276	10	7	---	150	---	11	---	7	205	22	707
6.....	157	30	532	---	6	3	24	27	23	6	---	266	89	1,160
7.....	95	80	297	---	---	---	42	---	64	---	---	54	24	656
8.....	126	25	432	---	---	58	85	---	173	5	126	236	76	1,242
9.....	57	19	1,275	10	---	---	11	---	---	---	---	98	---	1,470
10.....	121	8	25	20	---	---	17	---	54	---	29	167	---	381
12.....	---	---	444	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	445
13.....	54	---	344	---	10	---	12	20	6	---	---	23	29	498
Unorganized.....	---	---	172	---	2	---	44	---	---	---	---	---	---	218
Total.....	1,276	196	6,509	181	46	179	1,087	326	757	20	606	1,002	318	12,394

Average membership—July–October, 1923

District	Czecho-Slovak	Estonian	Finnish	German	Greek	Hungarian	Italian	Jewish	Lettish	Polish	Roumanian	Russian	Scandinavian	South Slavic	Ukrainian	Lithuanian	English	Total
1		16	1,281	25			17	58	100	8		191	74	13	36	89	36	1,949
2		44	970	220	29	78	90	488	155	55		263	16	15	140	246	314	3,955
3			161	35		35	31	108	135	28		57	5	26	52	84	20	729
4			115	15			38	43		19		25	5		58	35	24	435
5			236	10	5	35	6	50		13		36		221	35	29	47	734
6			603		18	60	29	23	15	25	76	35	22	321	30	33	148	1,460
7			369		19	19	12	71		27	39	106	11	33	71	52	61	914
8			362	25	5	55	102	75	87	43	10	119	80	197	93	185	167	1,803
9			1,516	10				27	12			16	5	71	25	25	55	1,783
10			20	15			27	24		7		18		10	81		136	470
11			469										20	22	52	3	52	577
12			15	463	23	35		12	36			35		34		15	62	777
13				12		36	5	44		10		31	2		38	29	8	273
14			52															8
15																		25
AD																		2
Un.			180	5	28	3		21		1								249
Total	438	80	6,803	413	128	359	319	1,048	414	245	126	877	243	1,064	583	901	1,192	15,233

English Membership

While the table above shows that dues payments from members paying dues thru English branches represent only a small part of the total membership, this does not tell the whole story so far as our English speaking members are concerned. The Executive Secretary of the Party reporting at a recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee stated that his opinion from the investigations and experiences in visiting various party organizations is that at least 50% of our total membership is an English speaking membership altho a large number of these members pay their dues thru federation branches and are officially listed as foreign language speaking members.

The industrial registration of the Party undertaken by the National Office has thus far brought complete reports from 319 branches with a total of 6,862 members, or about one-third of the total Party membership.

This registration shows the following results:

Total registration.....	6,862
Total members in unions.....	2,409 35%
Total non-union members registered.....	4,453 65%

The members registered fall in the following groups:

Industry	Union	Non-Union	Total	Percent in Union
Agrarian Workers.....		114	114	-----
Building Workers.....	583	276	859	62%
Clothing Workers.....	452	160	612	74%
Food Workers.....	75	127	202	37%
Metal and Machinery Workers.....	334	635	969	34%
Lumber Workers.....	10	12	22	45%
Miners.....	622	96	718	87%
Printers.....	32	16	48	75%
Public Service Workers.....	69	107	176	34%
Railroad Workers.....	14	39	53	27%
Textile Workers.....	41	159	200	21%
Miscellaneous.....	156	2,650	2,806	5%
(Including laborers and housewives)				
Totals.....	2,409	4,453	6,862	

The sale of initiation stamps during the year ending November 30th shows that 6,550 new members were admitted to our Party, whereas the average dues payment shows an increase in Membership of only a little over 3,000. It will be, therefore, seen that during this period we lost 3,500 members who were in the Party while admitting 6,550 new members into the organization.

The average membership figures, of course, do not as yet show the results of the membership drive during the last few months as the dues payment of new members for a single month would not appreciably affect the average for a long time. However, it will be noticed that as between October and November there has been an increase of 1,613 members. Unquestionably the membership drive has resulted in a large addition to the previous membership of the Party.

The charter applications show that during the year 347 new branches were organized.

Summary of Cash Receipts and Expenditures for Fiscal Year Ending November 30th, 1923

Miscellaneous:			
Check Exchange.....		\$5,865.95	
Protested Checks.....		1,821.88	
Loans and Funds received for other organizations.....		4,117.80	
Subscription Transfers.....		733.88	
Refunds of advances and payments.....		3,050.52	\$15,590.03
Executive Department:			
Dues Stamps Cash Receipts.....	\$49,598.38		
Initiation: Cash Receipts.....	3,275.15		
Make the Party Grow Stamps, Cash Sales.....	10,239.27		
Organization Stamps, Cash Sales.....	128.50		
Labor Party Campaign Fund.....	3,234.54		

Summary of Cash Receipts and Expenditures for Fiscal Year Ending November 30th, 1923—Continued.

Executive Department—Continued.

General Donations.....	\$13,840.10	
Rent Income.....	1,226.70	
1922 Convention Assessment.....	2,473.65	
Organization Liquidation a/c.....	1,482.88	
Speakers' and Organizers' Receipts.....	1,279.21	
Nov. 7th Flag Pin Sales.....	1,849.10	
Organization Supplies, Cash Sales.....	707.24	
Propaganda Leaflets, Cash Sales.....	2,822.75	
Voice of Labor Receipts.....	624.47	
May Day Buttons.....	2,044.25	\$94,825.39
Literature Department:		
Literature Cash Sales.....	\$8,819.70	
Communist Int'l Magazine Cash Sales.....	137.30	
Literature Loans Payable.....	40.50	\$8,997.50
Workers Department:		
Donations.....	\$79.00	
Subscriptions.....	7,277.41	
Bundle Cash Receipts.....	6,351.22	
Cannon Subscriptions Card Receipts.....	3,676.05	
Advertising Sold.....	955.00	\$18,338.68
<hr/>		
Total Receipts for Year.....	\$137,751.60	\$137,751.60

Summary of Cash Receipts and Expenditures for Fiscal Year Ending November 30th, 1923

Miscellaneous:

Check Exchanges.....	\$ 5,775.61	
Protested Checks.....	1,831.60	
Loans and Funds paid to other organizations.....	8,754.07	
Subscription Transfers.....	185.80	
Accounts Payable.....	31,241.28	
Advances.....	2,500.36	
Furniture and Fixtures.....	522.31	
Advance to New York Book Stores.....	635.00	\$ 57,446.03
Executive Department:		
Dues Refund to Districts.....	\$16,378.87	
Wages.....	11,582.50	
C. E. C. Meeting Expense.....	816.42	
Wages—Political Committee.....	3,684.52	
Agrarian Department Subsidy.....	2,032.42	
Rent.....	1,355.00	
Industrial Dept. Wages and Expenses.....	1,383.50	
Research Dept. Wages and Expense.....	2,113.75	
General Office Expense.....	736.14	
Stationery and Supplies.....	272.04	
Donations and Per Capita Tax to F. F. L. P.....	1,000.00	
Telephone and Telegraph Expense.....	377.32	
Press Service Expense.....	863.36	
Moving Expense.....	1,384.78	
Propaganda Leaflets Forwarding Expense.....	607.76	
Voice of Labor Expense.....	657.73	
Executive Dept. Travel Expense.....	1,137.23	
Labor Party Convention Expense.....	2,702.83	
United Toilers of America Deficit.....	300.00	
Miners' Organization Expense.....	826.98	
Organization Liquidation a/c.....	150.00	
Political Conference Expense.....	1,402.18	
Organizers' and Speakers' Expense.....	5,984.74	
Organization Supplies Purchase.....	3.00	
May Day Buttons, Refunded.....	23.30	
Subsidies and Donations to Districts and Federa- tions.....	2,136.62	
Postage.....	1,330.34	
1922 Convention Expense.....	3,047.03	\$ 64,290.36

Summary of Cash Receipts and Expenditures for Fiscal Year Ending November 30th, 1923—Continued.

Literature Department:

Literature Purchase	\$ 621.85	
Wages	1,803.00	
Carrage and Forwarding Charge	1,165.87	
General Office Expense	176.14	
Sales Promotion Expense	1.50	
Stationery and Supplies	32.75	
Writers' Expense	55.78	\$ 3,856.89

Worker Department:

Wages	\$ 7,955.25	
Printing	1,187.93	
News Service	254.18	
Mailing	668.04	
Postage	704.08	
General Office Expense	309.52	
Stationery and Supplies	117.95	
Telephone and Telegraph	74.80	
Cannon Tour Expense	1,820.99	\$ 13,092.74

Total Expenditures for Year \$138,686.02

Cash Receipts and Expenditures for Fiscal Year Ending November 30th, 1923, by Months

Month	Receipts	Expenditures
December, 1922	\$12,213.75	\$12,922.72
January, 1923	7,879.84	7,567.25
February, 1923	7,973.21	7,762.77
March, 1923	8,979.76	8,648.16
April, 1923	13,888.33	14,080.47
May, 1923	12,778.80	12,796.06
June, 1923	9,531.51	10,945.21
July, 1923	14,994.25	14,345.14
August, 1923	11,231.20	11,375.76
September, 1923	10,278.79	10,072.53
October, 1923	14,944.49	15,200.00
November, 1923	13,057.07	12,970.05

Total	\$137,751.60	\$138,686.02
Balance Cash November 30th, 1922	\$985.19	
Receipts for Fiscal Year ending 11-30-23	137,751.60	
Expenditures for Fiscal Year ending 11-30-22		\$138,686.02
Balance Cash November 30th, 1923		\$50.77
Total	\$138,736.79	\$138,736.79

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OPERATION ACCOUNT

	\$75,714.67
Bank Charges	\$ 64.24
Czecho-Slovak Federation Subsidy	38.05
Conference for Progressive Political Action Expense	360.32
Convention (1922) Expense	3,032.98
Protection of Foreign-Born Campaign Expense	108.50
District No. 14 (Wagenknecht) Subsidy	905.83
Donations Made	819.86
Furniture and Fixture (Depreciation)	443.61
District No. 13 Subsidy	50.00
Interest on Loan	8.85
Italian Federation Subsidy	542.60
Loans Receivable from Districts (Subsidy to Districts)	375.50

Office Machinery-----	\$164. 00
Negro Committee Subsidy-----	150. 00
Miners' Organization Campaign-----	511. 26
Polish Federation Subsidy-----	439. 00
Scandinavian Federation Subsidy-----	64. 10
United Toiler Deficit-----	300. 00
Young Workers League Subsidy-----	200. 00
West Virginia District Subsidy-----	100. 00
May Day Button Purchase a/c-----	392. 50
May Day Button Refund to Districts-----	752. 53
C. E. C. Meeting Expense-----	816. 42
Federation Dues Refund Payments to Districts-----	15, 610. 39
Flag Pin Expense-----	1. 50
Executive Dept. Gen'l Office Exp-----	1, 113. 23
Organization Supplies Purchases-----	936. 56
Make the Party Grow Stamps Refund-----	1. 50
Executive Department Postage-----	1, 255. 10
Propaganda Leaflets Purchase a/c-----	3, 144. 60
Executive Department Rent-----	966. 00
Propaganda Leaflets Forwarding Exp-----	537. 73
Stationery & Supplies (Exec. Dept.)-----	1, 610. 16
Telephone & Telegraph (Exec. Dept.)-----	1, 606. 62
Travel Expense (Exec. Dept.)-----	1, 166. 68
Industrial Dept. Gen'l Office Expense-----	347. 06
Industrial Dept. Travel-----	45. 00
Industrial Dept. Wages-----	1, 036. 50
Executive Dept. Wages-----	11, 306. 00
Voice of Labor Expenses-----	724. 41
Voice of Labor Postage-----	524. 82
Lyceum Department Expenses-----	2, 210. 05
Research Dept. Wages & Expenses-----	2, 205. 30
Political Committee Wages-----	3, 005. 00
Political Committee Expense-----	656. 56
Political Committee Conferences-----	383. 33
Agrarian Department Subsidy-----	1, 020. 75
Agrarian Department Wages-----	1, 120. 67
National Defense Committee, N. Y. Division, Rent-----	7. 75
Polish Federation Rent-----	16. 25
Russian Literature Dept. Rent-----	3. 25
Press Service Gen'l Office Expense-----	1, 353. 46
Press Service Wages-----	225. 00
Labor Party Campaign Expense-----	2, 576. 17
Labor Party Fund Expense-----	776. 42
Moving Expense-----	1, 403. 78
Reserve for Bad Debts (N. Y. Bad Debt)-----	924. 49
Per Capita Tax FFLP-----	500. 00
New York Headquarters Rent-----	685. 00
General Field Organizers Exp-----	3, 702. 31
Lyceum Dept. Advertising-----	316. 62
Office Maintenance & Repair a/c-----	48. 50
Total debited to executive operation a/c-----	\$ 75, 714. 67
Bank Interest-----	3. 29
Campaign Fund-----	45. 00
1922 Convention Assessments-----	2, 469. 75
1922 Convention Assessments (to be refunded)-----	40. 25
Donation Received-----	1, 159. 34
Federated Press Fund-----	44. 20
Discount Earned-----	1. 59
Overpayment a/c-----	10. 00
Rent Income-----	400. 00
Suspense a/c-----	11. 78
Textile Strike Fund-----	35. 40
May Day Button Sales-----	2, 601. 85
Dues Stamps Cash Sales-----	49, 117. 98

November 7th Flag Pin Sales.....	\$1,849.10	
Initiation Stamps Cash Sales.....	3,275.10	
Make the Party Grow Stamp Cash Sales.....	10,231.27	
Leaflet Fund.....	64.00	
Organization Donations.....	12,623.01	
Organization Stamps Cash Sales.....	128.50	
Organization Supplies Cash Sales.....	707.24	
Propaganda Leaflet Cash Sales.....	2,822.75	
United Front Fund.....	18.00	
Voice of Labor Cash Sales.....	624.47	
Labor Party Fund Receipts.....	3,234.99	
Organization Liquidation a/c.....	241.51	
General Field Organizers Receipts.....	562.06	
Lyceum Department Income.....	614.18	
Receipts to Executive Department.....		\$92,293.66
Charges to Executive Department.....	75,714.67	
Surplus—Executive Department.....	17,221.99	
Total.....	\$92,936.66	\$92,936.66
The Worker Dept. Operation Account.....		\$33,466.38
Advertising Commission.....	\$33.60	
General Office Expense.....	282.27	
Mailing Expense.....	4,263.36	
News Service Expense.....	657.10	
Printing.....	15,936.96	
Rent.....	675.00	
Sales Promotion Expense.....	187.31	
Stationery and Supplies.....	709.37	
Telephone and Telegraph.....	189.36	
Wages.....	7,945.25	
J. P. Cannon Tour Expense.....	2,586.80	
Total Debited to "Worker" Operation Account.....		\$33,466.38
Advertising Income.....	\$955.00	
Bundle Sales.....	6,335.97	
Workers' Challenge.....	18.13	
Donation.....	53.50	
Office sales.....	11.15	
Subscriptions.....	7,274.31	
Toiler a/c.....	17.89	
J. P. Cannon Subscription Cards Cash Receipts.....	3,411.34	
J. P. Cannon Field Organizers' Receipts.....	306.93	
The Worker Dept. Operation Account.....		\$18,384.22
Receipts to The Worker.....		\$18,384.22
Charges to The Worker.....	\$33,466.38	
Deficit, The Worker.....		\$15,082.16
Total.....	\$33,466.38	\$33,466.38
National Defense Committee Account.....		\$6,608.19
Bank Charges.....	\$14.42	
General Office Expense.....	26.61	
Loss on Bail Bonds.....	50.00	
Legal Expense.....	3,684.53	
Inventory 1922.....	327.50	
Donation to New York Division.....	150.00	
Printing.....	109.05	
Prisoners Family Relief.....	225.00	
Prisoners Relief.....	353.97	
Pittsburgh Defense Expense.....	1,062.83	
Special Defense Relief.....	356.00	
Travel Expense.....	108.48	
Premium on Bail Bonds.....	130.80	
Total debited to N. D. C. of W. P. of A. Op- eration a/c.....	6,608.19	
Suspense Account.....	.04	
Defense Donation.....	841.82	

Defense Stamps Cash Sales.....	\$4,712.26	
Shumovich Bond Receipt.....	1,176.09	
Literature Cash Sales.....	52.52	
National Defense Committee Operation Account.....		\$6,782.73
Receipts to N. D. C.....		\$6,782.73
Charges to N. D. C.....	6,608.19	
Surplus to N. D. C.....	174.54	
Total.....	\$6,782.73	\$6,782.73
Literature Dept. Operation Account.....		\$17,846.87
Advertising Bought.....	\$810.82	
General Office Expense.....	227.39	
Inventory, 1922.....	3,960.27	
Purchases.....	6,874.54	
"Communist International" Purchase.....	375.00	
Parcel Post and Cartage Charges.....	1,155.24	
Rent.....	675.00	
Reserve for Literature Accounts Receivable.....	1,377.78	
Sales Promotion Expense.....	64.37	
Stationery and Supplies.....	387.81	
Telephone and Telegraph.....	79.87	
Wages.....	1,803.00	
Writers' expense.....	55.78	
Total Debited to Literature Department Operation Account.....	\$17,846.87	
"Communist International" Cash Sales.....	\$137.30	
Literature Cash Sales.....	8,795.88	
Literature Sales.....	2,877.78	
Inventory, 1923.....	2,996.15	
Literature Department Operation Account.....		\$14,807.11
Receipts to Literature Department.....		\$14,807.11
Charges to Literature Department.....	\$17,846.87	
Deficit—Literature Department.....		3,039.76
Total.....	\$17,846.87	\$17,846.87

Summary for Year Ending November 30th, 1923

	Surplus	Deficit
Executive Department.....	\$17,221.99	
Worker Department.....		\$15,082.16
Literature Department.....		3,039.76
National Defense Committee.....	174.54	
Total.....	\$17,396.53	\$18,121.92
Total deficit—Workers Party of America.....	725.39	
Totals.....	\$18,121.92	\$18,121.92

Statement of Assets and Liabilities for Fiscal Year Ending November 30, 1923

Assets:		
Cash.....	\$50.77	
Stop Payment Check.....	1.69	\$52.46
Accounts Receivable.....	27,900.31	
Reserve for A/c Received.....	\$632.83	
Dues Stamp Sales.....	4,532.58	
Initiation Stamp Sales.....	4,114.85	
A/cs Rec. Make T. P. G. Stamps.....	2.52	
Organization Supplies Sales.....	240.94	
Propaganda Dit Sales.....	252.50	
Reserve for Uncollectable Balances "Lit." Department.....	3,377.78	
Organization Stamp Sales.....	10,837.60	
Total.....	\$27,900.31	\$23,811.60
Liabilities.....		\$4,088.71

Assets—Continued.

Loans Receivable-----		\$4,425.34
Daily Worker-----	\$70.74	
Liberator-----	3,669.60	
General-----	685.00	
Worker A/c Receivable for Bundles-----	\$3,242.96	
Reserve for Uncollectable bal- ances of the Worker-----	2,000.00	1,242.96
Deposit a/c (Rent, Light, Telephone)-----		397.50
Furniture and Fixtures-----		1,000.00
New York Book Store Advance-----		535.00
Office Machinery-----		500.00
Petty Cash-----		50.00
Pittsburg Defense Committee-----		70.00
Postage Fund-----		63.97
Protested Checks-----		9.09
Rents a/cs Receivable-----		215.00
Rents a/cs Liberator Publishing Co.-----		117.00
Russian Relief-----		1.00
Federation Dues Refund to Districts Payable-----		2,536.71
Federation Dues Refund to District No. 10-----		94.45
Make the Party Grow Stamps Sale-----		2.02
Literature Inventory, 1923-----		2,996.15
Research Department Petty Cash-----		25.00
Liabilities:		
Accounts Payable-----		\$15,922.48
Freiheit Exchange-----		750.00
Labor Defense Receipts to be remitted-----		35
Loans Payable-----		715.00
Polish Communist Fund-----		52.05
Wages Unpaid-----		395.54
Dues Refunds Payable to Districts-----		2,451.16
Literature Loans Payable-----		933.07
Loan A. B. C.-----		206.06
Speakers' Expenses Payable-----		98.06
Subscriptions Transfers-----		37.57
Imprecorr Subscription Transfer-----		67.50
Liberator Subscription Transfer-----		128.80
Total liabilities-----		\$21,757.64
National Defense Committee		
Assets:		
Defense Accounts Receivable-----	\$2,212.78	
Chas. Bramson-----	100.00	
Cash-----	690.94	
Edgar Owens-----	62.20	
Total assets-----		3,065.92
Liabilities:		
Defense Stamps Sales-----		\$2,537.11
Net Worth National Defense Committee-----		661.52
Total Liabilities-----		3,198.63
Operation Accounts		
Lit. Dept. Operation-----	\$3,039.76	
Worker Dept. Operation-----	15,082.16	
Executive Dept. Operation-----	\$17,221.99	
Deficit Workers Party of America, 1923-----	889.93	
Deficit Workers Party of America, 1922-----	2,398.06	
Total deficit Workers Party of America-----	3,297.99	
Totals-----	\$24,956.27	\$24,956.27

Liberator Operation Account

Debits:

Advertising Bought	\$186.67
Advertising Commission Bought	15.00
Binding 1922 Liberator	74.40
Bank Charges	72.49
Contributors' Payments	676.50
Furniture and Fixtures	85.00
General Office Expense	716.03
Liberator Evening Expenses	14.30
Mailing Expenses	953.66
Manufacturing Expense	9,997.23
Office Postage	306.53
Rent	573.00
Sales Promotion Expense	815.71
Supplies	50.00
Wages—Administration	3,046.50
Wages—Advertising	1,187.50
Wages—Editorial	2,542.50
Telephone and Telegraph	78.16
Reserve for Uncollectable Balances	1,500.00
	<hr/>
	\$22,891.18

Credits:

Advertising Sold	\$4,013.48
Books	157.56
Donations (Contributions)	872.86
Bundle Order Cash Receipts	8,158.02
Defense	1.00
March, 1923, Ball	598.73
Office Sales	115.59
Singles Cash Receipts	3,356.10
Subscriptions	3,356.47
Subscription Agents Cash Receipts	164.48
Suspense	5.10
Waste Paper Sold	12.20
Ridpath's Raffle Receipts	15.40
Bundle Order Sales	2,557.54
	<hr/>
Liberator operation account	\$20,034.53
Receipts to Liberator	\$20,034.53
Charges to Liberator	\$22,891.18
Loss—Liberator Pub. Co., 1923	2,856.65
	<hr/>
Totals	\$22,981.18 \$22,981.18

The books of the national organization were audited by a certified accountant, Samuel Freidman, up to July 30th. Since the removal of the headquarters to Chicago, no audit has been made and the incoming C. E. C. should be instructed to make arrangements to cover the period from July 30th to November 30th.

Bookstores.—During the year the C. E. C. decided to as quickly as possible establish a series of bookstores in the larger cities for the sale of Communist literature. The first of these stores has been established in New York under the name of the Jimmie Higgins Bookstore and seems to be on the road to success.

Freiheit & Elore.—The C. E. C., following out the policy of the last convention that the Party press should come under the centralized ownership of the Party during the year, took over the ownership of the Freiheit and the Elore. The Freiheit, since the beginning of May, has also been under the direct management of the C. E. C.

Voice of Labor.—With the removal of the Party headquarters to Chicago, the National Organization took over the Voice of Labor and has issued it as a bi-weekly propaganda paper during the recent months. With the establishment of the Daily, the Voice of Labor will become more important as a propaganda sheet, and it should be the effort of the C. E. C. to build up a large circulation for this paper.

Press Service.—The C. E. C. during the past year has maintained a Workers Party Press Service which has continuously supplied news, stories and articles to the Party press and also to some 500 labor papers throughout the country. Through this means a great deal of material in regard to our Party principles and our campaigns has received publicity in the labor press throughout the United States.

Research Department.—The C. E. C. has also maintained a Research Department which furnishes material to the Party editors and speakers and also issues a review of the week which is sent to the Party press and Labor press through our Party Press Service.

Literature Publication.—During the past year our Party has at least made a beginning in the publication of Communist literature applicable to the needs of the life of the workers in this country. During the year we have issued the following books and pamphlets:

1. Two editions of "For A Labor Party."—John Pepper.
2. Two editions of "Underground Radicalism."—John Pepper.
3. The "American Foreign Born Workers."—Clarissa S. Ware.
4. The "Government Strike-breaker."—Jay Lovestone.
5. "Blood and Steel."—Jay Lovestone.
6. "What's What About Coolidge."—Jay Lovestone.
7. "Strategy of the Communist."—Letter from C. I. O. to Mexico.
8. "Why Every Worker Should Be A Communist And Join the Workers Party."—C. E. Ruthenberg.

The C. E. C. has also issued leaflets in connection with the various Party campaigns which have received a wide distribution.

Agricultural Department.—Beginning in the spring of the year the C. E. C. established an Agricultural Department. Comrade Hal Ware was originally put in charge of this work and made a survey of the conditions of the agricultural sections of this country for the S. E. C. In August actual work of organizing was begun in North Dakota where we have succeeded in building up a Party organization of about 200 members. At the present time we are carrying on similar work in South Dakota through our organizer, Comrade A. Knutson, and a beginning is just being made in Oklahoma where Comrade J. E. Snyder is at work.

In connection with this agricultural department, a monthly paper, "The United Farmer," was published for a time, which has now been consolidated with the "Farmer Labor Leader" in Mitchell, South Dakota.

District Reorganization.—The C. E. C. during the year adopted the policy of reducing the district organizations of the Party so that a district would cover a definite industrial center and the district organizer would be able to be in continuous contact with all the Party units in such a center. In accordance with this policy District 2 was divided into three separate districts, making Greater New York City with the towns in Northern New Jersey a district such as the C. E. C. believes must be the district unit of the Party in the future. As our organization develops our policy should be to create similar districts wherever sufficient number of Party members are centered in a definite industrial territory.

Daily Worker.—In August the C. E. C. undertook a campaign for the establishment of a Daily Communist Paper in the United States. As has been announced in the press the first issue of the "Daily Worker" will appear on January 13. The details of the successful campaign to launch the Daily Communist Paper for our Party will be reported under a separate point on the agenda.

Dues Payments.—The industrial registration which appears in another place in this report shows that in 319 branches 6,862 members of the Party were registered. There are a total of over 1,300 Party branches at the present time, and if the average membership per branch for these 319 branches holds good for the entire Party, the industrial registration will show 27,448 members on the Party rolls. The highest dues payment in recent months has been for the month of November which shows 17,726 members paying dues for that month. It will readily be seen from these figures that there is a wide discrepancy between the membership on the Party rolls and the members paying their dues regularly each month. The C. E. C. has considered in the past that in a Communist Party the membership would pay their dues regularly without special campaigns to insure such dues payment. It seems that this is not the case, and it will be necessary for every Party unit to begin a campaign for

regular payment of dues, and this should be one of the instructions to the incoming Central Executive Committee.

Industrial Work.—The details of the industrial work will be reported by Comrade Foster under a separate report. The Party organization as such took an active part in all the industrial work of the Party, notably the miners' campaign. For a considerable period of time the Party maintained special organizers in the mining fields to carry on agitation for the Progressive Miners Program.

During the spring of the year Comrade Charles Krumbein was appointed as industrial organizer for the Party with headquarters in Chicago. An attempt was made to take an industrial registration of the Party at this time, but because of the separation of the industrial organizer from the Party headquarters the work could not be carried to a successful end. Recently Comrade Jakira, Assistant Secretary, has been appointed to the industrial work in the national office and a new industrial registration is under way. The reports received thus far have been stated in the membership report. It is the decision of the C. E. C. that industrial registration shall be taken twice each year. The Party in various parts of the country has undertaken to carry into effect the decision of the last convention urging every member to become a member of a union, and this has greatly increased the number of union members in our Party. Exceptionally good work has been done in this respect in the city of Detroit where hundreds of Party members have been brought into unions and are now carrying on effective work for the Party in these organizations.

Defense.—At the present time there are three Communists who are in prison because of their Communist activities: Comrade L. E. Katterfield in Joliet, Ill.; Comrade I. Blankenstein and Jos. Martinowich in Pennsylvania Prisons. It is the hope that all three Comrades will be released at an early date.

There are pending in the courts in addition to the 32 Michigan cases, 9 cases in Pittsburgh where a raid was made on our organization on or about May 1st of this year. There are also pending the New York cases involving Comrade Benjamin Gitlow whose case is now before the Supreme Court of the United States for decision; Comrade Harry Winitsky, whose case is in the Appellate division of the New York Courts, and the case of Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg is still pending in the Lower Court of New York, although the original conviction was reversed.

During the year a number of deportations cases dating back to 1919-20 were pressed by the authorities, and three or four Comrades were deported as a result of these cases.

Summary

The Central Executive Committee is of the opinion that the report which appears above contains a record of Party achievements which our organization can well be proud of, and it submits its work to the delegates of this convention confident that it has fulfilled its duty to the Party during the period of its leadership in the past year.

THESES ON THE PRESENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION AND ON LABOR PARTY POLICY, PROPOSED BY CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1—Economic Conditions in the United States

A—The farmers of the United States did not participate in the prosperity which followed the economic crisis of 1920-21. The prosperity was a one-sided industrial prosperity. In 1922 some two million farmers left the land because of bankruptcy and it is estimated that in 1923 three million others will follow them. Tens of thousands of farms have been abandoned in a number of states. The mortgaged farmers are having mortgages foreclosed on their farms and are being compelled to become tenants. The government reports show a tremendous increase in tenantry in the farming regions. Taxation has increased to such a tremendous extent that it is estimated that in 1922 thirty per cent of the net products of the farmer went to pay his taxes. As a result of this economic pressure upon the farmers they are entering politics en masse.

B—There is every indication that the existing industrial prosperity will soon come to an end. Production and employment already show decreases in the basic industries. Unfilled orders in the steel industry have decreased 30 per cent during the last three or four months. Employment in the bituminous

coal industry is decreasing. In many coal fields the miners are working short days and unemployment is already quite general. Textile mills are closing down because of lack of orders. The Amoskeag Mills in New Hampshire have closed down for the first time in 25 years. There is a great over-production in the copper industry and prices have fallen to the lowest figure in many years. The oil industry is in a catastrophic condition. The development of another crisis and widespread unemployment is forecast by all the symptoms of economic life in this country today. Just now the interlocking financial oligarchy which is the ruling power in American industry, is throwing in its last reserves to avoid a crisis by having the railroads place larger orders for steel and the Washington government has begun negotiations for the purpose of making a loan to Germany, with the condition, of course, that the money will have to be spent in the United States.

During the wave of prosperity which is now passing, the working class was able to bring to a halt the offensive of the capitalists and was able, in some cases, to win wage increases and to shorten hours. However, during this period organized labor was not able to strengthen itself. On the contrary, the membership of the American Federation of Labor decreased in the year 1923 from the year before by 269,167, and in the railroad industry the shop crafts organization was practically destroyed. Reports generally in regard to the trade unions indicate that organization is at a low ebb. This crisis will be all the greater because millions of exploited farmers are invading the industries in search of the means of gaining a living.

2—The Political Situation

A—Political parties in this country have had within the same parties various economic classes. The sharpening of the conflict of economic group interests is developing a situation which makes it impossible for these economic groups to remain together in the same political party. The first result of this clash of economic group interests within the old parties manifests itself in the failure to agree upon a common program. This has developed into factional struggles in many states and the continuance of the divisions which are developing means the split of the old parties. This division is clearer and sharper in the Republican than in the Democratic party, altho the latter shows the same tendency.

B—These economic groups whose class interests are in conflict with the ruling big capitalists', such as the lower middle class, the professional groups and the farmers, drawing in their wake a part of the aristocracy of labor, are splitting away from the old parties and the tendency is for these groups to draw together to form a third party which will contain elements from both the old parties and which will enter the political arena as the enemy of the big capitalists who now dominate the government. The La Follette movement, the Hearst-Hylan movement, the Ford-For-President movement, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, are all expressions of this tendency. The birth of such a party means a revolutionary change in the American political system, but the policies of such a party will be the backward-looking policies of destroying the trusts or regulating the big capitalists and it would be foolish to believe that such a party can bring any fundamental change in the existing industrial system which would be of benefit to the exploited workers and farmers.

On the other hand, such a party will weaken and split up the united capitalist class and make impossible a united attack of the capitalist upon the worker.

We must differentiate between such a third party which includes small business men, well-to-do farmers and the professional classes, even tho it may call itself a Farmer-Labor Party, and a class Farmer-Labor Party made up of the industrial workers and exploited farmers.

C—There exists a growing sentiment for a labor party which has developed out of the industrial crisis of 1920-21, and the interference of the government in all the great strikes. This movement of the workers expresses itself in two forms: 1 The support of the third party movement, and, 2 In the organization of a class labor party.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action, holding under its influence more than a million workers, is friendly to, and a great part of the organized workers it represents are supporting, a third party movement.

On the other hand, farmer-labor parties have been organized in some states, such as West Virginia, Minnesota (with the Farmer-Labor Federation expressing the class-conscious element), Montana, and many local labor parties are springing

up as in Buffalo, Los Angeles, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of Washington County, Pa., and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been organized on a national scale.

While the sentiment and pressure for a labor party is growing, it would be an illusion to believe that an all-inclusive mass labor party will be organized in the near future. The Gompers' machine will, as in the past, again support one of the old capitalist parties. Johnston and the Railroad Brotherhood and their followers, organized in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, will undoubtedly follow the third party or support a candidate on the old party ticket. Only the left wing of the labor movement will at the beginning participate in the organization of a mass class party of the farmers and workers. On the other hand the defection of that part of the labor movement controlled by Johnston and Gompers, will be counterbalanced by the great mass of desperate farmers who are ready to join in a Class Farmer-Labor Party.

3. The Third Party and the Farmer-Labor Party

A—We must continue our campaign for the organization of a party of the workers and exploited farmers, embracing as broad a section of these groups as can be won for a class farmer-labor party. Our policy must be to develop a class party of workers and exploited farmers, and not a third party including the lower middle class and the well-to-do farmers. We may, in special circumstances, be compelled to participate in a farmer-labor party which is in reality a third party, as in Minnesota, but in such a situation it is our duty to develop inside of such an organization of the workers and exploited farmers.

Our goal is not the organization of a so-called third party, even tho it may disguise itself and call itself a Farmer-Labor Party, but to organize a class farmer-labor party of workers and exploited farmers.

Where such third parties calling themselves farmer-labor parties arise, which include the workers and exploited farmers, we must enter into such parties, but our policy must be to win all the workers and exploited farmers away from the third party and to organize them in a class farmer-labor party.

B—While we carry on our campaign for the organization of a class farmer-labor party we must at the same time carry on a campaign for the third party forces to split away from the old capitalist parties and whenever a third party is organized we must make an alliance with it against the old capitalist parties and the capitalist government. This alliance must not take the form of organizational unity between the class farmer-labor party and the third party. We will enter into common campaigns with the third party against the capitalist class, such as the maintenance of civil liberties, recognition of Soviet Russia, against intervention to uphold capitalism in Europe, democratization of the government, nationalization of the railroads and mines, measures to enable the farmer to buy at lower prices the products of the great trusts.

a. We will nominate our candidates on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket wherever possible and carry on an independent campaign.

b. Whenever the Farmer-Labor Party candidates have a chance to win we will carry on the fight to elect these candidates against those of the old parties and the third party. Wherever the Socialist Party or any other labor political group has a chance to win we will support these candidates against all other parties including the third party.

c. Wherever neither the Farmer-Labor Party nor the third party candidates have a chance to win, we will vote for the Farmer-Labor Party candidates in the election.

d. Where the Farmer-Labor Party candidates have no chance to win and the third party can unquestionably win against the capitalist parties with our support we will vote for the third party candidates.

e. In any case and under all circumstances we will maintain the separate organizational existence of the Farmer-Labor Party, carry on an independent campaign for its separate policies and under its own slogans.

f. While maintaining the alliance with the third party we must at all times carry on a campaign of merciless criticism against it, pointing out the uselessness of its half-measures, its cowardice and hesitation and destroying the illusion that the class struggle can be won thru its measures.

4—The Labor Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party

A—There are three great dangers which threaten the labor party movement in the United States at the present time. These forces, if not counteracted,

can dissipate and destroy the whole movement for years to come. These forces are as follows:

a. The third party movement and the Ford movement. The workers and exploited farmers of the United States have for so many years supported the Republican and Democratic parties that any organization which breaks away from these old parties will have a tremendous appeal for them and they will not differentiate between such a general third party movement and the class farmer-labor movement. Unless there is a national rallying point for the existing Farmer-Labor groups which represent the class parties there is great danger that these isolated groups will be swept into the third party movement and thus the whole movement for a class labor party will be halted for years to come.

b. There is also the danger that the existing isolated state and city parties will disintegrate and disappear because there is no national expression and no national leadership to give them direction and hold them together. The past history of similar farmer-labor party organizations has been that such isolated parties will not exist for a long time. They can only be made permanent thru a national leadership continually formulating policies which bring them into action and thus giving them life and strength. There is also the danger that these isolated parties may carry on independent campaigns locally, but on a national scale still support the old capitalist parties. Thus, for instance, in West Virginia one of the leaders of the party has already announced that the Farmer-Labor Party of West Virginia will have its own candidate and make its own fight in the state of West Virginia, but that on a national scale the members will be free to vote the Republican and Democratic tickets as in the past. A similar expression has been made by Magnus Johnson in relation to the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.

c. The presidential campaign of 1924 will be one of the most vital importance to the labor party movement. Unless there is a national crystallization of the labor party movement enabling it to nominate a presidential candidate and to conduct a nation-wide campaign the movement will receive a severe set-back and there will be no hope for organizing a class-labor party on a national scale for some years to come. The whole life of the movement depends upon a national organization and a national campaign and such a campaign is bound to awaken great enthusiasm and enable the class farmer-labor party idea to make great strides forward.

B—All of the foregoing analysis shows conclusively, first, that only the left wing masses of the labor and farmer movement will at first participate in the organization of the class farmer-labor party and, second, that unless such a class farmer-labor party is organized on a national scale for the 1924 election the whole movement will be dissipated and destroyed for years to come. Our policy, therefore, must be to organize the left wing bloc among the workers and exploited farmers into a national class farmer-labor party for the 1924 elections.

C—The Federated Farmer-Labor Party is the beginning of the organization of the left wing of the exploited farmers and industrial workers. We must, as part of the campaign for the organization of the whole left wing, assist in maintaining, organizing and strengthening the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

a. We should also seek to have the Federated Farmer-Labor Party as an instrument for propaganda for the idea of the all-inclusive farmer-labor party and must draw as broad a mass of the workers and exploited farmers into the labor party as possible.

b. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party must organize wherever possible and affiliate those organizations of which it can win the support.

c. The campaign of the Federated Party should be carried on to secure:

1. Affiliation wherever possible.

2. Where we are not strong enough to secure affiliations we should seek endorsement.

3. If we are unable to secure either affiliation or endorsement we should endeavor to have delegates sent to the next convention.

D—The Federated Farmer-Labor Party should consider each situation separately and thoroughly. It should organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party only in such places in which the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party will not bring a split of the left wing; that is, of the followers of the class-labor party movement. In the process of organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, it will come in conflict with some of the progressive leaders in the labor movement. Its effort must be, through a careful policy, to clarify these progressive leaders and to win them for the organization of the Federated

Farmer-Labor Party, it will come in conflict with some of the progressive leaders masses because of the hesitancy and irresolution of individual progressives here and there, provided that it can carry with it the masses.

E—Where a class farmer-labor party exists we must endeavor to become affiliated with it and must carry on propaganda for its radicalization and for national affiliations.

F—The Farmer-Labor Party is an expression of the united front. While it must be our policy to draw as large a mass of workers as possible into the united front, this does not mean that we cannot at a particular time organize a united front with those groups which are ready to join us. It is not sufficient to carry on propaganda and to build up a vague sentiment for a united front on some particular issue. The propaganda and the building of such sentiment must be followed by organization or it will quickly dissipate itself. Where we build a united front organization which includes only a part of the masses it is our task to endeavor to expand it and draw as many as possible of the workers into the organization.

G—All our organizational effort should be to assist the Federated Farmer-Labor Party to create a national crystallization of the class farmer-labor movement for the 1924 campaign. To achieve this end we will not insist upon a dogmatic attitude that the national convention in which such crystallization will take place must come in the form of a convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. On the contrary, our effort must be to secure support of as many groups as possible for such a convention. The call for the convention should be signed by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and if possible, by the West Virginia Farmer-Labor Party, the Montana Farmer-Labor Party, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of New York, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of Washington County Pa., and any other local or state group which may be organized.

The policy of the Conference for Progressive Political Action creates a situation which will force the Socialist Party into a different position. The Socialist Party is not likely to follow Johnston in support of one of the old parties. Unless it is to completely isolate itself it must come closer to the existing Farmer-Labor Party movement. Our policy must be to hasten this development and to endeavor to secure the support of the Socialist Party for the call for the 1924 convention.

H—The Federated Farmer-Labor Party should not only carry on a struggle to organize itself in the industrial centers, but should make the greatest effort to win the support of the laboring farmers. All the facts indicate that there are great masses of farmers who can be won for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

5—Dangers to the Workers Party

A—The manouvres in relation to the third party constitute a serious danger to the Workers Party unless our members are given a clear Communist understanding of our strategy and tactics in each particular situation. This makes it necessary to immediately begin a thoro-going campaign of education in fundamental Communist principles among our members and thus to create a party membership which will never forget its fundamental Communist principles in these manouvres of the class struggle.

B—As part of the campaign of education we must also develop a stronger discipline among our members. It is only if the party members understand that they are soldiers in an army which is carrying on difficult manouvres in a battle of the class struggle and that unhesitating loyalty to the party is a first requisite of victory in these manouvres, that we can hope to successfully carry thru the manouvres we undertake.

C—In order to impress upon our membership the real character of a Communist party we must develop campaigns which are directed against the capitalist system and the capitalist government. Our struggles in the past have been largely struggles within the trade unions against reactionary labor leaders. Unless we combine with these struggles greater battles against capitalist class, our members and even the masses of the workers will get a one-sided impression of the character of our party. The utilization of the discontent of the masses for such campaigns is therefore of the first importance.

D—One of the methods thru which we carry on our campaigns against the capitalists is to participate in election campaigns in opposition to the capitalist parties. Thus far our party has in principle declared itself in favor of parliamentary action, but in practice it has been an anti-parliamentary organization. We must change these conditions and throw our party into the election campaigns.

This also applies to political action against the capitalist government both in and outside of election campaigns.

E—The campaign for ten thousand new members for the party must be supported with all the strength of our party. At the present time our interests and campaigns are of such a widespread nature that our party organization is unable to carry on successfully with its present strength. We must increase the membership of the party in order that we may have the forces at our command to carry thru the many actions in which we are involved.

F—The Daily Worker will aid in carrying thru all of the measures necessary to strengthen our party. It will be a means of Communist education, a means of teaching our members the needs and the purpose of our various actions and the establishment of the daily is one of the important factors in strengthening our party and overcoming the dangers which face it.

G—Danger of new prosecutions directed at the destruction of our party continues to exist. We cannot forecast when the class struggle will so sharpen that the ruling class will find it necessary to again launch an attack upon the Communists and thru such an attack endeavor to crush the whole revolutionary movement. We must take measures to safeguard our party against the possibilities of such an attack. These measures should be the following:

We must as quickly as possible reorganize our party so far as it is possible upon the basis of shop units in addition to the existing territorial branches. Shop units cannot be destroyed altho territorial branches can easily be driven out of existence.

LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

DEC. 7th, 1923.

To the Workers Party of America.

DEAR COMRADES: The Convention of the Workers' Party of America is taking place at a time when world reaction is preparing another blow against the international proletariat. Gathered like ravens over the bodies of the working class of Germany, the imperialist powers of France, England and America are making plans to divide the spoils in Germany and reduce the working class to the position of coolies. The capitalists of Germany have established their military dictatorship and are ready to co-operate with the foreign imperialists provided they are guaranteed part of the booty.

In several states of Europe fascism holds the workers in its bloody grip. Italy, Spain and Bulgaria are in the throes of the wildest reaction. The White Terror rules in Finland, Rumania and Hungary.

In Soviet Russia alone, the rule of the workers and peasants is unshaken despite the many attempts that have been made to destroy it. The Soviet power is consolidating more and more and today stands invincible to the plots and intrigues of the reactionary capitalist governments and counter-revolutionary emigres.

American imperialism, with its surplus of war gains wrung from the working class, is utilizing the brokendown condition of Europe to make fresh conquests. In Europe it is directing its forces once more against Soviet Russia, in the hope of undermining the Soviet power. The path to this new attempt is over the bodies of the enslaved German workers who are to be bought with food furnished to the murderous Seeckt dictatorship. In Asia, American imperialism is penetrating further into the heart of China, where it is securing a stranglehold on its resources and industries. The earthquake in Japan, which has seriously weakened Japanese imperialism, is opening up the door for American encroachments, which must surely lead to war. In South and Central America and in Mexico, American imperialism is in the heyday of its expansionist policies, whose aim is the acquirement of large sources of raw material and the extension of fields of investment for Wall Street and American industrialists.

New, fearful wars menace the whole world as a result of the machinations of American Imperialism. It is the duty of the American workers to watch well the acts of their capitalists. They must prevent any interference with the struggle of the German workers to obtain their freedom. They must fight against attempts to embroil the American workers in new wars for the sake of capitalist profits. It will be the duty particularly of the Communists to mobilize the proletariat of the United States against the coming wars.

To perform this and the many other tasks confronting the Party, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party has rightfully conceived as the most important step the establishment of an English Communist Daily in the United States. This Daily must become the medium for reaching the widest

masses of the workers and mobilizing them for military action in protection of their rights and in securing final control of power. The struggles in the United States are among the bloodiest in the world. The power of the capitalist press is tremendous. The workers have no real expression throughout the country and hence are exposed to misrepresentation and distortion of fact, which is one of the methods that the capitalist class of America employs in order to crush the labor movement. The Communist Daily must become the organ not of the revolutionists alone, but of the whole working class. Hence the whole strength of the Party must be mobilized for the establishment of the Daily, which should be the forerunner of more revolutionary dailies in other parts of the country.

To accomplish this task and put the Daily on a sound basis, the membership must be drawn into close relationship with one another. The Language Federations constituting the Party are a necessity and yea are a hindrance to uniform action of the membership. The Language Federations are essential for propaganda among the foreign-born workers and must be retained for that purpose. Within the Party, however, there should be created international branches comprising all the membership, regardless of language. Thus members of all nationalities and Negro workers will be grouped in uniform branches and work together on the problems confronting the Party. This will produce greater mobility and lead to the inner harmony that is fundamental to all Communist action.

In an industrial country like the United States, the shops and mills are the centers of activity. It is obvious, therefore, that the shop must be the basis of all Party work. Even though the factories are infested with spies placed there by the capitalists, thus rendering work difficult, the basic unit of the Party must be the Shop Nucleus. This will enable us to gather the workers on the job, where they feel most keenly the capitalist and the force of the Government.

The excellent work that has been done by the Communists in the Left Wing of the labor movement of the United States demonstrates that if all the comrades were members of trade unions, the work would increase many fold. We must repeat the decision of the last session of the Enlarged Executive Committee, to the effect that it is the duty of all Communists to join the trade unions and be active in their work. The Convention of the Workers' Party must take steps to get the comrades into the unions. This is one of its main tasks and one not to be neglected.

The propaganda that the Workers' Party has conducted during the past year has been most effective. As a result, the ideas of Communism and the Communist movement are the center of discussion both among the workers and the capitalists. Despite the savage attempts of the American bourgeoisie to install fear into the minds of American workers at the suggestion of Communism, and to point to the achievements of American democracy as the highest that mankind can aspire to, the actions of the American capitalist class and the capitalist government in the past two years have opened the eyes of the workers.

The strikes of 1922 taught them the true meaning of capitalist democracy; it also taught them that the Communists are feared and persecuted by the capitalist class merely because they are the most powerful spokesmen of the working class and the most valiant fighters in its interests.

The vast sentiment for Communism that the Workers' Party has aroused must be organized. Your Central Executive Committee acted right in inaugurating a campaign for membership. This campaign must be a matter of discipline. Each member of the Party must be pledged to secure one or more new members for the Party. The Workers' Party must increase its membership several times before it will become the factor in the proletarian movement of the United States that the Communists are destined to become.

The Workers' Party has applied Communist tactics correctly in seeking a United Front of all forces to fight the capitalist system in the United States. It has sought a United Front not only on the economic, but particularly on the political field. That Gompers and the reactionary trade union officialdom oppose it because of their antiquated, treacherous policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor" in the capitalist parties; that the Socialists, having renounced every revolutionary idea and lined up with the reactionary forces of the country, also oppose it; and that a few so-called "progressive" trade union leaders of the Middle West have betrayed the workers and gone over to Gompers, that they denounce the ideas they once stood for and therefore also oppose the United Front—is creating the best basis for the United Front policy.

This treachery has been the main one of the chief reasons why the workers of America still are the prey of the capitalist parties of America. This treachery, however, will show the workers so much more clearly the necessity of the United Front. It will also demonstrate to them that the Communists, who are the only militant exponents of the United Front, are not only their best friends, but the only ones in the United States who understand the political needs of the working class.

The organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was an achievement of primary importance. The coming together of the militant farmers and workers for the attainment of political power against the control of the capitalist parties, revealed an awakening consciousness and a rising spirit no longer to tolerate political domination by the bourgeoisie. In the Federated Farmer-Labor Party are organized only a small portion of the militant workers and farmers. The United Front of all proletarian and farmers' parties and organizations for the fight against capitalism, is the demand of the hour. The Communists must spare no effort to bring this about.

This is all the more necessary in view of the presidential elections of 1924. The labor parties and farmer-labor parties that have been formed in 29 states must be consolidated into a United Front; they must put up joint proletarian candidates. They must fight as a united body against the reaction that is bound to set in after the elections. They must be prepared to support this United Front with their economic power. The chaos in the working-class movement must be ended. This is the task of the Communists, a task they are performing with great effect.

There is one problem to which the American Communists have not applied themselves with sufficient energy, viz., that of American imperialism. The huge profits from the war and the exploitation of foreign markets have enabled the American bourgeoisie to penetrate deeper into the Latin-American countries. The recent declaration of Secretary of State Hughes to the effect that the interpretation of the Monroe doctrine must be left exclusively to the discretion of America, is already bearing fruit. The recognition of Mexico is merely a trick to give American capitalists greater control over the resources of Mexico and, in case of "trouble," afford the American government an excuse for intervention "in protection of American property and interests." The conflict in Cuba, which will also probably end with an intervention, the continued military occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo, the muzzling of Nicaragua, Panama and Colombia, the loans to the numerous South American states, the increasing economic exploitation of these countries, and the rising revolt in the Philippines, indicate that American imperialism intends to conquer the western hemisphere and force the colonies under complete control.

This is a problem of vital importance to the American working class. Fearful imperialist wars face the country. The bourgeoisie is making ready. The government is perfecting its military machinery; General Pershing is demanding a larger army. The Communists must sound the alarm and prepare the workers for resistance to these bloody schemes. The Communists must point out that the illegal organizations of the capitalist class, the spies, and especially the Ku Klux Klan and American Legion, are a product of the foresight of the capitalists and are openly sponsored by the government of the United States. The capitalists are prepared to crush any attempt to interfere with their plans.

These, comrades, are the vital problems that confront the Party. To propagate them and organize the workers for action will demand the concentrated strength of the whole Party membership.

We greet the Third Convention of the Workers Party and have confidence that the Party will line up the workers of America with the revolutionary workers of the world in the struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

With Communist greetings,

(Signed) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL,
W. KOLAROW, *General Secretary*.

ACTION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE THESES ON ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE POLICIES OF OUR PARTY

The following motions were adopted:

1. That the section of the theses relating to "The Third Party" and the Farmer-Labor Party be withdrawn and referred to the Communist International for decision as to the correctness of this policy.

2. The Convention approves the work of the Central Executive Committee and congratulates the party on the achievements for our movement during the past year.

3. The November Theses supercede all previous theses of the party on the Labor Party question.

4. The National Convention adopts the November Theses of the Central Executive Committee.

5. The Convention approves the actions of the Central Executive Committee on the Labor Party issue.

6. The Convention approves the actions of the Central Executive Committee in the July 3d Convention, and the party's participation in the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

7. The Convention declares the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party on July 3d was a victory for the Party and for its labor party policy and opened the road to a broader united front.

8. The Convention endorses the affiliation of the Workers Party with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

9. The Convention approves the actions of the Central Executive Committee in helping to organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party not only as a propaganda and organizing instrument but also as a real political party.

RESOLUTION ON THE CHICAGO SITUATION

Submitted by the Central Executive Committee

The National Convention considers it a necessity to take position on the Chicago situation, as being a serious problem; and the convention thinks that our party can draw highly instructive lessons out of developments in Chicago.

The problems manifested itself in the fact that while everywhere in the country the results of the July 3d Conference immensely strengthened our influence, in Chicago the reverse was true.

We must analyze the situation to explain this fact.

In Chicago the Workers Party had a united front with the so-called "Progressive" leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor who were at the same time the leaders of the Farmer-Labor Party. The members of the Workers Party of the Chicago district, through their trade unions, entered into the Farmer-Labor Party, participated in the convention of that party, and formed the left wing of that party. The Central Executive Committee approved of the united front in Chicago, and considered that this united front was a great help for the launching on a nation-wide scale of the "amalgamation" and "Labor Party" campaigns of the party. The National Convention agrees with the Central Executive Committee that the securing of the support of the Chicago Federation of Labor through the influence of the Fitzpatrick group helped materially in carrying on a successful campaign for these issues.

It appears, however, that there was a fundamental weakness in the policy of our district organization in the Chicago situation, for, after the July 3d Convention, in place of being able to hold in the hands of the Party a section of organized workers we found the Party influence limited to those unions in which there was a clear-cut sentiment for Communism, and which our members represented in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The Central Executive Committee has established, and the convention reaffirms that the basic reason for our weakness in Chicago was that our Chicago district did not, during the process of the united front build up our independent power, and when the crisis came, were left only with those groups of workers who have come fully under our direct influence.

Our Chicago district did not build up an independent power because it applied the tactics of the United front in a wrong manner, because it did not understand thoroughly the united front policies of the Party and the Communist International. The united front in Chicago remained on the surface. It was established with the Fitzpatrick group of "progressive" leaders, but it was not sufficiently embedded into the depths of the masses of workers.

The District Committee of Chicago, in its practice, accepted the leadership of the Fitzpatrick group in Chicago as an unquestionable fact, and did not make sufficient efforts to assume leadership for the Communists.

The report of the District Committee of Chicago to the Central Executive Committee about the Cook County convention of the Farmer-Labor Party said literally: We had decided and did pursue the method of as much as possible following the

lead of the national officers of the Farmer-Labor Party and mainly stress the necessity of unity.

The District Committee of Chicago, in its practice, did not direct any criticism against the Fitzpatrick group, and did not sufficiently work out the ideological difference between the so-called "progressive" and the Communists.

The "Voice of Labor," official organ of the Chicago District Committee, thruout the duration of the united front with the Fitzpatrick group, had no critical articles about the activities of the Fitzpatrick group and the Farmer-Labor Party.

These are the reason that during the process of development of the united front campaign in Chicago, the Central Executive Committee came in conflict with the District Committee on a number of issues.

The first case of this character was in April, in relation to the united front manifesto issued by the Party, to which the District Committee objected on the ground that it made one of the demands of the united front, the fight against the yellow Internationalists. The District Committee's position was that such a platform would alienate the trade unions; therefore, the fight against the yellow Internationalists is not timely. The Central Executive Committee's position was that the fight against the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationalists was especially timely in Chicago, where the Socialist Party pulled 40,000 votes, and where the Fitzpatrick group advocated the joining of the American Federation of Labor to the Amsterdam International.

The second conflict arose after the July 3d Convention. The District Executive Committee of Chicago sent out a circular letter to the membership, in which there appeared the following quotation: "Our attitude toward the old Farmer-Labor Party is to be that we will not encourage any immediate conflict either with the officials of the old Farmer-Labor Party or in the unions that have been up until now affiliated with that Party." The District Committee declared that it will not make any attempt to affiliate those unions with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party which were affiliated with the old Farmer-Labor Party. The Central Executive Committee was forced to correct that position in these terms: "We instruct the Chicago district to carry on an aggressive campaign to secure the affiliation of all unions in Chicago with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, irrespective of any previous affiliation."

The Central Executive Committee instructed the district of Chicago at the same time to criticize the Fitzpatrick group.

The Central Executive Committee held the opinion that the District Committee of Chicago did not make sufficient efforts to denounce Fitzpatrick's double-crossing role in the July 3d Convention, at the meetings of the Chicago Federation of Labor and at the local unions. The Central Executive Committee was compelled to criticize the District Committee because they did not hold any mass meetings of the party after the July 3d Convention for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, despite the instructions of the Central Executive Committee. (Only the Trade Union Educational League held a mass meeting. The Party as a party had its first public meeting for the Federated at the end of September.)

The Central Executive Committee was compelled to criticize the District Committee of Chicago because it tolerated the unanimous election of Fitzpatrick, Nockels and Nelson in the Chicago Federation of Labor, without any public criticism, without any public statement or meeting. The Central Executive Committee took the position that after Fitzpatrick's vicious attack on the Communists in the July 3d Convention, after the open letter of Fitzpatrick and Nockels against amalgamation, against the Trade Union Educational League, and for Gompers, it was our duty in Chicago to utilize the opportunity of the election to expose publicly their swing to Gompers, their betrayal of the ideas of Labor Party, amalgamation and recognition of Soviet Russia.

The National Convention of the Workers Party draws the following lessons from the differences between the Central Executive Committee and the District Committee of Chicago over the Chicago situation.

We must seek the united front with the masses of workers. If we cannot approach the masses otherwise, we must form the united front with the non-communist leaders of the masses. But the united front with the "progressive" labor leaders cannot serve as a substitute for the united front with the masses.

We must under all circumstances work out our ideological independence. We must have our independent Communist campaigns. We must under no circumstance abandon our freedom of criticism.

We must build up an independent influence and independent organizational power for our Party.

We should not forget that the united front policy has two aims: First, to unite the masses and to help them a fight against capitalism. Second, to help the masses to get rid of their reactionary and "progressive" leadership and help them to a real revolutionary, Communist leadership.

STATEMENT ON THE UNITED FRONT IN CHICAGO

Submitted by Chicago Delegation

1. In order for the convention to properly judge the united front in Chicago it is essential to know the total efforts upon our Party as a whole. These constitute a great victory for the Workers Party. By and large the united front in Chicago was a most valuable experience for our organization. For one thing, it was the means through which was launched the great amalgamation movement. This movement made a definite factor of the Workers Party industrially. It showed to the working class of this country that our organization alone has a practical program for solidifying the ranks of the workers upon the industrial field. It put us ideologically in the lead of the revolutionary and progressive forces thruout the trade union movement. Besides this great advantage to us on the industrial field, the united front in Chicago contributed enormously to giving us our present position as the real leaders of the labor party movement. It was because of our united front arrangement with the Farmer-Labor Party that we were able to develop the strong national movement which culminated in our participation in and control of the July 3-5 convention. At this gathering was born the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, which now serves as the basis for our labor party activities nationally. That convention convinced the whole labor movement that we are a factor which has to be reckoned with in the labor party movement. In addition to giving us a favorable opportunity to launch our national industrial and political programs, the united front in Chicago also held many other advantages for us. One that may be mentioned was the organization of the Labor Defense Council, which had the full backing of our united front allies and which was largely responsible for the great support of and the educational effects which came from the Michigan trials. Another was the death thrust given to the movement of protest against the trials of the Social Revolutionists in Moscow, when the Chicago Federation of Labor unanimously defeated a resolution protesting to the Soviet Government, and which was aimed to be the opening gun in a big national campaign among the trade unions on this matter. Another benefit for us from the Chicago united front was the strong and constant support given the recognition of Soviet Russia and the movement to relieve the great famine. Taken together, therefore, the various movements growing out of the united front in Chicago were a tremendous significance and value to our Party.

2. Another fundamental, which it is essential to know about the united front in Chicago, is that, in all its important aspects, the Chicago united front was a national situation. As such, it was strictly under the control and direction of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party. It was thru the Chicago united front that the Party was handling its most vital industrial and political connections and programs, and manoeuvring them upon a national scale. Every important move that was made, was either initiated or endorsed by the Central Executive Committee, which was constantly in full touch with the whole situation for the almost two years that it lasted. In view of these facts the District Executive Committee cannot be held fully responsible for the united front, as has been attempted by the critics of that committee. Whatever the praise or blame may be due as the result of its achievements and failures, must be shared heavily by the Central Executive Committee, which controlled the situation directly.

3. In reviewing the activities of the District Executive Committee in carrying out the united front policy in Chicago, as understood and accepted by the Central Executive Committee we find that Committee to be substantially correct. Some mistakes were made, but these were all of a minor character and in no considerable measure influenced the final outcome of the situation. Criticism of these mistakes is strictly in order, for only by such criticism can we improve our conceptions and methods. This criticism, however, should not take on a defeatist character or obscure the tremendous advantages won by our Party by the Chicago United Front.

4. The criticism is made that, "while everywhere in the country the results of the July 3rd Conference immensely strengthened our influence, in Chicago the reverse was true." This statement is untrue. In the agreement between

the majority and the minority regarding the November theses, the majority definitely agreed that had the split not occurred that we would have been more favorably situated throughout the country. The reason the bad effects of the split were felt more severely in Chicago was that that was the storm center of the struggle, and the stronghold of the Farmer-Labor Party.

5. The majority resolution attempts to explain the severity of the split in Chicago by charging that the District Executive Committee failed to build our Party as an independent power. But this charge is untrue. The truth is that, particularly in the industrial work, the Fitzpatrick group was practically ignored. In the case of the historic amalgamation resolution, which brought the whole Gompers machine into action against the Chicago Federation of Labor, the heads of that organization were not even consulted about the advisability of introducing that resolution. Deeming the time ripe for such a proposition, the resolution was simply drafted and brought in by the Chicago comrades, chances being taken as to whatever fight might develop over it. The same was true of every other measure introduced by them in the Chicago Federation of Labor. Not one went in by agreement. In the case of the protest against the raid upon the Bridgeman convention, the resolution putting the Chicago Federation of Labor on record in support of the defense, was introduced in the face of official opposition. Another typical instance of independent industrial policy carried on as against the Fitzpatrick group was found in the case of the general labor party referendum sent out by the Trade Union Educational League. The first thing the leaders of the Farmer-Labor Party knew of this matter, which they considered of the most vital importance to their organization, was when it appeared in print. They were so bitter over it that they almost broke the united front. If this policy was wrong, the Central Executive Committee must stand the criticism for it, because it was fully informed of what was going on and made no objection.

6. The further charge is made "that the united front in Chicago remained on the surface" and "was not sufficiently imbedded in the depths of the masses of the workers," because it was "established with the Fitzpatrick group of leaders." That the united front remained upon the surface was decidedly not true, altho it was certainly true that the great masses had not been entirely won away from their "progressive" leaders. But this process was going on rapidly. Sufficient proof of this was to be found in the Chicago district where, until the break occurred, the influence of our Party among the masses was increasing by leaps and bounds. This was shown by the growing number of our delegates in the Chicago Federation of Labor and the various labor party and other conferences, as well as by the constantly more friendly reception by the masses of all our slogans and movements. The Chicago District was sinking its roots deeply and rapidly in the basic soil of the labor organizations. As for the national situation the demonstration that the charge is untrue that the united front was being carried on simply with the leaders, is furnished by the tremendous outpouring of rank and file delegates at the famous July 3-5 convention, and by the profoundly rank-and-file character of the amalgamation movement everywhere.

7. Another criticism that is invalid is the charge that the District Executive Committee "accepted the leadership of Fitzpatrick as an unquestionable fact and never attempted to assume leadership for the Communists." The truth is just the reverse. Especially in the Chicago Federation of Labor the ideological leadership had largely passed into the hands of the Communists. Amalgamation, the defense of the Michigan cases, the recognition of Soviet Russia, and the concept of the labor party to include all political groups, as well as many other movements, were distinctly Communist policies and openly recognized as such by the Federation. The leadership in the struggle for these measures was always taken by the Communists, with the Fitzpatrick group taking no active part in the discussions. There was a standing instruction to the Party's delegates in the Federation that in presenting any measures to that body they should always point out the limitations of them and to call attention to the full revolutionary program. To say they "neither in the measures which they advocated nor in the fight for them was there an essential difference between the Fitzpatrick group and the District Committee of Chicago," is a complete misrepresentation of the actual situation.

8. In the majority resolution, the following single sentence is cited from Organizer Swabek's report on June 10th Convention of the Cook County Labor Party: "We had decided and did pursue the method of as much as possible following the lead of the national officers of the Farmer-Labor Party and mainly

stressed the necessity of unity." The rest of the report, as well as the facts of the convention, show that the Workers Party followed its own policy and made its own fight. The critical test was when the Workers Party submitted its own resolution demanding that the labor party include all political groups. The Rodriguez-Ernest group, or right-wing of the Farmer-Labor Party then submitted an amendment demanding the exclusion of the Workers Party from the July 3-5 Convention. This amendment was supported by the left-wing group of the Farmer-Labor Party, the Fitzpatrick-Buck-Nockels group. Thereupon the Workers Party made a motion to lay the amendment on the table, which was carried. In the July 3-5 Convention the Workers Party carried out exactly the same policy by laying on the table a similar motion presented by Rodriguez. The report by which they attempt to convict the District Executive Committee of being followers of Fitzpatrick, is a report that proves the opposite of the majority resolution.

9. The majority resolution declares that the District Committee in its practice did not direct any criticism against the Fitzpatrick group. This was largely true. But in so doing the District Committee merely followed the policy which the Central Executive Committee is following in Minnesota, Detroit and everywhere else where we have some semblance of a united front. If this policy was wrong, the Central Executive Committee was entirely responsible, because it was fully advised for a year and a half duration of the united front in Chicago and never called upon the District Committee to criticize Fitzpatrick, nor upon the Trade Union Educational League to criticize him until the crisis over the July 3-5 Convention. The Central Executive Committee's policy towards Fitzpatrick was the same as it now is towards Mahoney. Since the July 3-5 split, the Chicago comrades have waged a bitter fight against the Fitzpatrick group. No body of Communists in America are confronted with so intense a struggle. Charges of weakness or timidity in this fight are totally unfounded, especially in view of the fact that the Central Executive Committee took definite action to prevent the fight in the Federation from developing to the point of intensity where it would be an actual menace to our Party nationally.

10. The majority resolution falsely accuses the District Executive Committee that it considered that "the fight against the yellow Internationals was not timely," because it complained against the May Day leaflet. This is entirely untrue. The District Executive Committee took the position that the May Day leaflet was incorrectly drawn up, because it laid down the struggle against Amsterdam as the basis for the united front, in exactly the same manner as amalgamation and other issues of everyday struggle. It is entirely to falsify the issue to state that the Central Executive Committee only asked the District Executive Committee to carry on a propaganda: the manifesto was addressed to "all labor unions," etc., and definitely laid down the struggle against Amsterdam as the basis for the united front. When the Central Executive Committee later explained that they did not mean what the manifesto said, the entire controversy was closed. And in spite of its correct criticism of the May Day leaflet, the District Committee, in a spirit of Communist discipline, did distribute the leaflets sent them to the number of 25,000 copies.

11. It is stated in the majority resolution that the District Executive Committee sent out a letter to the membership in which it was urged that the fight for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party be not started immediately in the unions controlled by the Fitzpatrick group, but that efforts be concentrated on other local unions. It is further stated that the Central Executive Committee had to correct this policy. But this is inexact. The fact is the District Executive Committee corrected the policy itself within three days. Its letter to New York, stating the correction of the policy crossed en route the letter of the Central Executive Committee, ordering that the policy be changed. The effect of such a mistake upon the general outcome of the united front in Chicago was insignificant, and the same is true of the few others by the District Executive Committee.

12. The criticism that the District Executive Committee had too much confidence in the Fitzpatrick group will not bear investigation. An interesting proof of this is that it was the District Executive Committee and its active members who, in the critical weeks preceding the July 3rd convention, warned the Central Executive Committee repeatedly that the Fitzpatrick group were weakening very badly and that the greatest care had to be exercised in order to avoid a break with them. They recommended and urged that more systematic and careful negotiations be carried on with the Farmer-Labor Party.

and that to this end a committee be kept in Chicago to keep in close touch with the delicate situation. These recommendations were not concurred in by the Central Executive Committee, which shows great laxity and carelessness in handling the negotiations with the Farmer-Labor Party.

13. The charge that the District Executive Committee and the comrades in Chicago have not sufficiently criticised the Fitzpatrick group since the July 3-5 Convention hardly merits refutation. Almost every meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor since the convention has been marked by the bitter struggles between the Communists and the Fitzpatrick and reactionary groups. The fight reached such a point, we repeat, that the Central Executive Committee itself had to intervene and tell the Chicago comrades that they should slacken in their opposition to Fitzpatrick in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

14. Two most important conclusions to be drawn from the united front in Chicago are the following:

1st. The principles of the united front laid down by the Communist International were proved by the Chicago united front to be practical and effective instruments for the Workers Party in the American class struggle. The Chicago united front resulted in advantages of first magnitude to the Workers Party nationally.

2nd. In carrying out the policies of the Central Executive Committee the tactics of the District Executive Committee were substantially correct. Some mistakes were made, as noted above, but these were of a minor character and had little or no determining effect upon the general outcome of the situation.

Convention Action

The Chicago delegation resolution was adopted by a vote of 37 for and 15 against.

PROGRAM OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

That the program adopted by the 2nd National Convention be adopted by the 3rd National Convention without change.

The capitalist world, which in 1914 boasted of its great wealth, of its gigantic powers of production, of its smoothly running system of business, of the power and security of its government, is sinking into decay.

Hundreds of billions of wealth have been destroyed by the Great War. The financial structure of many European countries is nearing the point of collapse. Industries produce haltingly or have come to a stop altogether. The capitalist governments try one trick after the other to maintain their power in the face of the wrath of the suffering masses.

The victorious and vanquished countries of the world war present a picture that is different only in the degree of the suffering and misery which is the lot of the workers. Central Europe is a mass of hungry men, women and children. In England, France and Italy an army of workers numbering millions in each instance have no work and daily come closer to the same conditions. In the United States great strikes expressing the resistance of the workers to the capitalist effort to lower their standard of living follow one upon the other. The war clouds still hover over the world and threaten again to engulf mankind in the abyss of bloodshed and destruction.

Soviet Russia alone has freed itself from the forces of destruction, which are inherent in the capitalist system and which threaten the destruction of civilization. In Soviet Russia the foundation has been laid for the new social order and there is being erected that structure which will forever free mankind from the suffering, bloodshed and destruction of the capitalist system.

The Class Struggle

The whole capitalist system of production rests upon the robbery and enslavement of the workers. In the United States the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Schwabs, the railroad kings, the coal barons, the industrial magnates own the means of production and the workers cannot secure work without their consent. They are unable to earn the means of buying food, clothing and homes to live in without the permission of these financial and industrial kings. The owners of capital are so many czars and kaisers, each with a group of workers ranging from a few hundred to tens of thousands whose right to life they hold in their hands thru their control of the workers' opportunity to earn a living.

The condition on which the workers are permitted to work is the enrichment of the capitalists. They must work for wages which will leave in the hands of the railroad kings, the coal barons, and industrial magnates a large share of what they produce or otherwise they are denied employment. They must add more millions to Rockefeller's billions, they must create new hundreds of millions for Morgan, they must add to the swollen fortunes of the financial and industrial lords of the country.

In the Declaration of Independence, a document underlying the institutions of the country, it was laid down as a principle that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and "that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

These rights do not exist for the thirty million American wage workers and their families. The workers of this country are industrial slaves. They cannot work and earn a living without the consent of the capitalists. That consent is given only upon the conditions that they make the capitalists richer.

It is the struggle against these conditions which is continually breaking out in strikes. The history of this country during the last half century is full of examples of the rebellion of the workers. The capitalists continually seek to secure greater profits for themselves, while the workers struggle to improve the conditions of their life by forcing the capitalists to pay higher wages and to grant better working conditions. The result is the class-struggle which manifests itself on all sides in the United States.

The great strikes at Pullman, Homestead, McKees Rocks, Lawrence, Mass., Ludlow, Colo., Calumet, Mich., Messaba Range, the steel strike and the miners' strike of 1919 the West Virginia miners' strike, are all but outstanding incidents in the class struggle, which is being fought daily in every industrial center in the United States.

Since the end of the few months of prosperity for the financial and industrial magnates, which followed the close of the war, the capitalists have been fighting to put upon the working people of this country the burden of the destruction of wealth during the war. They are endeavoring to make the working people, who paid the cost of the war in blood, pay also for the destruction and waste of the war in a lower standard of living. They are trying to make the working people pay by forcing them to work for lower wages and longer hours.

The result has been that the struggle between the workers and the financial lords and industrial magnates has grown even more bitter. The workers are fighting against a lower standard of living. They refuse to eat poorer food, to wear poorer clothes, to live in poorer homes, to have less opportunity for the education of their children. The garment workers' strike, the miners' strike, the railroad shopmen's strike, the textile workers' strike, are evidence of the resistance of the workers to a bitter industrial slavery, resistance which has found expression in such open, violent clashes as the armed struggle in West Virginia and at Herrin, Ill.

The mass power of the exploited class is its strongest weapon in this struggle against the capitalists. If during the strike of the coal miners, the railroad shopmen, and the textile workers, the whole working class had united in mass meetings and mass demonstrations against the use of the courts and soldiers in the strikes, they could have, through such mass pressure, compelled the government to withdraw the troops and recall the injunctions.

When in 1916 the railroad workers, through the threat of general strike, compelled the Congress to pass the Adamson eight-hour day law, they demonstrated the strength of the direct mass power of the workers.

The West Virginia miners who marched into Mingo County to compel the coal barons and their armed thugs to respect the rights guaranteed the miners under the constitution and the laws of West Virginia and the nation made use of their mass power to establish these rights.

The conflict between the workers and the capitalists cannot be harmonized or compromised while the railroad kings, the coal barons and the industrial magnates own and control the factories, mines, mills and railroads. It can only be ended by abolishing the capitalist system.

The Workers Party will enter into every struggle involving the interests of the exploited class and through its slogans and programs of action will endeavor to develop the mass power of the workers. It will seek to unit ever greater numbers of workers in a common struggle so that each struggle will come to be, not a struggle of a small group of workers against a section of the capitalist class, but a struggle of the working class against the capitalist class.

The Government

In the struggle between the workers and the industrial magnates, the coal barons and the railroad kings, the government is openly on the side of the capitalists.

The miners of West Virginia, fighting for the right to organize against the armed thugs of the coal barons, were forced into submission by the army acting under the orders of the Federal Government.

The railroad workers have had worse working conditions and reductions of wages forced upon them by the Railway Labor Board, created by the United States government to help the capitalists beat the workers into submission. This Board has shown the bankruptcy of capitalism in the declaration, that the railroads cannot pay "a living wage," thus also placing all the power of the government behind the capitalist drive to force down the wages of the workers below the point of a decent existence.

In the miners' strike and the shopmen's strike, the Harding administration used all its power to break the strike. The States Governments filled the strike centers with soldiers to intimidate the workers and force them back to work.

Courts everywhere are issuing injunctions against strikers. In Kansas an Industrial Court denies the workers the right to strike at all. The Supreme Court, through the decision in the Coronado case, gives the capitalists a club with which to destroy any union which dares strike for better wages and working conditions. Through the Daugherty injunction the government swept aside all the rights of the workers with one stroke of the pen of a capitalist judge.

Government officials conspire with the exploiters of labor to put militant leaders of the working class movement in prison. The Mooney frame-up, the Sacco-Vanzetti prosecution and a score of similar cases show how the government workers in close co-operation with the employers to rid them of individuals and movements threatening their interests.

The capitalist state, that is, the existing government, municipal, state and national, is the organized power of the capitalist class for suppression of the exploited and oppressed workers. A democratic president, Cleveland, used federal troops against the Pullman strikers; a republican president, Roosevelt, threatened the hard coal miners with the iron fist of the government in 1902; another democratic president, Wilson, used all the governmental power, from courts to soldiers, against the steel workers and coal miners in 1919; and the republican president, Harding, did the same in the miners' and shopmen's strikes of 1922.

The workers cannot wage a successful struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression, while the government remains in control of the capitalists. The Workers Party therefore declares that the class struggle is a political struggle, a struggle for the governmental power.

Imperialism

The Government of the United States is not only an instrument of aggression against the workers in the class struggle in this country. It is also the instrument through which the capitalists fight their battles against the competing capitalists of other countries.

In the United States capitalism has reached a high degree of development. At this stage of development capitalism produces, goods, predominantly tools, machinery, rails, locomotives, the products of iron and steel, which under the conditions of capitalist production must be sold in foreign markets. Coincident with this development of capitalism it becomes increasingly difficult for the capitalists to invest their new capital profitably in home industry. In order to prevent the break-down of the whole capitalist system, the capitalists must sell their surplus goods and find profitable investment for their surplus capital. They are also faced with the need of finding new sources of raw material for the highly developed capitalist industries. These needs produce the policy of imperialism and have developed American imperialism.

American capital has been investor in Mexican mines and oil fields. It is being used to exploit the resources of China. It is invested in loans to the countries of West Indies, Central and South America. These investments create markets for the surplus products of American industry as well as profitable use for the new capital created for the capitalists by the exploited American workers.

The power of the government is openly used by the financial lords of Wall Street to open up weaker countries for these investments and to protect the investments.

Since the Spanish-American war, in which this country acquired the Philippines and Porto Rico, American imperialism, "Dollar Diplomacy," has overthrown the governments of Haiti and Santo Domingo and subjected the people of those countries to the bitterest oppression in order to safeguard the loans of Wall Street. Nicaragua has been reduced to vassalage. Cuba is a protectorate of the United States in the interests of the Sugar Trusts. The Mexican government is coerced to agree in the interests of oil and banking capital.

The World War, which drenched Europe in blood and in which millions of workers lost their lives, was the consequence of the imperialist rivalry between the capitalist governments of the world.

Although capitalism still lies shattered as a result of that war, a new imperialist struggle is already under way, which points to a new war and greater suffering and misery for the masses of the world.

After the Washington conference the imperialists of the world endeavored to harmonize their differences through division of the loot of the Pacific in order that they might reduce the burden of naval armament. This conference has, however, proven a complete fiasco and already the nations participating in it are repudiating its decisions. In spite of all this conference could do, the United States is still in conflict with England over the division of the oil fields of the world and the rivalry between the United States and Japan constantly grows sharper.

The necessity which compelled the capitalists of each nation to hurl tens of millions of men into the death struggle upon the European battlefields has not been abolished. Driven by the same necessity, the American capitalists are using the governmental power to advance their interests in all parts of the world.

Imperialism with all its horrible consequences in the crippling and maiming and killing of the workers and the great destruction of wealth can only be ended through the workers wresting the power of the government from the hands of the capitalists.

Election Campaign and American Democracy

The Workers Party will not foster the illusion, as is done by the yellow Socialists and Reformists that the workers can achieve their emancipation from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism through the election of a majority of the members of the legislative bodies of the capitalist government and the executive officials of that government, and by using the existing government to establish the new social order.

The Constitution of the United States was so drafted as to protect the interests of the exploiters of the workers. The merchants, the bankers, and landowners of 1787 wrote into the Constitution provisions which they hoped would forever protect the interests of their class.

A majority of the people of the United States cannot change the Constitution. The vote of two-thirds of the members of the legislators of three-fourths of the states is required to pass a constitutional amendment. One-fourth of the states, in which there may live only one-fortieth of the population can prevent any change of the fundamental law of the land.

The Constitution contains a series of checks and balances which are intended to make it impossible for a majority antagonistic to the ruling class to make its will effective. The members of the House of Representatives are elected every two years, the President every four years, the members of the Senate every six years, so that a complete change of the government can be made only through elections spread over six years. The Senate has a veto over the decisions of the House, the President can veto the actions of both bodies, and over and above the House, the Senate and the President stands the Supreme Court, which can nullify laws which all three unite in passing.

The character of the Constitution as a document intended to protect the bankers and industrial magnates of the country has been made clear in many decisions under its provisions. Child labor laws, laws regulating hours of labor, and protecting the life and health of the workers, and minimum wage laws have been declared void. A weapon to strike down organized labor has been found in its clauses as shown in the Coronado decision.

In addition to the protection which the Constitution gives to the coal barons, railroad kings, and the industrial and financial lords, millions of workers are

disfranchised in this country through naturalization laws. Hundreds of thousands of citizens cannot vote because of residential qualifications, which through the necessity of earnings a living make is impossible for them to comply with.

The capitalists control thousands of newspapers thru which they shape the ideas of the masses in their interests; they control the schools, the colleges, the pulpits, the moving-picture theatres, all of which are part of the machinery through which the capitalists shape the minds of the workers.

When it serves their purpose the capitalists do not hesitate to expel members of the legislative bodies elected by working class votes. This was done in the case of the Socialist members of the Cleveland City Council and a member of the School Board of that city. These representatives, elected by the workers, were expelled in violation of all law to stifle their protests against the imperialist war. The expulsion of the Socialist assemblymen of New York state is a case of similar character.

Under these conditions to talk of "democracy" is to throw sand into the eyes of the workers. The much-talked of "American democracy" is a fraud. Such formal democracy as is written into the Constitution and the laws of the country is camouflaged to hide the real character of the dictatorship of the capitalists.

While recognizing the impossibility of the workers winning their emancipation thru use of the machinery of the existing government, the Workers Party realizes the importance of election campaigns in developing the political consciousness of the working class. The first step toward revolutionary political action by the working class must be made thru independent political action by the workers in election campaigns. The Workers Party will therefore participate in election campaigns and use them for propaganda and agitation to develop the political consciousness of the workers.

It will endeavor to rally the workers to use their power to make real the rights which the fraudulent American democracy denies them. It will use them to carry on the struggle for the right of labor to create a revolutionary political party and for such an organization to function openly in the political life of the country.

The Workers Party will also nominate its candidates and enter into election campaigns to expose the fraudulent character of capitalist democracy and to carry on the propaganda for the soviets. It will use the election campaigns to rally the workers for mass political demands upon the capitalist state. Its candidates, when elected to office, will use the forums of the legislative bodies for the same purpose.

The Labor Party

The open use of the governmental power against the workers and farm laborers, tenant farmers and working farmers of this country has developed a wide-spread movement for the formation of a labor party. This movement is an expression of the awakening class consciousness of the American workers.

The Workers Party favors the formation of a labor party—a working-class political party independent of, and opposed to all capitalist political parties. It will make every effort to hasten the formation of such a party and to effect admittance to it as an autonomous section.

The mighty centralization of power of the government of the United States, which was brought about by the war, the offensive of the capitalist class, which resulted from the economic crisis, make it necessary for the workers to defend themselves politically. The change in the wages of the skilled and unskilled workers have brought them nearer to the same conditions of life, the taking away of the privileges of the "aristocracy" of labor by the capitalist power, the assimilation of the foreign born, the organization of the alien workers as militant trade unionists, have for the first time in the history of the American labor movement produced a uniformity of the working class which makes possible the organization of a labor party.

A real labor party cannot be formed without the labor unions and organizations of exploited farmers, tenant farmers and farm laborers must be included. The Workers Party will direct its propaganda and educational work to the end of arousing a mass sentiment of the labor party in the labor unions to secure the formation of such a party.

Labor Unions

The division of the organized workers into craft unions is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the workers in this country against capitalism.

During the past two years organized labor has been dealt many heavy blows by the employers, who are bent on destroying or at least weakening so as to make ineffective the organization of the workers. In spite of this desperate struggle, each craft has fought alone. There has been no united resistance, no solid united front against the industrial kings, who are striving to reduce the wages and make worse the working conditions of the workers. The example of the seven railroad shop unions, striking while nine other railroad unions continued to serve the railroad kings and help them to whip their fellow workers is but one striking example of a situation which exists everywhere in the ranks of organized labor in this country.

In addition to the weakness of the craft form of organization the labor unions suffer from a fundamental error of policy. In place of waging a class struggle to free themselves from the grip of the capitalists they have pursued the policy of attempting to come to an agreement with the capitalists on the basis of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

No such compromise with capitalism can be permanent. The hunger of the capitalists for greater profits drives them to seek to lower the standard of living of the workers when they have the upper hand. On the other hand when the workers are in strong position their need and their desire for more of the good things they produce results in greater demands upon the capitalists.

The gain of the workers during the war time scarcity of labor and their present losses indicate the futility of the hope that the class struggle can be settled thru a compromise.

The labor unions must be revolutionized; they must be won for the class struggle against capitalism; they must be inspired with a new solidarity and united to fight a common battle. The existing craft unions must be amalgamated and powerful industrial unions created in each industry. The reactionary official bureaucracy of the unions must be supplanted by the shop delegates system.

The Workers Party declares one of its chief immediate tasks to be to inspire in the labor unions a revolutionary purpose and to unite them in a mass movement of uncompromising struggle against capitalism. It will use all the resources at its command to educate the organized workers to an understanding of the necessity of amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions.

This end cannot be achieved if the revolutionary workers leave the existing unions to form feeble dual organizations. The work of transforming the labor unions must be carried on inside of the existing unions. The members of the Workers Party will carry on their work within the existing unions to awaken the spirit of the class struggle and to bring about a reconstruction of the organization form so as to make of the unions powerful organized centers of the workers' struggle against capitalism.

The Workers Party declares its support of the Red Labor International and adopts as its program for the struggle within the unions the theses of the Red Labor International on the American Labor Unions.

The Working Farmer and Farm Laborer

The struggle of the farm laborers is the same struggle in which the industrial workers are engaged. It is a struggle against those who exploit them thru low wages and hard working conditions. The Workers Party will seek to organize the farm laborers into unions of agricultural workers and to unite them with their brothers in the industrial centers for the common struggle against capitalism.

While the exploitation of the working farmer is not so apparent, he suffers in the grip of the same enemy who robs the industrial workers of the cities. The bank, which holds the mortgage on his land, the railroad which transports his product, the grain elevator or the commission house which he must use in marketing his products represent the tentacles of the same capitalist system which is robbing the industrial workers.

The interests of the working farmers, tenant farmers and farm laborers are linked together with those of the exploited industrial workers and it is the aim of the Workers Party to arouse them to a consciousness of this and to unite them with the industrial workers in a common struggle against their common exploiter.

The Negro Worker

The Negro workers of this country are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of brutal terrorism, of persecution and murder.

During the war tens of thousands of Southern Negroes were brought to the industrial centers of the North to supply the needs of the employers for cheap labor. In the Northern industrial cities the Negro has found the same bitter discrimination as in the South. The attack upon the Negroes of East St. Louis, Illinois, the riot in Chicago are examples of the additional burden of oppression which is the lot of the Negro workers.

Although the influx of Negro workers in the Northern industrial centers has laid the foundation for a mass movement of Negroes who are industrial workers, because of neglect of this problem by organized labor little progress has been made in organization of these industrial workers. The Negro has despaired of aid from organized labor, and he has been driven either into the camp of the enemies of labor, or has been compelled to develop purely racial organizations which seek purely racial aims.

The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for liberation and will help them in their fight for economic, political and educational equality. It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by some labor unions and all other discriminations against the Negro. It will endeavor to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the black and white workers and to weld them into a solid union for the struggle against the capitalists who exploit and oppress them.

Soviets, or Workers' Councils

The experience of the workers in the struggle against capitalism has proven that the workers cannot take over the ready-made machinery of the Capitalist government and use this machinery to build up a Communist society. The form of organization of the existing government, constitutional basis, its laws, the bureaucracy which has been built up over a century cannot be used by the workers. They are all of a character to aid the capitalists in the struggle against the workers and cannot be transformed into instruments of struggle of the workers against the capitalists.

The workers' revolution in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, the revolutionary struggle in Germany, all show that the Soviets or Workers Councils are the organizations of the workers' power which in time of crisis arise naturally out of the previous struggles and experiences of the workers.

The Soviets are first constituted through delegates elected by the workers in the factories and labor unions. They are comparable to a general strike council, which might arise in the case of a strike embracing all the workers of a city. The local councils are federated in state or district councils and these in a national council, or Soviet, which is the supreme organ of the working class government. The Soviets carry on both the legislative and administrative work of the working class government.

The Workers Party will carry on propaganda to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity of supplanting the existing capitalist government with a Soviet government.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The existing capitalist government is a dictatorship of the capitalists. Today in the United States a comparatively small group of capitalist-financial and industrial kings, with headquarters in Wall Street, control the government of the United States, of the states and municipalities. Through the capitalist government this group of financial and industrial kings enforce their will upon the thirty million workers and their families.

While part of the workers are granted the hollow mockery of voting, they find that whether they vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate, in time of struggle the government is always on the side of the financial and industrial kings.

The Soviet government of the workers will, because of the same necessity—the necessity of suppressing the capitalists—be a dictatorship of the workers. The government expressing the will of the thirty million workers will openly use its power in the interest of the workers and against the capitalists.

The Goal of the Proletarian Dictatorship

It will be the task of the government of the thirty million workers of this country to take from the capitalists the control and ownership of the raw materials and

machinery of production upon which the workers are dependent for their life, liberty and happiness and to establish collective ownership.

Together with this collective ownership the Workers Government will as quickly as possible develop the management of the industries by the workers.

Through the establishment of this Communist system of industry the exploitation and oppression of the workers will be ended. As the power of the capitalists in industry wanes and Communism is established the struggle between the classes will disappear and the dictatorship of the Proletariat will become unnecessary and will cease to function. The government will become an instrument for administration of industry and the full, free Communist society will come into being.

The International

The Workers Party accepts the principle that the class struggle for the emancipation of the working class is an international struggle. The workers of Russia have been obliged to fight against the whole capitalist world in order to maintain their Soviet Government and to win the opportunity of rebuilding their system of production on a Communist basis. In this struggle they have had the support of the enlightened workers of every country.

The future struggles against capitalism will take the same character. In order to win the final victory in the struggle against world capitalism the working class of the world must be united under one leadership.

* * * * *

The leadership in the international struggle which inspires hope in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country is the leadership of the Communist International.

The Workers Party declares its sympathy with the principles of the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International.

It rallies to the call: "Workers of the World Unite."

INDUSTRIAL REPORT BY WM. Z. FOSTER

The Economic Situation

About 18 months ago American industry was entering into the full blush of a period of high production and general "prosperity." As this is written (December, 1923), the first unmistakable signs of crisis are being registered. During the intervening time industry has been running at almost full blast, in the midst of a capitalist world that is visibly breaking up and disintegrating. Because this economic condition is fundamental to all work within the labor movement, a brief review of the period just passing and the indications for the coming year are important.

The seeming prosperity of the period just ending was of an unsound nature. The main points in explanation of the instability of the passing period of prosperity (in addition to the inevitable operations of the capitalist system which brings periodical crises), can be summarized as follows:

1. The revival was not based upon an extension of the markets under control of American capitalism, but upon an unusual absorption of products in the domestic market in the way of replacements and extensions of equipment in industry and transportation. Contrary to expectations of a year and a half ago, the European market has not been of any great value to American capitalism, due to the economic and financial collapse of European capitalism. The domestic absorption of products is exemplified in the building boom (building in 1922 running into millions of dollars, with 1923 not far behind), in the automobile industry, which reached a new high peak of production, and in the replacements and extensions of the railroads which have absorbed, along with building, much of the steel production of the country.

2. This unprecedented boom, at a time when industry in most of the other capitalist countries is on the decline, has been accompanied by an accelerated rate of combination among capitalist interests. The copper, textile, oil, auto, meat-packing, steel, railroad, and financial combinations have been enormously extended and strengthened. The benefits of this "prosperity" have, however, not extended to any considerable circles outside of the larger capitalists. The workers have had their unions smashed, and while weekly wage earnings have slightly increased (now on the decline, however) the wage-rate per hour has

been lowered and working conditions worsened. There has been no increase in the capacity of the workers to consume the products of their industry.

3. The farmers have been systematically forced into bankruptcy during this very period of "prosperity." The bankruptcy of the farmers is not figurative but actual. Thousands of them in the Northwest, men who traditionally pay their bills even if they have to starve and whose financial stability has made farm mortgages synonymous with complete security of investment in this country, are now resorting to bankruptcy courts in order to be relieved of debt and to be free to start all over again as tenants or as wage workers competing with the workers already in the cities. This bankruptcy of the farming system, occurring during the false prosperity period, is the cause of the political upheavals in the agrarian states.

The peak of this abnormal "prosperity" has now been passed. Unemployment is beginning to be felt, and is increasing more and more rapidly. All signs point to a rapid decline in production and an extended period of depression.

II. Failure of the Trade Unions

For the past sixty years the periods of economic revival have always been accompanied by a growth and extension of trade union organization. So consistent was this phenomena that it came to be looked upon as inevitable. Consequently when the latest era of prosperity began (March, 1922) trade union leaders and bourgeois economists quite generally jumped to the conclusion that the downward trend of trade unionism would stop and that the movement was due for the customary period of expansion. They declared the "open shop" drive to be defeated. But we disputed these optimistic prophesies. More than a year ago we said, in a report to the Red International of Labor Unions, that those who counted upon the economic revival to also revive the trade unions would be disappointed. The reasons cited for this were, the militant character of the capitalist offensive, and the completely reactionary character of the bureaucracy that holds the trade unions in its power. We said: "Unless it modernizes its thinking, tactics, and organization forms, the American labor movement is in imminent danger of being wiped out."

The past year has justified that analysis. The bureaucracy has done nothing to improve the structure of the unions, to organize the unorganized, or to infuse the rank and file with a militant spirit to offset the growing power and aggressiveness of the capitalists. Consequently the trade unions have lost hundreds of thousands of members. According to the report of Secretary Morrison at the 1923 convention, the American Federation of Labor lost 269,000 members in the past year. Thousands of local unions have surrendered their charters, particularly in the railroad industry. Even international craft unions have not been immune, as witnessed by the International Union of Timberworkers giving up the ghost. In the railroad industry the shop unions have been completely wiped out over whole sections of the country. In the mining industry newly-organized fields have been allowed to lapse again into the hands of nonunion operators, and the organization morale is at the lowest ebb in years. Even in the needle trades the unions are suffering a great crisis regarding membership. The organizations in the other industries are in a similar condition. Throught the labor movement it has been a year of retreat in the face of generally favorable economic conditions. With industrial activity now on the decline we can definitely say that the labor movement is faced with imminent danger, not only from the dry-rot which affects it internally but also from the big "open shop" drives left wing. It is our duty to block the right-wing efforts and of the employers which may be expected in the near future.

III. The Campaign for Class Collaboration

In the face of this crisis, developments within the labor movement during the past year are characterized by two profound and opposing currents. On the one hand the masses, the rank and file of the unions, goaded on by the "open shop" drive and the lowered conditions of labor, are more and more striving to engage in struggle against their exploiters; witness the growing labor party movement, the amalgamation movement that has swept the trade unions, the various left-wing conferences and the growing left-wing press. On the other hand the bureaucracy, the trade union officialdom with a small section of the "aristocracy of labor," out of fear of the struggle with the bosses

and fear of the awakening membership, has been moving to the right; it has been attempting to consolidate its position by alliances with the employers; witness the revival of insurance schemes, the labor banking mania, the collaboration schemes of Wm. H. Johnstone and his cohorts in the railroad shop unions, the expulsions and discriminations against the left wing, the "red menace" campaign with its appeals for help to the employers (typified in the Searles articles), and the official program of the Gompers family enunciated in the Portland convention by Gompers, Woll, Berry, Lewis, and others, the open advocacy of collaboration in all its forms.

The result of these two profound and opposing currents is a deep cleavage within the labor movement itself. The struggle against the employing class demanded by the working masses, under pressure of the worsening conditions, is sabotaged by the officialdom of the unions. In order to find expression it must turn into a struggle against the bureaucrats who stand as the protectors of the interests of capitalism, and the obstacle to struggle for better conditions. The resulting conflict between "left" and "right," now taking on even larger proportions thruout the labor movement, is thus really the struggle within the labor movement, the working masses, on the one side and on the other the agents of capitalism entrenched within the ranks of labor. It is not a class struggle between factions of the labor movement; it is the class struggle itself, with the officials fighting the battle of the capitalist class.

IV. Growth of the Left Wing

The unexampled development of the left wing in the American trade unions, and its crystallization around definite programs, slogans, and organizational forms upon a national scale (a development hitherto absent from American trade unionism), is the direct result of the severe economic pressure and of this cleavage between the officialdom of the trade unions, the bureaucrats, and the great masses of the working class. This cleavage is for the first time becoming clear and distinct. The organization of the rank and file left-wing militants is crystallizing in the Trade Union Educational League. The League has established its local general groups in all the principal industrial centers, and its network of national industrial committees cover all the principal industries, such as Mining, Railroads, Textile, Clothing, Printing, Building, Metal, Food, Leather, etc. These industrial committees include all unions within their respective industries independent and American Federation of Labor alike. Contact with the revolutionary independent unions, as such, is established thru the Red International Committee. This organization is made up, on the one hand, of the revolutionary minorities organized in the Trade Union Educational League, and on the other hand of the revolutionary unions affiliated to or sympathetic with the Red International of Labor Unions. Already the left-wing has created the organizational forms necessary for complete functioning and co-ordination of all its forces in the labor movement as a whole. The task now before it is to fill in these forms and to rally the entire left wing for the work in hand.

Even at this incipient stage of its organization the left-wing movement in the trade unions has given ample demonstration of its power. This is because the Communists have given it conscious leadership. We alone thruout the labor movement have a program. All the other tendencies are bankrupt. Striking illustration of this has been given by the rapid spread of the amalgamation movement, especially in the railroad industry where it has swept thousands of local unions into its folds. Another outstanding manifestation of the power of the left-wing movement was evidenced at the convention of the Molders' Union where, in spite of desperate resistance from the reactionary officialdom, the left wing under the leadership of a handful of avowed Communists, succeeded in putting this old and conservative organization on record for the labor party, amalgamation, the recognition of Soviet Russia, the organization of the unorganized, and various other campaigns and slogans of the Trade Union Educational League.

V. The War with the Bureaucrats

The reactionary bureaucrats are not permitting this left-wing movement to spread save in spite of their most desperate opposition. Faithful to the interests of their masters, the capitalists, they have launched a war to the knife, in all branches of the trade union movement, against the militant and revolutionary

elements in the League. The attacks of the bureaucrats take on many forms. Democracy in the unions, so far as the left-wing individuals and programs are concerned, has been practically abolished. At the Portland convention, for example, when the questions of amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, the Labor Party, etc., came up for consideration, scores of delegates voted against these measures in spite of the fact that their unions had gone on record definitely in favor of them. Moreover, there was the brutal expulsion of William F. Dunne. In the Railway Carmen's Union, the General Executive Board is illegally refusing to send out a referendum to the rank and file on the question of amalgamation, notwithstanding that a large number of locals, ten times as many as required by the constitution, have regularly demanded it. Everywhere the trade union press teems with denunciations of the Communists, one of the most notable incidents of this organized campaign of vilification being the infamous series of articles sent forth to a gullible world by Ellis Searles, in the name of the United Mine Workers. In this organization Lewis and the other autocrats are carrying on a war of extermination against the left wing. They did not hesitate to line up with the British Empire Steel Corporation in order to crush the revolutionary miners of District No. 26, Nova Scotia. They have expelled many active militants. But the war against the left wing has reached its climax in the needles trades, especially in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In this union, dominated by typical Amsterdam Socialists, the most contemptible practices are being indulged in. Revolutionists are being discriminated against and denied the right to hold office. Many have been slugged by the professional thugs in the employ of the union officials. Other have been expelled outright from the organization. Many have been blacklisted from the industry, the employers co-operating eagerly with the reactionary union officials in this contemptible procedure. In Philadelphia the reactionaries have practically destroyed the organization in their efforts to prevent the left wing from putting some real life and fighting spirit into it. From Gompers to Sigman it is a united front of all the reactionary officials with their capitalistic allies against the growing left wing.

VI. The Task Before Us

The critical state of the American labor movement throws a tremendous task upon the revolutionary left wing. The trade union bureaucrats, faced by constantly increasing pressure from the employers, are now preparing to make a still more rapid retreat to the right. When the real struggle begins, as it will shortly, they will follow a policy of compromise and surrender. They will sacrifice the standards of living of the workers by accepting for them longer hours, lower wages, piece work, and generally worsened working conditions in industry. To prevent this further betrayal of the workers' interests is the task of the union to direct the masses to the left and the militant resistance against the employers. We must redouble our efforts to imbue the workers with a fighting spirit, to amalgamate their scattered unions, and to induce them to take independent political action. We must carry on a ceaseless campaign for the organization of the unorganized; for the labor movement will be practically helpless so long as millions of workers remain outside of its folds. We must break down the national isolation of the American trade union movement, and bring it into the fold of the Red International of Labor Unions. Meanwhile we must seek, ever and always, to defeat the reactionary leaders now at the head of the movement and to replace them by revolutionaries, for so long as defenders of capitalism stand at the head of organized labor the workers' cause will be constantly compromised and betrayed. But above all, we must bring home to the workers a clear understanding of the futility of the capitalist system and teach them that the only way out of their slavery is thru the proletarian revolution, thru the establishment of the Workers' and Farmers' Government.

VII. The Party and the Unions

The strengthening and unification of the trade unions for the class struggle, and the conquest of these organizations for the program of Communism, are of the utmost importance to our Party. Without attaining the leadership of the masses organized in the trade unions it will be impossible for us to function effectively as the vanguard of the proletariat. Time and again the Communist International has emphasized the supreme necessity of Communists

working amongst the masses organized industrially. In every unit of our Party the question of work in the trade unions must be recognized as one of the greatest importance, and all available strength must be thrown into it.

The Party has a fundamental service to perform for the left-wing movement in the unions. That deep-going swing to the left, is a blind reaction of the masses against the oppression of the employing class and against the treachery of their reactionary leaders. It is a groping after the deep realities of the struggle against capitalism. But this blind left-wing movement cannot become conscious of its functions, cannot bring into existence its proper organizational forms, except it has the organized and militant leadership of the Communists, of the vanguard organized in the Workers Party under the leadership of the Communist International. The active and conscious participation of our Party in every phase of the left-wing movement among the trade unions is the first condition for the successful development and functioning of the movement.

In carrying on the industrial work it must never be forgotten that its final aim is the building and strengthening of the Workers Party. The movements for amalgamation, the labor party, organization of the unorganized, etc., among the unions, create favorable spheres of influence for us and win the sympathy of great numbers of workers who recognize the practical leadership of the Communists in the every-day struggle. It is the duty of all units of the Party to follow up closely the industrial work carried on by the Party and its members, and to absorb those workers brought under our ideological leadership thru this work, into actual membership in the Party. Unless this is done our work is largely in vain. The conscious goal of the work on the industrial field must be ever and always the building of the Workers Party into a Communist Mass Party.

Two features of the industrial work require special mention. The first relates to our labor party program. Inasmuch as the labor party, insofar as it represents the industrial workers, rests directly upon the trade unions and draws its conventions and other legislative assemblies out of their ranks, the extent to which we will have power and influence in the growing labor party movement will depend almost entirely upon the strength and grip we have in the trade unions. A fundamental condition for the success of our labor party program is, therefore, a successful industrial program.

VII. Organization Program

The following are the general organizational proposals of the industrial department for the carrying out of the industrial work:

1. Industrial Organizers.—Each unit of the Party shall select an industrial organizer whose duty it shall be to see to it that the industrial program of the Party is put into effect insofar as his unit is concerned.

2. Registration.—A complete registration of the entire membership shall be taken semi-annually, showing the occupation and union affiliations of the members. It shall be the duty of the branch industrial organizers to carry out this registration promptly and thoroughly.

3. Union Membership.—It is the duty of each member of the Workers Party to be a member of a labor union and to be active therein. The branch industrial organizers shall report regularly to the branch, names of Party members working in industries who are not affiliated to labor unions.

4. League Membership.—It is the duty of each member of the Workers Party employed in the industries to be a member of the Trade Union Educational League. The Party units in the various localities will be held responsible for the organization and maintenance of a section of the Trade Union Educational League in their respective fields, and for the active participation of their membership in the same.

5. League Support.—It is the duty of each Party unit to help actively in circulating the "Labor Herald," and the other publications of the Trade Union Educational League. Each Party unit shall also help in financing the League by the sale of Sustaining Fund Certificates, and the organization of picnics, dances, and other forms of entertainment.

The Workers Party has every reason to congratulate itself upon its solid achievements upon the industrial field as well as the political field during the past year. We have become a major factor in the trade unions, and the main-spring of all progressive movements therein. It must be acknowledged, however, that our full forces have not been mobilized, and if we could have brought our full strength to bear upon the problems with which we had to deal, our results would have been many fold. The main task for the coming year is to enroll within the Party the fresh elements from the left wing ready for us.

Resolution on Industrial Work

The convention endorses the industrial work of the Party for the past 12 months, and the program laid out for the coming year. In order for our industrial work to be a success, it is absolutely essential that the Party throw its whole available force into it. Wherever possible, shop nuclei must be formed. The members of the Party, who work in the industries, must join the trade unions and become aggressive participants therein in furthering the Party work. In addition, the members must become active in the Trade Union Educational League and give real support to its slogans of amalgamation, the labor party, organize the unorganized, recognition of Soviet Russia, affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions, etc. They shall subscribe for and help circulate *The Labor Herald* and other publications of the League. In each locality the local Party organization will be held responsible for the organization and continuance of a branch of the Trade Union Educational League. The semi-annual industrial registration of the Party must be taken seriously and made as nearly as practical 100 per cent complete. The industrial organizers selected by the local branches must function regularly and see to it that the Party is brought actively into the industrial work. The thorough carrying out of the foregoing measures will do much towards giving our Party the grip necessary among the organized masses to enable it to function really and effectively in its true role of the advance guard of the proletariat.

Resolution referred to the Central Executive Committee with instructions to work out a policy:

1. To combine our present convention policy in the trade unions with an effective policy on strikes in shops, mines and factories.
2. To work out plans for the daily struggles of the workers to be joined with our present amalgamation campaign.
3. Prepare a plan to utilize for the organization advantage of the party our present propaganda campaigns such as amalgamation, etc.

MINORITY RESOLUTION ON INDUSTRIAL REPORT

The convention agrees with the proposals of the industrial department in its recommendations for industrial organizers, registration, union membership, Trade Union Educational League membership of the party members and the support of the Trade Union Educational League and the *Labor Herald*.

But the convention believes that these proposals do not meet in a satisfactory manner the present situation.

We are facing new industrial crisis and a new offensive of capital. In the coal mining industry, in the copper industry, in the textile industry, and in the needle trades, we already have a very heavy unemployment. This new situation demands new policies. The one-sided emphasis of our amalgamation slogan does not meet the situation. The tens of thousands of workers who are dropping out from their unions are not interested at all in amalgamation. Neither the workers of the unorganized industries nor the hundreds of thousands of organized workers are interested in any organizational improvement of the existing craft unions. Our vigorous campaign for amalgamation was in place for the period of prosperity, and it helped to stir up great sections of organized labor. Our slogan, "Organize the Unorganized," was a proper slogan during a period of complete employment, increasing wages and decreasing hours. The industrial prosperity of 1922-23 offered a great opportunity for organizing the slaves of the steel trust, of the rubber and automobile industry and the textile industry. The American Federation of Labor neglected, betrayed and sabotaged the tremendous task of organizing the unorganized masses. The labor aristocracy is not interested in organizing the proletarian workers. Our Party had the right policy in issuing the slogan, "Organize the Unorganized," and demanding of the American Federation of Labor that it fulfill this historical task. But our Party issued the "Organize the Unorganized" slogan too late, not at the beginning of the industrial prosperity, but at the end of it, in a time in which the first signs of the shaking up of the industrial prosperity were beginning to manifest themselves. Our campaign for organizing the unorganized was lifeless. We had no concrete plans. We did not grasp the initiative in a concrete manner in certain industries where that might have been possible, such as with the rubber workers in Akron or automobile workers in Detroit.

The convention considers that the most urgent and most important task for meeting the new situation is the working out of the policy on the unemployment situation. The convention instructs the incoming Central Executive Committee to work out such a policy at once, and to begin a nation-wide campaign to organize the unemployed workers, to form councils of unemployed, to issue a special paper. The unemployment campaign must be conducted on the ground of solidarity of interests of employed trade union workers and unemployed non-trade union masses. The Workers Party must become in any case the leading center of the unemployment movement. The unemployment campaign must be conducted in such a manner that it shall be directed into political channels. The slogans and demands shall be directed, not only against the bosses, but shall try to focus the eyes of the workers upon the government and Congress. The Party must lead the unemployed movement in such a way that the demand of the masses shall force Congress to take up the unemployment question.

Millions of bankrupt farmers are streaming into the cities and industries, and are increasing the danger of unemployment. Our Party must recognize that fact in its industrial policies, as offering the best opportunity for calling the attention of the workers and expropriated farmers to the commonness of their interests and for pointing out to them how only a workers' and farmers' government can remedy their common misery.

In our industrial policies in the past we did not understand thoroughly how to utilize our industrial activities for our political work. Our comrades often forgot that the work in the trade unions is not an end in itself, but that it must serve to stir up the masses politically.

The best example of lack of political understanding in our industrial policies was the great anthracite strike last September. Our Party had no policy for the strike, before the fight began. One hundred thousand workers struck in the most important basic industry. The attention of the whole country was focused on the negotiations between the United Mine Workers and the bosses. In that situation neither the August nor the September issues of the Labor Herald had any articles or statements on the subject of the strike, so as to give a clear and revolutionary program for the miners, and thus driving Lewis and the other labor officials into a real fight. The anthracite strike provoked the intervention of Coolidge and Pinchot, the federal and state governments. The labor officials did not fight against the government arbitration. It was the best opportunity for our Party to utilize the situation to begin a campaign for nationalization, against intervention of the capitalist government and for establishing a workers' and farmers' government. The Party missed that fine opportunity. Our first statement appeared too late after the strike, and it was too weak to make any impression on the masses. The strike began early in September, but the Labor Herald had no special articles, neither in its September nor October issues. The first article on the anthracite strike in the Labor Herald appeared as late as November. That there was a possibility for our Party to assume leadership in the anthracite strike is proven by the repeated "outlaw" strikes, which broke out after the reactionary Lewis machine sold out the workers and after the "progressive" Capellini had become a part of the Lewis machine.

Our industrial policy has had many successes and achievements, but it has been a one-sided convention policy. The convention emphasizes that we must combine our convention policy in the trade unions with an effective policy on strikes in shops, factories and mines. We should not forget that "amalgamation" or "organize the unorganized" or a "Labor Party" are not so closely, immediately and deeply connected with the interests of the laboring masses as the fights for a bigger piece of bread, against wage cutting or for better working conditions. We must go deeper into the masses. It is not enough to fight in conventions of trade unions and it is not even enough if we participate in the work of the local unions. We must become the leaders of the workers in the industries themselves. The masses will misunderstand us if they see us fighting only against the reactionary labor leaders and not fighting at the same time against the bosses. Especially in the needle trades did our policy show that shortcoming, which made it possible for the reactionaries of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to start a persecution against the Trade Union Educational League.

The convention declares that it approves and appreciates the industrial department of the Central Executive Committee and instructs the incoming

Central Executive Committee to consider the suggestions and recommendations given above in the shaping of our industrial policies of the future.

The convention asserts that the industrial work of the Party and the Trade Union Educational League has stirred up millions of workers and aroused a great sentiment for our slogans. But it considers it a basic shortcoming of our work that we did not follow up our propaganda with the proper organizational work. A vague sentiment evaporates easily, without an actual, solid organization. It is the foremost duty of our industrial department in the future to take the steps to utilize successful slogans and aroused sentiments, for a crystallized organization.

BEN GITLOW.
JOHN PEPPER.
JOSEPH MANLEY.

The above resolution was referred to the Central Executive Committee.

RESOLUTION ON COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Third National Convention of the Workers Party extends greetings to the Communist International.

During the past year the Communist International has appeared everywhere where the workers suffer from oppression and exploitation as the leader in the struggle against the oppressors and exploiters. It stands today as the hope of all those who struggle against the suffering and bloodshed which the decaying capitalist system brings into the world.

It is the leadership of the Communist International, which inspires hopes in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country.

The Workers Party re-affirms its declaration of sympathy with the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International.

REPORT OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, BY JAY LOVESTONE

The breath of imperialist battles and wars is in the air. Germany is crumbling. England is in the throes of severe industrial stagnation. France is groaning under staggering taxation. In the United States the war poison of an intensely aggressive imperialism is sipping into the very tissues of our capitalist political-economic system. Everywhere preparations are afoot, which will give American capitalists the undisputed leadership of the imperialist world powers.

Since Spain was routed in 1898, the history of American capitalism has been the story of the most gigantic strides in imperialist development.

The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean have become the American Mediterranean. Cuba is in the firm grip of a protectorate of American bankers and industrialists. Porto Rico has been annexed. Turning to the Pacific and the Far East our imperialists have grabbed in quick order the Philippines, Guam and Hawaii. The Central American Isthmus is a Yankee satrapy under the "general supervision" of New York financiers and manufacturers. While Wilson was penning notes on democracy, American troops forcibly dissolved the Haitian parliament and destroyed the national freedom of the republic in the name of the much-vaunted capitalist formula of the "self-determination of nationalities." Today the United States is the political master of an imperial hinterland in Central America and the Caribbean, covering over 150,000 square miles of land and having a population of about 10,000,000. In the Pacific the United States has an island empire of over 125,000 square miles and a population of 13,000,000.

The Yankee exploiters are securing a stranglehold on Canadian resources. The packing, rubber and paint industries are rapidly falling into Wall Street's hands. Already over \$2,500,000,000 of American capital, or the equivalent of the British interests, are invested in Canadian industries.

Under the guise of protecting the weaker nations and in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, American capitalists have secured complete domination over South America. The nitrate beds of Chile, the meat and wheat of Peru, the coffee and rubber plantations of Brazil are more and more falling into the grasp of our imperialists. The Standard Oil is getting great concessions in Ecuador, Bolivia, Columbia and Argentina. America is extending her South American market with great dash and determination.

American imperialism is octopus-like fastening its tentacles on the resources of Asia. Our bankers are increasing their hold on China's railway system. Taking advantage of the great catastrophe that has befallen Japan in the recent earthquake American capitalists are increasing their investments in Japan. In the last decade our commerce with the Oriental countries has increased three hundred per cent. More and more American capitalism is turning its eyes to the Far East. In the Near East American imperialism is also making itself felt. The famous Chester concessions, the drive for oil in Mesopotamia, and the growing interest of our investors in Palestine indicate the direction of the trade winds here.

The Yankee imperialists have their eyes on Europe. Wall Street has done more than its share to turn Austria into a coolie colony. Now our capitalists are landing heavily on Italian resources and bolstering up the Fascist tyranny of Mussolini.

Our capitalists are interested even in the wildest thickets of the jungles of African investments. In the present Tangier controversy, involving the leading imperialist powers of Europe, the United States government is springing to the defense of the interests of our leading public utility magnates.

America has become the industrial, trading and banking nation of the world. The World War has transformed America from a debtor into a creditor nation. The world now owes America billions of dollars. America's crops, animal products, manufactures, mineral output, forest products and merchant marine have reached a hitherto unheard of degree of development.

American banking is now international. New York has displaced London as the banking centre of the world. International finance now hides its manipulations and registers its progress in the sign of the dollar.

But the great financial and industrial expansion brought on by the World War has also brought new problems and new difficulties in its wake.

The rule of dollar democracy by our financiers and industrialists at home has been translated into a regime of dollar diplomacy abroad and in our vast colonial possessions. American democracy now truly rests upon a monarchy of gold and an aristocracy of finance.

In order to maintain control of our growing imperialist empire and in order to serve American investors abroad, the American government has been steadily developing a huge military and naval system. The last decade has seen the cost of national defense doubled. The total number of individuals under training has been increased over 100 per cent.

We have invested over three billion dollars in our navy today. The aim of American navalists is to have a navy second to none.

But giant waves of discontent are sweeping the islands in the grasp of American imperialism.

The Philippines are astir with protest against the dictatorial regime of the iron-fisted military Governor General Leonard Wood. The Filipinos are struggling to win their independence from American imperialism and are resisting the plans of General Wood to hand over the natural resources of their country to American capitalists. Cuba is in the throes of a serious conflict over the domination of the island by American sugar, shipping and railway barons.

In the present disturbance in Mexico the sinister manipulations are evident.

Porto Rico is pleading for independence.

The Virgin Islands are crying out against the super-Prussian rule imposed upon them by their new masters of the United States navy.

The wounds inflicted upon the Haitians and the Dominican republic by American marines serving as revenue collectors are only outward manifestations of outrageous crimes perpetrated against these weaker nations by the United States, the new policeman of the capitalist world.

Nicaragua is under Wall Street's thumb.

Colombia is being ruled by an American financial mission ostensibly sent to help the republic put her house in order.

Bolivian policy is dictated by American bankers.

Peru is actually in American hands.

The presence of an American naval mission in Brazil has almost brought on a war between Brazil and Argentine. The Argentine republic cannot enact laws unless the American packing interests approve them first.

The people of Honduras cannot hold an election without an American battleship visiting their coast.

Salvador must mortgage its life as an independent nation in order to get a loan from American bankers.

In all these imperialist ventures and outrages the American government has served the imperialists with unflinching regularity. The War Department, the Navy Department, the Departments of Commerce and State have become the tireless functionaries of the most powerful band of imperialist financiers and industrial overlords the world has yet seen.

American capitalism has garnered fabulous profits in its exploitation of these weaker countries. This has made it economically possible for the American capitalists to win over some sections of the working class against the rest of the workers. As the struggle amongst the imperialist powers for the division of the world is becoming sharper, this tendency for the upper crust of aristocracy of labor to line up with the capitalists grows stronger.

Gompers and his lieutenants are direct beneficiaries of the imperialist system. These misleaders of the working class in America have turned a deaf ear to the demands of the oppressed nationalities seeking freedom from the United States. These men, who are at the helm of the best organized section of our workers, are working hand in glove with the powerful employers. They were of the greatest service to the capitalist class in the last war.

New and even more serious dangers are threatening to overcome the American workers and farmers. The United States has at last decided to step in as the virtual receiver of bankrupt Europe. The notorious enemy of labor, "Hell-an'-Maria" General Charles G. Dawes and the Morgan's agents, Owen D. Young and Henry M. Robinson, will soon openly help the manufacturers and bankers of England, France and Italy to stave off bankruptcy. The price set by our imperialists for this "humanitarian" help will be complete American economic hegemony over Europe. This step is only a prelude to more entangling alliances which are bound sooner, rather than later, to draw an army of millions of American workers and farmers "over there" to fight for the defense of the foreign investments of our employing class. Furthermore, America is pursuing with renewed vigor its policy of isolating Soviet Russia and refusing to recognize it.

In the light of this ever-increasing militarist and imperialist menace to the peace and security of the American workers and poor farmers the need for united action against American imperialism is more urgent than ever. Towards this end the Workers Party of America proposes the following program:

1. General propaganda to arouse the opposition of the laboring and farming masses to imperialism and militarism.

2. A united front of all workers' and farmers' organizations against the maintenance and extension of American imperialist plans.

3. Concerted action by the workers' and farmers' political and economic organizations to compel Congress to enact legislation prohibiting the expenditure of a man or a dollar to guarantee the investments of American capitalists abroad.

4. A vigorous campaign in all labor and farm organizations for the immediate and complete independence of all the possessions of the United States.

5. Struggle against American interference in the political and economic affairs of Mexico, the South and Central American republics. The immediate evacuation of all territories now occupied by American military and naval forces.

6. A special organizational and propaganda campaign to help the Filipino people in their resistance to American capitalist exploitation. Our workers and farmers should render the greatest help possible to the Filipinos in their struggle for complete national independence from United States imperialist domination.

7. Special publicity campaigns exposing American capitalist brutality in our possessions and in territories occupied by the military and naval forces of the United States. The interests dominating Mexico, Central America, South America, and our island possessions must be exposed in their light as imperialist brigands before the working class and poor farmers.

8. Struggle against the reactionary trade union leaders of the United States and of the weaker exploited countries. These leaders of the type of Gompers and the Mexican Morones have become part and parcel of the imperialist coterie oppressing the working masses.

9. Struggle against the attempt of the imperialist Coolidge administration to unite the countries of the world against Soviet Russia and against the tacit support given to the monarchist movement in Germany by American reactionary forces.

10. An intensive campaign against American participation in the League of Nations, the World Court, the Reparations Commission, and all other imperialist conferences and alliances.

11. The organization of an international united front of the political and economic organizations of the workers and poor farmers against international cap-

italist imperialism. The workers of all the American countries must unite for a common struggle against American imperialism.

12. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the labor organization of all the American possessions, Canada, Mexico, the Central and South American republics.

RESOLUTION ON RECOGNITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The workers and peasants of Russia, overthrowing first the age-old autocracy of the Czars and then the new-found autocracy of modern capitalism, have brought into the world a new form of state.

Every available military and political means of the greatest capitalist nations has been directed against this new state in the effort to destroy it; and every effort has failed. Today it stands as the strongest power of continental Europe and Asia. Russia, with the newly-released vitality and a revolutionary country, with institutions better adapted to modern needs, steadily improves its economic conditions while all other nations of Europe are steadily sinking toward ruin.

Peace has not been made among the nations since the world war.

The imperialist nations, controlled by capitalist cliques who are frightened with the sight of the rise of the new class into power in Russia, have refused to make peace with a government of workers' and peasants. Yet the banner of Russian freedom flies over one-sixth of the land surface of the earth. A large portion of the world's richest possessions, absolutely necessary to peaceful international life, lie under the flag of the workers' and farmers' republic. Without Russia, peaceful world life is impossible for all nations. Soviet Russia has offered peace. Willing to forgive the fact that the American government has repeatedly invaded and made war upon their land, the Soviet government has repeatedly held out its hand in friendship to this country.

Every new invitation to heal the wounds of war has been met by the American President and Secretary of State with petty evasion, calumnies and slanders. In fear of standing a comparison between the American dictatorship of Big Business and the Russian dictatorship of the wage-working and farming classes, the American government has invented ridiculous falsehoods, one after another, during a period of five years, as excuses for non-recognition of Russia. Among these is the lie that the Russian Soviet government is seeking and will use any diplomatic contact to encourage American workers and farmers to revolt against the tyrannies of the American capitalist class to put "the red flag on the White House."

Although a friend to all exploited and abused classes of the earth, although it stands and will continue to stand out as a shining example of progress and victory for the exploited of the earth, it is ridiculous to say that Soviet Russia could or would in any way interfere in the internal affairs of any other nation. Russia alone of all nations has shown its willingness to let all countries control their own affairs, while President Coolidge, with arrogant effrontery, demands the right to reshape Russia's internal institutions before according her recognition.

Only because the President and Secretary of State, the government of this country, represent a Big Business clique which considers its private wealth in advance of the interests of the nation, does this government fail to recognize the Soviet Republic of Russia. For that reason alone the economic chaos and stagnation of the world is prolonged. Only for that reason does the Secretary of State of the United States stoop to petty forgeries of documents, deliberate mistranslations of articles and low intrigue with the scum of extinct European monarchies, to make a dishonest propaganda against the new republic of Russia.

The Workers Party calls upon the workers and farmers to renew their demand for the restoration of peaceful relations between nations through recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic, and demands such action of the Congress of the United States.

RESOLUTION ON THE PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS

The millions of foreign-born workers are facing new dangers.

The message of President Coolidge to Congress, and the plan of Secretary of Labor Davis have revealed the plans of the capitalists against the foreign-born workers. Congress will in the very near future consider bills on registration and fingerprinting of the foreign-born workers. New special annual taxes and new discriminating special measures against the foreign-born workers will come up before Congress in the near future.

The Workers Party was the only political party which, as far back as a year ago, in its last convention, brought to the attention of the workers these great dangers. We have begun a big movement for the protection of foreign-born workers.

The convention authorizes the Central Executive Committee and District Executive Committees immediately to take steps to initiate a united front with all organizations which are willing to join in such a campaign. The Convention of the Workers Party pledges our Party to carry on a big campaign in the next year, for the protection of foreign-born workers, and calls upon every worker to organize the united front of native-born American and foreign-born workers against the criminal plans of the Coolidge administration, Ku Klux Klan, and American Legion patriots. The workers must recognize that the attack against the foreign-born workers is but a new attempt of the capitalist offensive against the suppressed and ill-paying laboring masses of the basic industries.

REPORT OF THE DAILY WORKER CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

By John J. Ballam, Manager, Daily Worker Campaign Committee

COMRADES:

This report covers the period of The Daily Worker Drive from the date of its announcement in The Worker, issue of Aug. 18th, which was actually published Aug. 8th, 1923, to Dec. 22, 1923.

I was called in from Buffalo to take charge of the drive Aug. 20th. Plans were prepared by the committee before I took office which contemplated running the drive almost exclusively for shares sales among our party membership, through our branches and mass meetings in the principal cities. Each federation language bureau was allotted a quota and all were expected to carry on the campaign through their affiliated branches under the direction of The Daily Worker Campaign Committee.

The following list shows the quota allotted to each federation:

Federation	Average Membership (Aug.)	Quota	Federation	Average Membership (Aug.)	Quota
Czecho-Slovak.....	437	\$3, 000	Lithuanian.....	843	\$5, 000
Estonian.....	76	400	Lettish.....	403	3, 000
Finnish.....	7, 000	25, 000	Polish.....	181	500
Greek.....	172	1, 000	Russian.....	955	3, 000
German.....	481	5, 000	Roumanian.....	200	1, 000
Hungarian.....	355	3, 500	South Slavic.....	1, 174	6, 000
Italian.....	454	1, 000	Ukranian.....	532	2, 000
Jewish.....	1, 007	5, 000	Scandinavian.....	283	1, 000

The drive started in the midst of all the confusion and unavoidable disorganization attendant upon the removal of the entire office force and equipment of the National Office to Chicago, together with the offices of many of the federations, so that the drive did not really get under way until Sept. 6, 1923.

All federation bureaus, district organizers, City Central Committee secretaries, and branch secretaries received instructions as to the method of conducting the drive. Every unit was requested to create campaign committees and to elect a campaign manager for their respective unit. All language bureaus elected a special campaign manager and 58 City Central Committees out of the 76 listed elected their committees and managers and were active in the drive.

The campaign was confined until recently to the sale of \$5.00 stock pledges of which each party member was expected to purchase at least one. 125,000 stock application blanks (including 20,000 installment payment applications) were distributed proportionally to all federation campaign managers; to all district organizers; to all City Central Committee secretaries and campaign managers, and to every branch secretary. This distribution was made directly from the national office to all units with instructions to higher units to adequately supply all lower units. Therefore, every member of the Party was supplied with these blanks in sufficient number for all purposes.

Publicity.—Publicity matter has been gotten out in large quantities and thoroughly distributed throughout the entire country from the national office and

we believe that the campaign for our daily has been popularized so as to lay a firm foundation for our daily upon its appearance. The following material was distributed:

a. 3,000 posters announcing the opening of the drive for September meetings.
 b. 100,000 copies of the "Miniature Daily Worker" in two editions of 50,000 each. These were designed to reach nonparty workers in unions, societies, etc., and were supplied to districts, City Central Committees and branches free of charge. All copies were supplied by order only. This leaflet has proven to be an effective method of popularizing the daily and aided in stock sales and donations.

c. Display ads and cartoons in every issue of *The Worker* together with special articles and news items, and full page posters for meeting halls.

d. Daily Worker Campaign Committee News Service, containing articles, reports, etc., sent to all party press and connections regularly each week.

e. Advertisements in magazines and foreign programs and trade union programs.

f. Pennants and posters for Russian Revolution celebrations.

g. 10,000 contribution lists were sent to all branches.

h. 30,000 contribution lists, with share applications and special letter sent through special list.

i. 10,000 specially selected union secretaries were circularized with trade union appeal and lists.

j. 3,000 miners' locals were appealed to for donations and shares.

k. 10,000 lists were circulated to Worker and Liberator lists, with appeals by Comrade Engdahl and Minor. A total of 63,000 letters, pledges and lists were thus sent out.

Meetings.—The first series of meetings arranged by the Daily Worker Campaign Committee were those in which the \$100,000 drive was opened in the principal cities, between Sept. 29th and Oct. 10th, addressed by the most prominent speakers in the Party. These meetings were held before the Party had mobilized all its forces for the drive but aroused intense enthusiasm. Twelve of these meetings were held.

Dances, picnics, entertainments, concerts were arranged all over the country for *The Daily Worker Drive* during the month of October. The conspicuously successful meeting was that held by the New York Campaign Committee at the Lenin Bust Unveiling where the income was over \$2,000.00

Russian Revolution Celebrations were arranged by the Daily Worker Campaign Committee in over 50 cities thruout the country, addressed by over 30 prominent Party speakers.

More than 70 meetings, from coast to coast, are now being arranged for Jan. 12th and 13th to greet the birth of *The Daily Worker*.

Language Federations.—Each Language Section was given its quota of shares to be sold and complete instructions for general conduct of the drive. It was the policy of the committee to permit each federation to conduct the drive among its units in its own way, relying upon the pledge to raise the amount apportioned. Our foreign-born comrades have supported the drive for the English daily magnificently, and especial credit is due them when the fact that most of the language sections carry the burden of maintaining dailies and weeklies in their respective languages, is taken into consideration. Full credits for amount raised cannot in all cases be given to each federation as many of their branches remitted directly thru the City Central Committee campaign manager without showing sources, while others sent their remittances through the several Federation Bureaus. Special mention must be made of the Lithuanian and South Slavic Federations where the drive was carried on intensively and in close co-operation with our committee. The Finnish Bureau is still busily engaged in raising its quota among its members, and their pledge to turn over to *The Daily Worker Publishing Co.* \$25,000 in cash or notes was the decisive factor making for the early appearance of our daily.

General.—The announcement of the Central Executive Committee to start the drive for an English language was greeted by the leaders of the Communist Parties of the principal countries thruout the world. Zinoviev, Radek, Zetkin, Thalheimer, Brandler, Treint, Tom Mann, and others hailed the English Communist Daily. Upton Sinclair called upon all workers to support the Workers Party in its drive for the new daily in Chicago.

Our comrades responded to the call of the Party with tremendous enthusiasm. While there was some hesitation and doubt which in some cases continued through the drive by a few who were appalled at the magnitude of the task which the Party had set itself to accomplish, the rank and file set to work to

organize; and the forces of the Party were gradually mobilized and set in motion for the most inspiring drive that our Central Executive Committee has instituted.

The first to respond was the Bulgarian branch of Madison, Ill., which sent the first \$30.00 donation. An analysis of all sources of income show that almost the entire sum raised came from the workers in factory, mill, mine and railroad and from the exploited working farmers on the land. The comrades in Los Angeles raised over \$900.00; the Ukrainian branch of Hamtramck (Detroit), Mich., sent in over \$1,000.00; under the efficient direction of Comrade Julius Cod-kind the New York City campaign committee carried on an effective drive, conducted splendid meetings, and turned in directly to campaign headquarters over \$6,000.00; the drive was conducted in Chicago under the tireless efforts of Comrade Gus Schulenberg as campaign manager and resulted in direct returns of more than \$5,000.00; Boston, under Comrade Zehus as campaign manager, turned in directly nearly \$3,000.00. These are the highest spots in the campaign. A complete analysis of returns of federations and districts accompany this report.

There was some hesitation on the part of some of our trade union sections toward carrying on the campaign into the unions. Wherever our trade union militants did make the proper approach good results were obtained. Over 100 workers' organizations have donated money or purchased shares.

Our foreign-language press (with a few exceptions) has supported the drive and carried our announcements and to the extent that they gave their aid this support was invaluable.

Our intention was to raise the necessary amount by Nov. 7th and to issue our daily on the Sixth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. But it was shown that eight weeks was too short a time in which to accomplish this object. When it was announced by our Central Executive Committee that the date was extended to January, 1924, our members, instead of becoming discouraged, took a fresh hold and from that time to the present the drive became intensified and is now nearing completion.

The total income from the drive is today \$73,011.90 (\$71,497.15 plus \$1,514.75 received since Dec. 22). The Finnish comrades have pledged \$15,000.00 and the Italian comrades have pledged themselves to pay \$2,000.00. This makes a total of \$90,000.00. Our membership must raise the other \$10,000.00. Every member who has not yet bought a share must be urged to do so at once. Only unemployment or sickness should be accepted as a valid excuse. There remain two weeks before our paper will be issued. If every member will see to it that all comrades do their full duty we can yet go over the top with the full \$100,000.00 on the day before our paper appears.

In making their decision to found a great national daily Party organ in the English language our Central Executive Committee has properly gauged the ability and enthusiasm and the revolutionary determination of the Party membership. It was hailed by the chairman of the Communist International, Comrade Zinoviev, as the necessary weapon to make our Party a real mass party. The Daily Worker Drive was one of the most important tasks which our party has undertaken. It has been crowned with almost complete success.

On Sunday, Jan. 13th, The Daily Worker will be born. Upon its success will depend in great measure, the success of our immediate objectives: the membership drive; amalgamation; the labor party; recognition of Soviet Russia; organization of the unorganized, and defense. The Daily Worker will be the chief instrument through which our Party will popularize all its slogans, and mobilize all its forces for action in every field and it becomes the supreme duty of all party workers, regardless of their special activities, to work energetically to build up the influence and the circulation of The Daily Worker.

We are convinced that our daily will be supported by tens of thousands of workers and farmers and become a tremendous power in the coming nation-wide elections, developing the political consciousness of the workers, rallying them in support of the labor party at the polls, becoming an institution in the life of the workers and exploited farmers, and setting up another milestone on the path of our Party toward the realization of its final goal. There may be issues within our Party upon which there can be a wide division of opinion—upon the question of The Daily Worker there cannot be any egitimate opposition.

Our enemies fear the coming of our English Daily for they nicely estimate its potential power and influence. Their fear is matched by the joy of our friends at the prospects of a working class daily. Once published the success of The Daily Worker is assured.

The decision of the Central Executive Committee of our Party to publish The Daily Worker is the crowning act in a series of realistic and Communist actions during their term of office.

The Daily Worker Campaign Committee appeals to the Third National Convention of the Workers Party of America and through it to the Party for united effort to build up the circulation of The Daily Worker and to establish it in the hearts of the working class of America.

Long Live the Workers Party and Its Organ, The Daily Worker!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT DAILY WORKER CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Statement of cash receipts and expenditures from Aug. 28 to Dec. 22, 1923

Cash Receipts:

Paid applications for Preferred Stock		
a. Full payments	-----	\$50,808.75
b. Partial payments	-----	187.00
c. Finnish Federation	-----	9,821.91
	-----	\$60,817.66
Cash donations:		
General Donations	-----	\$7,701.06
Special Lists	-----	326.36
Liberator Lists	-----	57.00
Worker Lists	-----	122.30
	-----	8,206.72
Stock Sales & Donations (unclassified)	-----	1,223.31
Pennants Sales	-----	1,164.23
Nov. 7th Subscriptions to Daily Worker	-----	64.85
Interest on Bank Deposits	-----	20.38
	-----	\$71,497.15

Cash Disbursements:

Advertising		
Campaign Headquarters	-----	\$12.00
For Party Units	-----	263.60
	-----	\$1,075.60
Printing		
Miniature Daily Worker	-----	324.38
Soliciting Purposes	-----	1,372.87
	-----	1,697.25
Pennants		750.00
General Office Expenses		
Stationary Supplies & Equipment	-----	278.53
Rent of National Office Space	-----	60.00
Postage & Forwarding	-----	561.81
Telegrams & Telephone	-----	34.85
Speakers' Traveling Expenses	-----	1,133.48
Wages		
Administration	-----	1,426.50
Publicity	-----	576.23
	-----	2,002.73
Exchange on Checks		6.85
Total Expenses		7,605.10
Funds Advanced to Daily Worker Pub. Co		2,333.85
Total Disbursements		9,938.95

Born out of the bone and sinew of the militant proletariat of America, controlled, guided and inspired by the Workers Party of America, "The Daily Worker" comes into being to lead the battalions of the workers and exploited farmers to victory, in the accomplishment of the historic mission of the working class, through the establishment of a government of workers and farmers.

Long Live The Daily Worker!

Long Live the Workers Party and the Communist International!

Additional Resolution

The price of the Daily Worker shall be:

In Chicago by carrier

\$10.00 for one year
5.00 for six months
1.00 for one month

In Chicago by mail and Foreign Subscriptions

\$8.00 for one year
4.50 for six months
2.50 for three months

Outside of Chicago

\$6.00 for one year
3.50 for six months
2.00 for three months

Cash in Special Fund-----	\$25,000.00	
Cash Held by Finnish Federation a/c Shares-----	9,821.91	
Cash in Bank-----	27,406.83	
Petty Cash-----	20.00	
Total Cash-----	62,248.74	
Less accounts payable-----	690.54	\$61,558.20
		\$71,497.15

Fraternally submitted,

DAILY WORKER CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
JOHN J. BALLAM, *Manager*.

RESOLUTION ON THE DAILY WORKER

The Third National Convention congratulates the thousands of members and sympathizers who co-operated with the Daily Workers Campaign Committee in carrying on the drive to establish "The Daily Worker."

The first Communist daily in the English language is thus made possible through the devotion, sacrifice and tireless energy of our comrades and friends who out of their little have given much.

RESOLUTION ON LANGUAGE PRESS

The Third Convention of the Workers Party fully confirms the resolution on the language press adopted by the Second Convention a year ago.

Fully appreciating the progress towards the establishment of a unified press action made by the Party during the last year, the Third Convention instructs the incoming Central Executive Committee to continue in its efforts to establish a uniform press policy and action for all the Party press.

The editors of the Federation papers are urged to pay close attention to the central organ of the Party and to the Press Service issued by the National Office, and to take active part in all campaigns conducted by the party. The Federation Press should apply itself more than before with American conditions and not so much to European problems.

The Federation Press must devote sufficient space to the clarification of the various policies and issues of the Party regardless of whether the editor agrees with the official stand of the Party or not.

RESOLUTION ON SHOP NUCLEI

1. The experience of the Communist parties the world over has proven that the only sound basis for Communist organization is an organization which is rooted in the shops and factories.

2. It is the experiences of the workers in the shops and factories, which are the basis of their struggles against the capitalists and agitation in the shops, offers the best opportunities for arousing the workers for the struggle against their exploiters and oppressors, because such agitation is close to the realities of their everyday life.

3. It is in the shops that the workers come in daily contact with each other and it is there that they can be best reached with Communist propaganda.

4. The problem of organizing Shop Nuclei in the United States is greatly complicated by the fact that our Party is made up of many language sections, but the Party must nevertheless begin this work.

5. The National Convention therefore instructs the incoming Central Executive Committee to organize Shop Nuclei wherever possible on the basis of the following instructions:

1. Shop Nuclei shall be organized wherever two or more party members are employed in the same factory or shop.

2. No change shall be made in the present system of language branches or the affiliation of members and dues payment through such branches.

3. The Shop Nuclei shall be organized as organizations for propaganda and the political and economic work of the Party in the shops alongside of the existing organization.

4. The method of combining the Shop Nuclei in certain district and their contact with the city organization shall be worked out by the Central Executive Committee in accordance with the experience gained in the process of forming the Shop Nuclei organization.

5. In answer to the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International that we form international branches of workers of various language groups, we declare that such action at this time would seriously disturb the structure of our party organization and weaken the Federations, which are needed to carry on the work of agitation and organization among the workers of the many language groups in this country. We therefore request the Executive Committee Communist International to reconsider this recommendation and refer it for consideration to the next convention of our Party.

RESOLUTION ON THE AGRICULTURAL WORK OF THE PARTY

The convention approves the initiative of the Central Executive Committee in creating an agricultural department of the Party, recognizes the tremendous importance of Communist work among the farmers and instructs the incoming Central Executive Committee to increase and develop our Party work among the poor and exploited farmers.

The convention of the Workers Party, as representative of the class-conscious head of the working class of the United States, sends its warmest greetings and deepest expression of solidarity to the masses of poor and exploited farmers.

The convention recognizes the heroic struggle of the masses of exploited farmers against monopolistic trust magnates, greedy railroad barons, the parasitic grain brokers and cotton gamblers. We denounce capitalism, imperialism and the ever growing menace of state power as the chief cause of the bankruptcy of hard working farmers. The farmers go bankrupt because they have to sell their products at a low price and must buy the industrial products of the mighty trusts at high prices. At the same time industrial workers receive low wages and capitalist distribution, controlled by unscrupulous middlemen, forces the city worker to pay high prices for food. The capitalist press tries thru its lies to alienate the workers and exploited farmers from each other. The capitalist press lies to the farmers, telling them that the reason for the high prices on industrial products is the high wages of the workers. The capitalist press lies to the workers that the reason of the high cost of living is the high prices of farm products. The convention of the Workers Party considers it as one of the most important tasks to speak at once to the workers and exploited farmers and to destroy the lies which keep them apart, and it declares that only an alliance between city workers and exploited farmers can free both from the yoke of the common enemy, capitalism and the imperialist government.

The convention points out that our whole party membership must recognize the tremendous revolutionary fact of the revolt of bankrupt farmers. The bankruptcy of millions and millions of farmers is inevitable under the present system. It is a mistake to think that this bankruptcy is only a temporary situation caused by natural reasons, by bad crops. The present year shows one of the largest crops the United States has ever seen. But the monopoly of trust was never as terrible as now, checking the farmers, as it does today. Millions and millions of farmers are forced to sell their products at less than the cost of production. The Department of Agriculture reported that no less than 30 per cent of the income of the farmers goes for taxes. Secretary Wallace reported that in fifteen agricultural states of the country not less than 23 percent of the

owner-farmers are bankrupt. The trend towards tenancy is growing ever faster. The American farmer comes more and more dangerously near to the condition of the peasants in old Czarist Russia. Revolutionary farmers in South Dakota, with bitter sarcasm and despair already call themselves "peasants." Millions and millions of farmers have deserted the farms during the last two years, and have gone into industry and into the over-crowded cities. A new proletariat is in creation before us: Midwestern farmers are the substitute today for the European immigration of unskilled workers. At the same time the capitalist press advises the bankrupt Midwestern farmers to go to the South and replace the Negroes who migrated to Northern industry. And President Coolidge revealed the bankruptcy of the Republican administration in declaring that the only remedy for the bankrupt farmers is for them to help themselves and to build up decayed cooperatives through patient work.

But the exploited and bankrupt farmers cannot help themselves without the state power. Half-measure against middlemen cannot bring any radical improvement. The exploited farmers must form an alliance with the workers and establish a government of workers and farmers. Only a mighty farmer-labor party can achieve this goal. But we must demand in the interest of the farmers, a moratorium of at least five years on all debts and mortgages. We must demand the elimination of absentee landlordism, of tenancy, and the establishment of the great principle that the land shall belong to its users. We must convince the working class that the bankruptcy and expropriation of the masses of farmers is the greatest menace to the workers themselves. The farmers driven from their land are streaming into industry, and with their unorganized masses can become one of the biggest factors in the destructions of the trade unions in the next economic crisis and period of unemployment. The workers must recognize that the abandonment of the land by millions of farmers and the shrinkage of the acreage of cultivated land will cause a serious food shortage and will diminish the purchasing power of the workers' wages. And lastly, our Party members must recognize that the Workers Party as a revolutionary party must establish an alliance with the exploited farmers. If the Workers Party would neglect that task it would prove that the Workers Party has lost the vision of establishing a workers and farmers' government, because the working class of the United States cannot seize and maintain power without the help of the millions of exploited farmers. It is a utopia to think that we can win for the revolution the support of Gompers and the labor aristocracy corrupted by imperialism, but it is revolutionary realism to make every effort to win the support of the working and exploited farmers.

RESOLUTION ON THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

I.

1. The National Convention of the Workers Party of America extends fraternal greetings to the Young Workers League which is uniting the youth of this country for the Communist struggle against capitalism.

2. The task of reaching the youth with the message of Communism, of interesting them in our cause and organizing them for the militant struggle against the existing social order and its oppression and exploitation is of major importance for the whole Communist movement. In carrying on this work the Young Workers League is preparing the fighters for Communism who will soon stand in the ranks of the Party as part of its best fighters.

3. The Young Workers League has during the past year correctly interpreted its task in extending its work so as to include the education of the children of the workers and to bring them under Communist influence and a Communist environment.

4. The Young Workers League has taken the lead in establishing Shop Nuclei, thus laying the correct foundation for its organization.

5. The National Convention urges every unit of the party to carefully study the work of the Young Workers League and to give its utmost co-operation in supporting this work and thus to strengthen both the youth and children's movement.

II

1. The present system of representation of the Young Workers League in party meeting duplicates and pyramids the vote of the members of the Young Workers League. The constitution of the party is, therefore, amended to provide:

A—City organization of the Young Workers League shall be represented in city conventions through delegates elected by the City Central Committee

of the Young Workers League, the apportionment to be made by the party organization. Where only one branch of the Y. W. L. exists that branch shall elect the representatives.

B—District organizations of the Y. W. L. shall be represented in the District Conventions of the party through representatives appointed by the District Committee of the Y. W. L. No branches of city organization shall have delegates in the District Convention, except in such instances where no District Organization of the Y. W. L. exists. In these cases the City Central Committee of the largest Y. W. L. city organization in the district shall elect the delegates apportionment to the Y. W. L. District Organization.

RESOLUTION ON THE CLASS WAR PRISONERS

As against the long-delayed liberation by President Coolidge, five years after the ending the World War, of 31 political prisoners, all members of the Industrial Workers of the World, we see the federal government rallying all strength possible to secure the passage of new and ever more vicious and anti-labor legislation.

The Johnson Bill, now before Congress, that has the endorsement of the Federal Department of Labor, provides for the punishment up to five years imprisonment for any alien who shall fail to register with the authorities every year, giving his name, sex, race, nationality, date and place of birth, age, residence, marital status and occupation.

This legislation, reminiscent of a Russian czarist tyranny that is gone forever, also requires all aliens in the United States to be photographed, and to furnish "such other information as the Secretary of Labor may by regulation prescribe." For all this "the foreigners" are to be taxed \$5.00 at the time of registration.

This attempt to create a super-blacklist of America's workers, especially among the foreign-born in the great basic industries, is only exceeded by the diabolical provisions of the Sterling Bill, now in the hands of the judiciary committee of the United States Senate, seeking to prohibit and punish "certain" seditious acts against the government of the United States." The Sterling Bill is, in effect, an anti-syndicalism bill, seeking to duplicate on a national scale the anti-labor laws now on the statute books of nearly all the states.

The release of the 31 war prisoners is, therefore, but a spur to wage a greater struggle for the release of L. E. Katterfeld, Israel Blankenstein, Joseph Martinowitz and Jacob Dolla, in Pennsylvania; Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, with Ford and Suhr, in California; Sacco and Vanzetti, in Massachusetts, and countless others, mostly members of the Industrial Workers of the World, but also members of the American Federation of Labor, especially the victims of the coal and railroad barons during the great mine and rail strikes of 1922.

The places of the political prisoners of the World War are now being taken by the political prisoners of the "peace that was to end all wars." The cells of Leavenworth Prison, and other federal penitentiaries, are being emptied, but new victims are about to face the capitalist courts, especially in the pending trials of Fred H. Merrick and many others, in Pittsburgh, the capital city of Pittsburgh steel and coal czardom.

Thus dominant capitalism makes a mockery of the constitutionally "guaranteed" rights of the free speech and free assemblage as it seeks to bulwark its own position against the rising working class.

The Communists, ever in the lead in the working class struggle, realize that pleas to "democracy" will never save the workers from the attempts of the exploiters to wipe out all labor progress and destroy all traces of working class organization.

In this struggle, therefore, the Third National Convention of the Workers Party, pledges its whole-hearted support to every effort to free all the class war prisoners.

We greet the successful efforts of the Labor Defense Council to combat reaction in the trials of the Michigan Syndicalist cases, in which a disagreement was secured in the case of William A. Foster, while the guilty verdict returned against C. E. Ruthenberg is being appealed to the highest court in the land. We call upon the members of the Workers Party, and all sympathizing workers everywhere, to generously contribute to the support of the Labor Defense Council in the tremendous fight it is making for all labor.

We call upon the workers and their organization to support the National Defense Committee, now handling the cases of Ben Gitlow and Harry Winitsky,

involving the constitutionality of all state criminal syndicalist laws. The appeal is now before the United States Supreme Court. The National Defense Committee is also fighting the deportation of workers.

We call upon all workers and their organizations to demand the release of the injunction victims of the great railroad strike, and of those in prison as a result of the efforts of the United Mine Workers of America to unionize the coal fields of West Virginia, Ohio, and other states.

We call upon all workers and their organizations everywhere to unite in one mighty movement, not only for the release of all the class war prisoners, but also to secure the abolition of the injunction in labor disputes, to demand the right of organization to all workers, to fight for the repeal of all anti-labor laws, and to prevent other infamous legislation, like the Johnson and Sterling Bills, from being placed upon the statute books of the nation.

RESOLUTION ON NEGRO QUESTION

The twelve million negroes in the United States constitute an oppressed race, and as such they require and demand special attention. The American negro population will be an important factor in the class struggle, a factor which might be used as a weapon of reaction for the defeat and further enslavement of both themselves and their white brother workers, or which, if enlightened to its own interests can be a decisive factor for the liberation of the exploited classes of both colors.

The winning of the negro masses, who toil in industry and in agriculture, to an aggressive partnership with the white industrial workers and working farmers is a primary task. Simultaneously, the workers of the white race must be enlightened to the giving of complete and equal participation in all forms of the political and industrial organization of the working class. The elimination of all race discrimination within the working class movement is preliminary to its elimination in society as a whole.

The Workers Party pledges itself to strive, both in the process of its regular work and also by the creation of special organs of press and organization, for the following ends:

1. Equal rights of negroes to membership in the trade unions.
2. Equal wages to negroes.
3. Complete restoration of the right of the ballot, the right to hold political office, the right to assemble and to organize, in the South as well as the North.
4. Drastic action to punish and suppress lynching of negroes in the South and elsewhere, depriving local and state authorities of jurisdiction in this matter which must become a national responsibility.
5. National legal measures for the abolition, under severe penalty, of all discrimination against negroes in every form of public service.
6. Abolition of all discrimination against negroes in housing.

The Workers Party will combat all movements which seek to induce the negroes meekly to submit to the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan and similar organisations, and will encourage the negroes in resistance to such terrorism.

The Workers Party will oppose among the negroes all movements looking to the surrender of the negroes' rights in this country, such as the "Back to Africa" movement, which is only an evasion of the real struggle and an excuse to surrender the negroes' rights in their native land, America. The United States is the home of the American negro, and the Workers Party champions his full, free and equal partnership with his white brothers in the future society.

The emancipation of the negro can be attained only in the emancipation of the working class as a whole. A fixed rigid status and the traditions of slavery bind the negro as a whole to the working class. Even where individual negroes, in spite of all handicaps, raise themselves to the condition of the bourgeoisie, they are not permitted to enjoy the fruits of their success in equality with the white members of the same class. The negro is condemned, while the capitalist class-system prevails, to a common interest with the working class. It is reasonable to expect, therefore, that this suppressed race, as was the case with suppressed races in Europe, will ultimately play a large role in the future social upheaval.

The Workers Party invites the attention of all negroes interested in the emancipation of their people, to the program of this Party. Intelligent and sincere negroes of the working class are urged to organize themselves into the ranks of the regular branches of the Workers Party.

AMENDMENTS TO THE PARTY CONSTITUTION ADOPTED

Article 1, Section 1, to read: The name of this organization shall be the Workers Party of America. Its purpose shall be to educate and organize the working class for abolition of capitalism through the establishment of a Workers and Farmers' Republic.

Section, Article 3, to read: Every member shall join a duly constituted branch of the Party if such exists in the territory where he lives or works.

Section 4, Article 6, to read: Delegates to the National Convention shall be elected by district conventions. Branches in organized cities may elect delegates to the city convention. City Conventions shall elect delegates to the district conventions.

New Section 9, of Article 6: Delegates to district conventions must have been members of the party for one year. Delegates to National Conventions must have been members of the party for two years. Delegates to City Conventions must have been members of the party for six months.

Section 2, Article 7, amended to read: The Central Executive Committee shall consist of 13 members, twelve shall be elected by the convention and the N. E. C. of the Y. W. L. shall elect one member. The convention shall also elect seven alternates.

Section 8, Article 8, amended to read: The Branch shall consist of members, as provided in Article III, Sectional. It shall elect an executive committee, branch organizer, industrial organizer, delegates to the City Central Committee and such other officers as may be considered necessary.

Section 2, Article 9, to read: There shall be only one section in each language, and all language branches must affiliate with their respective language sections.

Section 6, Article 9, amended to read: The Central Executive Committee shall have the right to disapprove the members elected by the Conference of the language bureaus and fill such vacancies.

Section 5, Article II, amended to read: Members unable to pay dues or assessments on account of unemployment, etc.

Members of The Central Executive Committee of the W. P. Elected by the Convention of 1923-24

Alexander Bittelman
Earl Browder
Fahle Buhrman
James P. Cannon
William F. Dunne
J. Louis Engdahl
William Z. Foster

Benjamin Gitlow
Ludwig Lore
Jay Lovestone
John Pepper
C. E. Ruthenberg
Y. W. L. representative

EXHIBIT No. 24

[Source: The Daily Worker, Chicago, Sunday, January 13, 1924, page 1. From an article entitled "Here Is 'The Daily'!"]

* * * * *

Now, in this first issue of The Daily Worker, we join hands with the comrades of the Communist International in declaring that the Daily is but "The forerunner of more revolutionary dailies in other parts of the country."

EXHIBIT No. 25

[Source: The Daily Worker, Chicago, Monday, February 25, 1924, page 1. From an article entitled "Workers Party In Call to All Sections of Party to Celebrate CI Anniversary"]

* * * * *

The Communist International issued a manifesto urging all parties in sympathy with it and following the leadership of the Communist International to arrange anniversary meetings . . .

Our party must on March 5th demonstrate its loyalty and support to the Communist International as will the Communist Parties all over the world. On that day every party organization in each city must arrange a great mass meeting to celebrate the anniversary. All our Party papers are instructed to issue special anniversary editions on March 5th.

The whole party must mobilize its strength at once for these anniversary meetings. The time is short, but we must make them a great demonstration of the American workers in support of the leading body of the world revolution—The Communist International.

(signed) C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary, Workers Party.

EXHIBIT No. 26

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, April 28, 1923, page 6. From an editorial, "Our Second May Day"]

* * * * *

But this year's May Day will also be remembered as the time when the Workers Party appears in the world arena of the class struggle as the American Section of the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 27

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, September 8, 1923, page 1. Cablegram to Ruthenberg from Zinoviev]

* * * * *

AUG. 28, 1923.

Moscow 40 310 PM

Ruthenberg 799 Broadway NY.

Know no more important task American workers than establishment militant daily. This should be rallying point for concentration all forces present time. Only after foundation daily will Comintern consider we have real mass party America.

ZINOVIEV.

EXHIBIT No. 28

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, March 24, 1923, page 5. From a "Statement by the Workers Party"]

* * * * *

3. The convention of the Technical Aid shall be postponed pending the final decision of the Communist International . . .

All comrades who are active in the Technical Aid shall not forget for one instant that first of all they are party members, and first of all they must therefore obey party discipline.

(signed) C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 29

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, April 7, 1923, page 2. From an article entitled, "Communist Principles on Trial in Person of Foster in Michigan"]

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The Defense does not contend that the Communists say the workers can achieve power and dominate the government as the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the use of force, either in achieving power or in protecting their rule after it is established. The Communist viewpoint that great historical changes have never come without a resort to force is boldly avowed, but is declared that this use of force must resolve out of the social and economic conditions, that Communists are not bomb throwers nor do they incite the workers to isolated acts of violence.

EXHIBIT No. 30

[Source: *The Worker*, New York, Saturday, April 21, 1923, page 1. From an article entitled "Foster Verdict Triumph for Communism in United States," by C. E. Ruthenberg]

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The evidence brought before the jury in the form of the official documents of the Communist Party frankly stated in Communist viewpoint that the class struggle inevitably develops into an open struggle between contending classes and that the ultimate phase of the struggle between workers and capitalists would involve a resort to force . . .

What the Communists have done, and what they insist is their right, is to express their view, based upon historical precedents, that no privileged class has ever given up its power without a resort to force and that the class struggle between workers and capitalists will follow this historic precedent.

EXHIBIT No. 31

[Source: Excerpts from "Fifth Congress of the Communist International, Abridged Report of Meetings held at Moscow June 17th to July 8th, 1924." Published for The Communist International by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2]

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The first session of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International was held in the Grand Theatre, Moscow, jointly with representatives of the workers, Red Army and Navy, Young Communists and Pioneers. Numerous delegations from factories came to greet the Congress.

Comrade Kolarov was in the Chair.

Comrade Milutin, in the name of all the delegations, proposed the following comrades for the Presidium of the Congress: Comrade Zinoviev, Chairman; Clara Zetkin; Comrades Stalin, Bukharin, Trotsky (Russian); Braun, Gebhardt (German); Treint, Sellier (France); Bordiga (Italy); Smeral, Muna (Czecho-Slovakia); Kolarov (Balkans); Kraevsky (Poland); Katayama (Japan)—(a voice: Long live the peoples of the East)—Roy (India); Stewart (Great Britain); Dunne (America). Secretariat: Piatnitski, MacManus, Neurath, Doriot, Stirner. (Applause.) The Presidium and the Secretariat were approved unanimously.

. . . It was under the banner of Marx that the Comintern was called into existence and under the leadership of Lenin that the Comintern fought and built up its organisations. I believe, comrades, that our Congress can have no greater honour than to recognise that it is our duty to follow that path which Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin has pointed out for the world proletariat and for the international revolution. [page 5]

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The delegates marched to the Red Square led by a band of the Red Army, where already thousands of Moscow workers, delegated by the factories, with bands and innumerable red banners, had assembled in order to hear the report on "Lenin and the Comintern." Arrived at the grave of Comrade Lenin, the delegates to the Congress filed past the bier of our dead leader. The delegates from 52 countries, from all parts of the globe, many of whom had seen him last in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, many who had seen him at the height of his work, and many who saw him now for the first time lying embalmed on the bier, gazed at Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. He lay in the coffin, his face pale, but almost unchanged, as though he only slept. It was a mournful and yet noble sight, the mortal shell of the man who had given the greatest to mankind. [page 8]

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. . . The Third International was founded by Lenin and in spite of all difficulties, it will force its path from Russia through Europe and through the whole world. Under the symbol of Lenin, we shall defeat the bourgeoisie of the whole world and the red flag will fly not only over Moscow but over Berlin and over the whole globe. Leninism will bring the victory of the world revolution! (Applause.)

. . . It was Lenin who created a real international. It was Lenin who was able to rally round himself not only the proletariat of Europe and America but also the oppressed and exploited of the colonies and semi-colonies. We know that world revolution will triumph only under the banner of Leninism. (Long live Leninism!) (Applause.) [page 9]

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EXHIBIT No. 32

[Source: Excerpts from "Workers (Communist) Party of America, the Fourth National Convention," held in Chicago, Illinois, August 21-30, 1925; published by Daily Worker Publishing Company, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois: 1925]

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In this hour, the Workers (Communist) Party of America, knowing its duty and ready to act with vigor and decision, pledges anew to the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia its every effort to defend and advance the world proletarian revolution, to support Soviet Russia and its allies among the world's exploited and oppressed, to extend and intensify the movement for recognition of Soviet Russia by the American capitalist government on the basis of the common interests of the workers and poor farmers of America with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. We shall make all efforts to prevent a new militant attack upon the U. S. S. R. and to hold aloft the banner of the Proletarian Dictatorship of the American bourgeoisie. (Adopted unanimously.) [Page 142]

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Thru six years our Party has held aloft the banner of Communism and the Communist International in the United States . . .

Long live the Communist International.

Resolution adopted unanimously. [Page 166]

EXHIBIT No. 33

[Source: Excerpts from "The Communist International, Between the Fifth & the Sixth World Congresses—1924-8." Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16, King St., Covent Garden, W. C. 2.: July, 1928]

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In its work in reorganising the Parties on the basis of factory groups, the Organising Department chiefly concerned its attention on the Communist Parties of the major capitalist countries, namely, Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, and the United States. [Page 14]

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As a result of the reorganisation of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America on the basis of factory groups, the ground has been prepared for a radical organic reconstruction of the entire party. Formerly the Workers' Party was a federation of nineteen practically independent Communist Parties with their own Central Committee and local organisations, their own Party press, etc. After their organisation on the factory group basis, this federation of nineteen Parties has been transformed into one centralised Communist Party. [Page 16]

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Suffice it to mention the United States, where in August 1927, there were 25 factory newspapers with a circulation of 59,000 copies. . . . The Organising Department of the E. C. C. I. devoted attention to the question of factory newspapers. During the period covered by the report a large number of general and individual letters have been sent to the Parties, instructions have been given in conversation with Party representatives, criticisms of factory newspapers of the various countries have been published, etc. [Pages 20, 21]

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The Organising Department has elaborated material in regard to the individual countries and has held a series of conferences with the representatives of individual countries and groups of countries. [Page 29]

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In order to make a through [sic] study of the most important questions connected with the re-organisation of the Communist Parties on a factory group basis, the Organising Department convened two International Organisation conferences in the period covered by the report (one at the time of the Fifth and another at the time of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I.). These conferences were attended by Organisational workers of the most important national sections belonging to the C. I., workers from the central committees as well as organising workers from the lower party organisations . . . the Organising Department made a special point of utilising every visit of Party representatives for getting supplementary information about the organising work of the respective Communist Parties . . . [page 32]

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The main method of work of the Organising Department was systematic instruction of the brother parties. This instructing was done in three ways: (a) through correspondence; (b) through instructors; (c) through workers from the Department.

Instruction by correspondence is carried on on the basis of the material received from the Parties which describes their organising work (reports, resolutions, the Party press, oral reports, etc.). The Organising Department in its replies, addressed to the Organising Department of the C. C. points out all the defects in the organising work of the Party noticed on the strength of the received information, it explains how they can be overcome . . . In some cases the Organising Department takes upon itself the initiative in setting new organisational tasks in the Party . . . [pages 32, 33]

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As to international guidance and support of the Party press, it has consisted mainly in supplying the press of the individual sections with information . . . It should be, however, pointed out that the "Inprecorr," as the leading international press organ, is publishing valuable material on all international questions, and is supporting the press of the small Sections in its capacity of an officials' organ; it is developing into a platform for the practical exchange of experience in the sphere of agitation and propaganda work. [page 37]

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Conversations took place with comrades present here in the course of which the agitprop work of the C. P. of France and of the United States was very fully discussed . . . [page 38]

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Information about the Soviet Union occupied a special place; all Parties were supplied with this in a bulletin which published authentic material. [page 39]

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Since the beginning of 1927, the following campaigns have been carried out with the support of the agitation sub-department:

Lenin Week, 1927.

The Anniversary of the February Revolution.

May Day, 1927.

The Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Lenin Week, 1928.

The Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army.

. . . There were also campaigns [sic] against White terror and the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti . . .

For May Day, material of an historical character was issued . . .

An attempt was also made to place pictures and other illustration-material at the disposal of the Parties; a series of diagrams on construction under ten years of Soviet rule were sent to all Parties, and the biggest legal Parties were supplied with small exhibitions for the Tenth Anniversary. [pages 40, 41]

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The supply of the Party press with useful material, which was done first and foremost through the "Inprecorr," proved to be the best way of influencing it. Although the "Inprecorr" is not a very adequate substitute for a press correspondence, it does serve as an information organ for the editorial boards of the provincial press and for the press of the smaller Parties, and facilitates their work. [page 42]

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The agitation sub-department has endeavoured to influence this work, not so much by circulars and letters as by criticism in the press, and particularly in the "Inprecorr," as well as by direct contact with their places of origin . . .

In connection with individual campaigns it has always been pointed out that the agitation sub-department endeavours to place illustration material at the disposal of the Parties . . .

Particular stress was laid on the necessity of increased propaganda of Leninism and of the publication of Lenin's works in foreign languages. [page 44]

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All the sessions of the Executive of the E. C. C. I. were utilised for propaganda purposes by sending out to the Parties suitable syllabuses for courses and methodical instruction . . .

Much of the current propaganda work has been concentrated on the ideological struggle against Trotskyism . . . The more important material published in the Russian press was properly abbreviated and elaborated for publication in the Communist press . . . a plan of courses was elaborated in connection with the Lenin Week, 1928, which contained a reasoned argument against Trotskyism . . .

The British, Czech and American Parties have also held central schools which were supported by the Propaganda Sub-Department of the E. C. C. I. by the drawing up of syllabuses on various subjects in the sphere of Leninism, and by instructions on organisation and method. [page 45]

EXHIBIT No. 34

[Source: Excerpt from *The Worker*, New York, March 18, 1922, page 6. From an editorial entitled "Individual Acts of Terrorism"]

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The official position of the Communist International, as adopted at its Third Congress, held June 22nd-July 12th, 1921, is as follows:

"With regard to acts of White Terror and the fury of bourgeois justice, the Communist Party must warn the workers not be deceived, during crises, by an enemy appeal to their leniency, but to demonstrate proletarian morality by acts of proletarian justice, in settling with the oppressors of the workers.

"But in times when the workers are only preparing themselves, when they have to be mobilized by agitation, political campaigns and strikes, armed force may be used solely to defend the masses from bourgeois outrages.

"Individual acts of terrorism, however they may demonstrate the revolutionary rancor of the masses, however justified they may be as acts of retribution against the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and its social democratic flunkeys, are in no way apt to raise the workers to a higher level of organization, or make them better prepared to face the struggle.

"Acts of sabotage are only justified when they can only serve the purpose of hindering the dispatch of enemy troops against the workers and of conquering important strategic points from the enemy in direct combat."

We publish this statement for the benefit of our readers. The capitalist press will not publish it the next time they launch an attack on the Communist movement. We do not expect the hell hounds of the system, commonly known as secret service operatives, to have brains enough to understand it. But the workers will learn and act accordingly.

EXHIBIT No. 35

[Source: *The Worker*, New York, Saturday, June 17, 1922, page 4. Excerpt from the "Theses of the Enlarged Committee of the Communist International"—incorporated in an article entitled "Against the Next War the World Revolution"]

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This realization will prevent the crippling and paralysis of the proletariat's revolutionary fighting energy, a danger which is closely connected with the propaganda of bourgeois pacifism.

For it would be very detrimental to the proletarian struggle for liberation if the working-class were to disarm under the influence of such propaganda instead of arming and fighting on with increasing energy.

Nebulous pacifist and sentimental hopes should not displace the clear realization that the bourgeoisie is able to rule and exploit thanks to the control of the creative and destructive means of production.

The proletariat must acquire the control of both of these if it is to free itself from exploitation and serfdom.

But since its freedom is denied it by force of arms, it must acquire and defend it by force of arms. It must deprive the property-owning class of the military as well as of the political machines, and reconstruct them to serve, its own demands and historical task.

EXHIBIT No. 36

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, November 4, 1922, page 2. From an article entitled "The Russian Revolution and the American Communist Movement," by C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the Workers Party]

* * * * *

It was the Russian Revolution—the Bolshevik Revolution of November 7, 1917—which created the American Communist Movement. There had been a left wing in the Socialist Party for a decade or more . . .

Marx had said that in the development of the proletariat we could trace "more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where the war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation [sic] for the sway of the proletariat." He had said that "There lies between the capitalist and communist society a period of revolutionary transformation of one into the other. This period has a corresponding political period of transition, during which the State can be nothing else than a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." . . .

The Communist Movement in the United States—just as elsewhere in the world, owes its existence, its clarity of purpose to the splendid demonstration of the correctness of the principles laid down by Karl Marx given by the Russian workers in their victory on November 7, 1917 and in the scores of great victories which the Proletarian Dictatorship has won since that time.

Without the Russian Revolution there would have been no Communist Movement in the United States. There would have been no clear grasp of the guiding principles which will lead the workers to victory and their emancipation. In celebration of the 5th Anniversary of the victory of the Russian workers we should not only have in our minds the determination, the will, the courage, the willingness, to suffer for their cause which has thus far maintained the power of the Soviets, but also the contribution they have made to our cause in showing us the road we must travel to win our victory and establish the proletarian sway in the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 37

[Source: The Worker, Saturday, September 16, 1922, page 4. Excerpt from "Manifesto of the Communist Party of America"]

* * * * *

We know very well that capitalism cannot be abolished without the use of force.

The capitalist magnates will hand over power to the workers only as willingly and as peacefully as the British Crown and Feudal Forces handed it over to the American bourgeoisie in 1776, and as peacefully and as willingly as the Southern slave-owners freed their Negro slaves in the Civil War.

Indeed, we openly proclaim that the industrial and agricultural workers, who, being the vast majority of the population of this country, have a right to establish their own rule, with force if need be, against the rule of the small group of trust magnates and capitalists generally.

EXHIBIT No. 38

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, November 4, 1922, page 5. From an article entitled, "The Workers Party and the Russian Revolution," by J. Louis Engdahl]

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The men and women of labor, allied with the Workers' Party, feel that they have good cause for elation on this epoch-making anniversary in the struggle for Communism in Soviet Russia, since they have accomplished the greatest task

of the birth-year of the party,—the achievement of real unity among all American working-class elements drawing their inspiration from the Russian Revolution and accepting the leadership of the Communist International in the world-wide onslaught against capitalism.

EXHIBIT No. 39

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, December 2, 1922, page 5. From an article entitled, "Here Is Proposed Program for Workers Party; It Will Be Presented to Convention Dec. 25th"]

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The Workers Party declares its sympathy with the principles of the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 40

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, December 16, 1922, page 1. Excerpt from a cablegram from Gregory Zinoviev to C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary, Workers Party]

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We decisively condemn frivolous breach of discipline against Central Committee of Workers Party . . . We request all Jewish branches and members carry out decisions of Central Committee Workers Party to re-establish unity, otherwise Central Committee would have to carry out energetically immediate disciplinary measures against leaders of revolt.

ZINOVIEV.

EXHIBIT No. 41

[Source: The Worker, New York, January 13, 1923, page 5]

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THE NEW PARTY PROGRAM

By H. M. Wicks

"* * * When you formulate platforms of principles then you establish landmarks by which all the world will gauge the height of the party movement."—Karl Marx.

The new party program, prepared as a tentative document and published recently in The Worker, was adopted unanimously by the Second National Convention of the Workers Party without dissenting criticism and but few minor changes.

There is a plain statement of the character of the capitalist state as an instrument of oppression against the working class. Starting from this premise the inevitable Communist conclusion is reached that this instrument must be wrested from the hands of the ruling class and in its place must be established the dictatorship of the proletariat thru the Soviet form of government.

There is no equivocation or evasion of the historical destiny of the capitalist class, nor is there any attempt to camouflage the character of the proletarian state.

The new program leaves no doubt in the mind of the worker as to what is meant when we refer to the "Workers' Republic" in our propaganda.

Exposes Fake Democracy

The section dealing with "Election Campaigns and American Democracy" is a real achievement as a contribution to the American movement. The delusion of democracy under capitalism that holds large numbers of workers under its sway is effectively disposed of in a few compelling sentences.

There is to be no following in the footsteps of those enemies of the working class, the Bergers, Hillquits and Oneals, of the discredited Socialist Party, who delude the workers with the idea that the road to power can be found by traveling the way of bourgeois democracy.

"The Workers Party will destroy the illusion fostered by the yellow Socialists and Reformists that the workers can achieve their emancipation from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism thru the election of a majority of members of the legislative bodies of the capitalist government and the executive officials of that government by using the existing government to establish the new social order."

The program does not stop at the mere statement of fact regarding the inability of the revolutionary proletariat to use the capitalist state apparatus but presents evidence that proves conclusively the impossibility of this state ever responding to the will of the majority of the population. The U. S. Constitution, about which we hear so much from the defenders of capitalism, instead of being an instrument protecting the majority of the population is merely a class instrument conceived by exploiters of labor that thwarts the will of the majority.

Even tho there is an explanation of the manner in which the constitution prevents the expression of majority opinion if it conflicts with the interests of the capitalist class, the program contains no plea for the abstract "rights" of majorities and minorities, but plainly declares in favor of the rule of the thirty million workers in the United States. There is no sickly plea for the rule of that metaphysical entity known as "the people" but a clear statement that the present government of the United States, thru which the capitalist class imposes its will upon the working class must be wrested from the hands of our enemies and in its place must be established the direct rule of the wage workers of America thru a Soviet government of the United States.

The Labor Party

Reaffirming the stand of the Workers Party in favor of the creation of a Labor Party, the program clearly explains the historical necessity for such a Party in the United States at this time. But this Labor Party must stand definitely upon the ground of the class struggle and be independent of and opposed to all capitalist parties.

Such a Labor Party can be formed only thru the labor unions and it is in these bodies that the Workers Party will fight for the creation of such a Party. At the same time the birth of a Labor Party will not mean that the Workers Party will lose its identity in the process of the working class uniting upon the political field. Instead of submerging itself in the Labor Party it will retain its identity and become an autonomous unit of the larger Party.

Likewise the work in the labor unions will be directed toward creating more militant sentiment on the part of the rank and file of labor in order to strengthen the unions so that they can more effectively wage the struggle against the ruling class and also against the reactionary leaders of labor unions who constantly betray the rank and file of labor into the hands of the insatiable capitalist class.

Revolutionary Progress

The height of the party movement can be gauged by the program just adopted in convention and it speaks eloquently for the Party progress that has been made during the past year.

The new program is the scientific application of the principles of communism to conditions as they exist in this country today.

It is a program upon which all the revolutionary elements in the United States can honestly unite, and there is no doubt that before another year rolls by every thoroughgoing revolutionist will be enrolled under the banner of the Workers Party for the purpose of hastening the day when that program will become the basis for the rule of the working class in this country.

EXHIBIT No. 42

[Source: The Worker, New York, March 3, 1923, page 5. Central Executive Committee of U. S. Communist Party Replies to Executive Committee of Communist International]

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The C. E. C. will carry out the decisions of the C. I. not only out of discipline but because of full conviction of their correctness.

EXHIBIT No. 43

[Source: The Worker, New York, Saturday, February 24, 1923, page 5. From Statement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the American Question]

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The Fourth Congress and the new Executive of the Communist International are of the opinion that the American communists must commence a new chapter in their work. Illegality for the sake of illegality must cease. The main efforts must be devoted to work on the legal field. This is what the Communist International [sic] now categorically demands * * *

These are the instructions given you by the Executive. All this, however, can be carried out only on the condition that the factional struggle, the struggle between the various groups, be brought to an end. We have now to carry out a most important political measure. The party will be able to carry out this task only when it is properly disciplined, and when it marches along the path indicated, like one man. The tasks that now confront the American Party are so important that we frankly declare: He, who refuses to adopt these tactics, let him leave the Party!

The Communist International demands discipline. On the basis of its experience the Communist International assures the American comrades that, if they raise no difficulty with regard to the policy indicated above, the Communist Party of America, with the help of the Communist International, will in a short time achieve great success. The situation is so serious and the injury caused by factional struggle so great that the Executive Committee has resolved to take the most energetic measures against all those who will hamper the carrying out of the above decisions. Unity and discipline, on the basis of the decisions of the Communist International, arrived at after mature thought—this is what the Executive Committee demands from all American comrades without exception.

With Communist Greetings.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

EXHIBIT No. 44

[Source: The Worker, June 2, 1923, page 4]

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THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

By H. M. Wicks

The New York Times and other organs of World Imperialism have volunteered the role of spokesmen for the jingoes of Great Britain in its diplomatic misunderstanding with Soviet Russia. These American publications brand the Soviet diplomats liars for asserting that the Soviet government has not done anything in the Far East, except to endeavor to maintain friendly relations with the governments there. The Soviet note to Britain categorically denies that the government works thru the Third International for the purpose of utilizing the unrest for Communist purposes.

"It is inconceivable," says the Times, "that the Third International should attempt to inspire insurrection against British rule in the Far East without the connivance, or at least the silent consent, of the Soviet Government."

The Times must get its information regarding the relation of the Soviet Government to the Third International from the stool pigeons on the Jewish Daily Forward and the New York Call, who sabotaged famine relief because they feared they might be inadvertently aiding the Communist International. As a matter of fact the Communist International is in no sense an adjunct of the Soviet Government of Russia. The Executive of the Communist International is composed of representatives of every Communist Party in the world, and it is concerned with the preservation and perpetuation of the Soviet Government only to the extent that every class conscious worker recognizes that Government as the outpost of the World Revolution. But if the Soviet Government should cease to exist tomorrow, the Communist International would still

exist and carry on revolutionary propaganda in every part of the earth where capitalism has extended its power.

The Soviet Government has no power to either give or withhold consent for the Third International to propagate Communism anywhere. Nor would the Russian Communists who represent their Party in the Councils of the Third International ever propose such an absurdity, to please the diplomats of old Europe or of America, any more than they would request the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions to cease agitation against the Second, the Vienna 2½ or the Amsterdam Internationals because it displeases the yellow servants of Imperialism masquerading as leaders of Labor.

Soviet Russia can offer certain concessions to capitalist Britain and to other capitalist countries that will be mutually advantageous, but the Communist International exists for the one purpose of waging unceasing warfare against every capitalist government on the face of the earth, and utilizing every form of discontent for the purpose of furthering the interests of the World Revolution.

EXHIBIT 45

[Source: The Worker, September 15, 1923, page 4]

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, THE EMANCIPATOR OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

Workers Party Is Praised for Its Initiative and Work Since the Fourth Congress

NOTE—In this space each week "The Worker" is publishing, in instalment form, a report of the recent Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Communist International. Each instalment takes up a separate question treated by the world gathering of Communists at Moscow, a gathering that received but scant attention in the daily press. This week's instalment takes up the question "Democratic Centralism Misunderstood." It is as follows:

"Democratic Centralism" Misunderstood

Several slogans of the Communist International have been misunderstood and consequently have produced confusion in the ranks of the Communist parties. Thus, the issue of the "United Front" was misconceived, and as a result it was misapplied. "Democratic Centralism" has not been understood in Scandinavia; particularly in Norway. Norway, therefore, played a considerable role at the Enlarged Executive. The lessons that are to be drawn from this case will be wholesome for the entire Communist movement.

The Norwegian Labor Party is an anomaly in the Communist International. It is made up of trade unions, individual membership being an exception. Altho instructions had been given to the Norwegian comrades to transform the party into one of individual membership, they continually asked for time—which was granted. But in seeking for time, the comrades were impelled by two different motives. One faction, of syndicalist origin, is instinctively opposed to centralism, even when it is qualified as "democratic," with all the rights and privileges that democracy has within the field of centralism as understood in the Communist International. The other, an opportunist and not thoroly Communist faction, opposes centralism, because of an unwillingness to accept instructions that will give uniformity to the Communist movement.

The discussion of the Norwegian question, which was the discussion of "Democratic Centralism," revealed several more spots. Within the Norwegian Labor Party is a group of students who issue a magazine called the "Mot Dag." This group is only partially communistic, and yet has exerted considerable influence over the party. This has been an influence that not only demanded autonomy for the Norwegian Party, but also assumed a most dangerous aspect, in that some of its members manifest anti-semitism.

The discussion demanded evidence: and the evidence was produced. Articles, statements, and the arguments made at the Conference itself, particularly by a member of the "Mot Dag" group, demonstrated that an element was at work in the Norwegian party that would be harmful to the whole Scandinavian movement.

What are the limits of "centralism?" What are the rights of "democracy" within this centralism? It is clear that, since the expansion of imperialism on an international scale, it has become increasingly necessary for the proletariat to have an international organization and international direction, if it is to gain power. The workers of the separate countries cannot fight their battles alone against the internationally organized capitalists. It is extremely difficult to differentiate between national and international lines. Is the Ruhr question a matter concerning only the German party, or one concerning the French party alone? Or is it not rather an international question, involving not only these two parties, but the British, Belgian, and Italian parties as well?

Who should coordinate the activities of these parties, if not the Communist International? To whom should be left the question of tactics and strategy: the separate parties—or should not rather the Communist International, as the sole body that has an international survey, direct the action: Did the Italian question concern only the Italian comrades, and therefore did not concern the Communist International; or did not the very failure of the Communist Party of Italy to get together with the Socialist Party, lead to the violent reaction that dominated Italy and encouraged the White Guards of other countries to follow in the path of Mussolini?

Zinoviev Lauds Workers Party

And surely, as Zinoviev pointed out in his report, the interference and decision of the Communist International in the American question at the Fourth Congress, to the effect that the Communist Party of America, in obedience to the conditions prevailing in the country, must come out into the open, were based on the idea of "democratic centralism: on the right and duty of the Communist International to interfere in what appears to be purely national questions, when a settlement cannot be effected by comrades themselves. The American delegates to the Enlarged Executive could only confirm and applaud the fact that the decision of the Communist International had reinforced and solidified the party, which today is working as a unit. Zinoviev praised the activity of the Workers Party of America, which showed that it had the insight and will to lead the workers.

What then are the rights of democracy? There are problems that are purely national—administrative and technical. The Communist International has not and does not intend to interfere in such matters—provided they can be settled within the country itself. But there are times when the Comintern is too mild, too unwilling to interfere. The Comintern has allowed the British Party to carry on without interference too long, so that today the British Party is unable to function. Well might the British comrades have asserted that the British affair is an affair entirely British. But they have taken a different view, and seeing that they cannot settle the matter and that the advice and experience of the Communist International, of the representatives of all countries and not the Russian comrades alone, will serve best in unraveling the entanglements into which they have fallen, they have come to the Communist International for settlement of their problems.

Not grasping the nature of "Democratic Centralism," the Norwegian and Swedish Parties demanded that the members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International be elected by the respective countries, and not by the Congress of the Communist International. This is a species of federalism that is intolerable and inconsistent with Communist principles, which demand that the Communist International be a REAL international and not one composed of federated bodies. It must have in its Executive not men who are responsible to their National Executives, but men responsible to the highest body in the world, the Congress of the Communist International. Hence the Executive must be composed of men whom the Congress considers fit for directing the affairs of the whole revolutionary movement of the world.

The Norwegian question and the question of "Democratic Centralism" were the occasion of the most heated discussion, in which the Norwegian comrade, participant in the "Mot Dag" group, assumed a challenging and defiant attitude, and accused the Comintern of being responsible for any trouble that has arisen or might arise in the Norwegian Labor Party.

It was discovered, however, that he was riding on a wave of a majority of two votes (94 to 92) which his faction secured at the last convention of the Norwegian Party. Altho his faction also included the syndicalistically inclined comrades, it was clear that the syndicalists and especially their leader are an integral part of the life and history of the Norwegian Labor Party, with char-

acteristics that time and experience will eliminate. In the opposition however, were a large part of the Party and the Young Communists, who pledged their support to the Communist International.

The united demonstration of the Enlarged Executive, who accused the Norwegian comrade, Comrade Falk, of applying disruptive tactics and of being made of the stuff of which fascists are made, because of his anti-semitism, revealed clearly what the stand of the parties of the world is on this most vital factor in international revolutionary action and strategy—"democratic centralism."

Next Week :—"The Religious Question Cannot Be Ignored By Communists."

EXHIBIT No. 46

[Source: The Worker, Chicago, January 12, 1924, page 2; J. Louis Engdahl, managing editor, Nicholas Dozenberg, business manager. Article entitled "Greetings to the Communist International"]

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The Third National Convention of the Workers Party extends greetings to the Communist International.

During the past year the Communist International has appeared everywhere where the workers suffer from oppression and exploitation as the leader in the struggle against the oppressors and exploiters. It stands today as the hope of all those who struggle against the suffering and bloodshed, which the decaying capitalist system brings into the world.

It is the leadership of the Communist International which inspires hopes in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country.

The Workers Party re-affirms its declaration of sympathy with the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 47

[Source: The Worker, Chicago, January 5, 1924, page 6; J. Louis Engdahl, managing editor, Nicholas Dozenberg, business manager. Excerpts from an editorial entitled "Greetings From the International"]

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The greetings to the Workers Party, published in full elsewhere, is exceptional in the history of the Communist International. It is a document approving in glowing terms of the struggles waged by the Workers Party during the past year. No criticism is offered of policies adopted and tactics pursued. It is doubtful if any other section of the Comintern can boast of a similar endorsement of any year's endeavor. . .

With the definite endorsement of its policies by the Communist International, the Workers Party will press forward, in the words of the Comintern, "to propagate them and organize the workers for action." This is the next step in the forward march of American Communism, and it will demand the concentrated strength of the whole membership of the Workers Party.

EXHIBIT No. 48

[Source: The Worker, Chicago, January 5, 1924, page 2; J. Louis Engdahl, managing editor, Nicholas Dozenberg, business manager. Excerpt from "Greetings from Communist International to Third Convention of Workers Party"]

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IMPERIALIST WARS FACE AMERICA

This is a problem of *vital* importance to the American working class. Fearful imperialist wars face the country. The bourgeoisie is making ready. The

government is perfecting its military machinery; General Pershing is demanding a larger army. *The Communist must sound the alarm and prepare the workers for resistance to these bloody schemes.* The Communist must point out that the illegal organizations of the capitalist class, the spies, and especially the Ku Klux Klan and American Legion, are a product of the foresight of the capitalists and are openly sponsored by the government of the United States. *The capitalists are prepared to crush any attempt to interfere with their plans.*

These, comrades, are the vital problems that confront the party. To propagate them and organize the workers for action will demand the concentrated strength of the whole party membership.

We greet the third convention of the Workers Party and have confidence that the party will line up the workers of America with the revolutionary workers of the world in the struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

EXHIBIT No. 49

[Source: *The Worker*, Chicago, January 12, 1924, page 2; J. Louis Engdahl, managing editor, Nicholas Dozenberg, business manager. Excerpt from "Big Achievements of Workers Party Told in Report of Central Executive Committee"]

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THE UNITED FRONT.

The policies outlined by the second national convention had as their basis the application of the united front policy of the Communist International in the United States. It is the united front policy which has governed the work of the Central Executive Committee during the past year and it is thru the application of this policy that we have achieved the progress which our party has made.

EXHIBIT No. 50

[Source: *Daily Worker*, Chicago, July 5, 1924, page 6; J. Louis Engdahl and William F. Dunne, editors. Excerpt from an editorial entitled "Against Imperialist War"]

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But this social peace means above all, to deliver the working class helpless into imperialist war. Nothing can stop the slaughter of the wars of capitalism, except the class war of the workers for the overthrow of capitalist government, and the establishment of the workers' government. The cry of the imperialists for war between nations can only be answered by the cry of the workers for the war between the classes. The imperialist war must be turned into the civil war, through which the power of the exploiting class shall be broken.

This is the meaning of the week of demonstrations on the tenth anniversary of the world war. Let every worker prepare to spread the message: Against the imperialist war—the class war! Against the experts' report on reparations—the rebuilding of the world by workers' governments! Against the capitalist dictatorship—the proletarian dictatorship!

EXHIBIT No. 51

[Source: *The Daily Worker*, Chicago, Thursday, March 6, 1924, page 6. From an article entitled, "The Communist International," by Robert Minor]

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Everywhere now as a matter of course "revolution" means communist revolution . . . The whole world understands that there is no kind of revolutionist in the working class except a Communist. . . .

The Congresses of the Communist International, and the Executive Committee of the Communist International between Congresses, are the factor that decides historical questions. Now we must know that the Communist International is destined to be the instrument thru which the working class takes possession of the earth.

EXHIBIT No. 52

[Source: Daily Worker, March 5, 1924, page 1]

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FORWARD UNDER BANNER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the Communist International should be a day of rejoicing to the workers of the whole world.

The Communist International came into the world as the new rallying centre of the revolutionary workers fighting against capitalism in the hour of betrayal by the Second International and the parties of which it was composed.

During the past five years the Communist International has grown from the small group of men assembled in the Kremlin on March 5th, 1919, and their few tens of thousands of followers to an organization which has won loyalty and devotion of millions of workers.

Today the Communist International has its sections in practically every country in the world. Wherever there are men and women who fight against the exploitation and oppression of capitalism, there are the supporters of the Communist International.

On this Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the Communist International, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party believes that it should make clear to those workers who do not know what the Communist International is, what it stands for and the ends it is seeking to achieve.

The Communist International declares that we are living in the period of the disintegration of the capitalist system of production. Conflicting forces within the capitalist system are destroying it. These forces expressed themselves in the World War, which was a direct outgrowth of the imperialist capitalist development. During the war the capitalist system generated new forces of destruction which are undermining the whole economic foundation of capitalist society.

The disintegration of capitalism is apparent in every European country. All the efforts of the statesmen and economists of capitalist Europe have been unable to restore capitalist production in Europe to the conditions of 1914. While there is an ebb and flow of capitalism the dominating tendency is downward to the disintegration of the entire capitalist system of production.

The forces which are bringing the downfall of capitalism in Europe are apparent in the United States. Since the war this country has experienced one bitter period of hard times and unemployment and in spite of all that the capitalist can do our system of production stands trembling on the brink of another period of breakdown.

This period of decay and destruction of the capitalist system, which may extend over decades of time, will bring upon the workers everywhere unheard of suffering. Already in Germany millions of people are starving because of the condition created by the disintegration of capitalism. In England unemployment of close to a million workers has been chronic since the end of the war because of the same causes. The conditions in other capitalist countries is only a difference of degrees. The same forces of disintegration are at work and threaten to bring the same conditions everywhere.

There is only one way in which the workers of the world can save themselves from all the misery, suffering and bloodshed which the dying capitalist order brings into the world, the Communist International declares. They must organize their strength. They must enter into a struggle against the capitalists and their government. They must wrench control from the hands of the capitalists and use that power to build a new social order.

The workers cannot establish their rule thru the organs of the capitalist government. They must create in the struggle against capitalism their own organs of the government—the Soviets. It is thru the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat that the workers will mobilize their power and create

the means of establishing Communism in the place of the dying capitalist order.

For all the workers of the world who enter the struggle against the decaying capitalist order the Communist International is the rallying point, the source of guidance and leadership.

The Communist International stands as the uncompromising enemy of the whole capitalist order, guiding and directing the struggles of the workers of every country to the goal of establishing their own rule in order to save themselves from the misery and suffering which capitalism brings upon them.

The Workers Party of America, on this Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the Communist International renews its declaration of acceptance of the leadership of the Communist International in the struggle against American capitalism.

Hail to the communist international, the leader of the world revolution!
Hail to the world revolution and the rule of the workers of the world.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Workers Party of America
C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 53

[Source: The Daily Worker, Chicago, Special Magazine Supplement, March 5, 1924, page 2. From an article, "The Communist International in America," by C. E. Ruthenberg, Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.]

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It was the demand and influence of the Communist International which unified the United Communist Party and the Communist Party in 1921. It was the representative of the Communist International who in 1922 led back into the Party the opposition which split away in the struggle over the founding of the open party.

Had there been no Communist International, no deciding and directing body with authority to pass upon question of the principles and tactics for the revolutionary workers in the United States and to direct their movement into the right channels, the factional struggle might well have resulted otherwise than it did. It is not an exaggeration to say that if there is today in the United States one party—the Workers Party—in which all the Communist groups are united, it is because of the persistent effort and tactful guidance of the International, . . .

It was the guiding influence of the Communist International which helped the Communist Party in this country to formulate those policies which during the last year have enabled the Party to make such great gains in establishing its influence among the workers and farmers.

It was the Communist International which impressed upon the party driven underground thru the Palmer raids the need of again fighting its way into the open. The Workers Party was established and the underground Communist Party was liquidated with the aid of the International. That so fundamental a change in the policy of the Communist Party in this country was achieved without a split was due to the fact that the International clearly saw the need of the movement in this country and used its disciplinary power to establish what probably not a single member of the Workers Party now doubts was the right policy . . .

LEADS REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE HERE

In guiding the Workers Party the Communist International is guiding the struggles of the American workers, for it is upon the principles laid down by the Communist International and policies it has enunciated as the means to win the support of the workers for those principles, that there will develop the mass movement of the American workers thru which the struggle against capitalism will be won in this country.

For the American workers, even today, the Communist International is not a far-away abstraction but a living, fighting organization which influences their struggles and guides them along the road to victory.

Today the slogan of the Communist International for the masses of workers and farmers of the United States is, a mass Farmer-Labor Party fighting for

a Workers and Farmers Government. To this slogan hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers are responding. On the morrow, when the time is ripe, the Communist International will raise the new slogan of a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and lead the workers in their final struggle for power, even as it today leads them in preparation for that struggle.

Hail to the leadership of the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 54

[Source: The Daily Worker, Chicago, Thursday, February 28, 1924, page 4. From an article entitled "The Discussion Within the Russian Communist Party"]

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The great majority of the Party took full account of the fact that the Communist Party of Russia is not merely one of the Communist Parties, but is a governing party, whose crisis is at the same time a crisis of the proletarian state, that the Communist Party of Russia is the leading party of International Communism and its crisis means a crisis for the Communist international.

EXHIBIT No. 55

[Source: The Daily Worker, Chicago, February 1, 1924, page 5; J. Louis Engdahl, editor, Moritz J. Loeb, business manager. Excerpt from "The Party at Work"]

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After a full discussion of the whole problem of bringing these Armenian workers into the organized Communist movement of the Party, the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted the following decision:

"To send a telegram to the American Workers Party demanding that Comrade Sunarin with the whole opposition group return into the ranks of the Workers Party and await the instructions of the E. C. C. I., which are being sent immediately.

"b) While approving the steps taken by the American Workers Party for the unification of the revolutionary Communist elements and for bringing them into the ranks of the Workers Party, to insist that after the Congress of the Workers Party in December, 1923, an Armenian Conference be convened with the object of carrying out the recommendations of the E. C. C. I. laid down in the resolution of the Presidium in February, 1923. At this conference the title 'Armenian Section of the Workers Party' must be definitely adopted.

EXHIBIT No. 56

[Source: Daily Worker, June 26, 1924, page 4]

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STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In accordance with the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International to revise at the Fifth Congress the statutes of the Communist International accepted at the Second Congress and to take into consideration the decisions made at the Third and Fourth Congresses on organizational questions, the Executive Committee of the Comintern herewith publishes a draft of the revised statutes drawn up by the Orgbureau of the E. C. C. I., to be submitted to the Fifth Congress now in session for discussion and final acceptance.

I. Principles

Par. I. The new International Workingmen's Association is an organization of Communist Parties in various countries. It is their leader in the struggle to win over the majority of the working class, for the overthrow of Capitalism, for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and a world union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and the establishment of Socialism as a first stage of Communist Society.

Par. II. The new International Workingmen's Association assumes the title of "Communist International."

Par. III. All Parties affiliated to the Communist International shall be known as Communist Party of . . . (Section of the Comintern). Only one party in any country may be affiliated to the Communist International.

Par. IV. Any person accepting the program and statutes of the Communist Party of the country in which he is a resident and of the Comintern, who is attached to a basic party organization, is actively working in it, and who submits to all the decisions of the party and the Comintern and regularly pays Party dues, is accounted a member of the Communist Party and the Comintern.

Par. V. The basic Party organization (its unit) is the nucleus at the place of employment (factory, mine, workshop, office, store, farm, etc.), to which all the members of the party employed in the given enterprise must be attached.

Par. VI. The Comintern and the Communist Party are constructed on the basis of democratic centralism. The fundamental principle of democratic centralism is: the election of the lower and higher Party organs at general meetings of Party members, conferences and congresses; periodical reports of the Party organs to their constituents; all decisions of the higher Party organs are obligatory for the lower Party organs; strict discipline and rapid and precise execution of the decisions of the E. C. C. I. and the leading Party centres. Party questions may be discussed by members of the Party or Party organizations only up to the moment of their decision by the competent party organs. After decisions have been arrived at on the given question by the Congress of the Communist International, the Party Congress or the leading Party organs, these decisions must be unconditionally carried out, even if there is a difference of opinion amongst the members of local organizations with regard to the decisions.

In illegal conditions lower Party organs may be appointed by the higher Party organs and individuals may be co-opted to various Party organs with the endorsement of the superior Party organ.

II. World Congresses of the Comintern

Par. VII. The supreme organ of the Comintern is the World Congress of all Parties (sections) and organizations affiliated to it.

The World Congress discusses and resolves the most important questions of the program, tactics and organization connected with the activities of the Comintern as a whole as well as of its various sections. The World Congress alone has the right to amend the program and statutes of the Comintern.

As a rule the World Congress should be convened at least once in two years, the date for convening the congress is determined by the Executive Committee of the Comintern. All affiliated sections send delegates to the Congress, the number being determined by the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

The number of decisive votes that each section may have is determined in each case by a special resolution of the Congress in accordance with the membership of the Party and the political importance of the country.

Par. VIII. Extraordinary World congresses of the Comintern may be convened on the demand of Parties which at the previous World Congress of the Comintern jointly commanded not less than half of the decisive votes.

Par. IX. The World Congress elects the President of the Communist International, the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the International Control Commission (I. C. C.)

Par. X. The World Congress on each occasion decides on the seat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

III. The Executive Committee of the Comintern and its Apparatus

Par. XI. The Executive Committee of the Comintern is the leading organ of the Communist International in the period between the World congresses, gives instructions, which are obligatory to all the Parties and organizations affiliated to the Communist International, issues, when necessary, manifestoes in the name of the Comintern and publishes the central organ of the Communist International in not less than four languages.

Par. XII. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are obligatory for all sections and must be immediately carried out by them. The sections have the right to appeal against a decision of the E. C. C. I. to the Congress of the Communist International, but the section is not relieved of the duty of carrying out the decision until it is revoked by the Congress.

Par. XIII. The central organs of the sections affiliated to the Communist International are responsible to the party congresses and the E. C. C. I. The E. C. C. I. has the right to annul or amend decisions of the central organs as well as the congresses of the respective sections, and pass decisions the execution of which shall be obligatory for the central organs. (Cf. par. XII.)

Par. XIV. The E. C. C. I. has the right to expel from the Comintern such parties, groups and individual members who violate the program, rules, decisions of world Congresses, and the E. C. C. I. Such parties, groups, and individuals have the right to appeal to the World Congress.

Par. XV. The E. C. C. I. endorses the program of each section affiliated to the Communist International. In the event of the E. C. C. I. refusing to endorse the program of any section, the latter may appeal to the World Congress.

Par. XVI. The decisions and the official documents of the E. C. C. I. must be published in the leading party organs of the sections affiliated to the Communist International.

Par. XVII. The E. C. C. I. has the right to receive into the Communist International organizations and parties sympathizing with Communism and approaching the Communist International. Such organizations are to have consultative votes.

Par. XVIII. The E. C. C. I. elects a Presidium of its own members which serves as the permanent acting organ and conducts all the work of the E. C. C. I. in the periods between the meetings of the latter. The Presidium reports on its activity to the E. C. C. I. The chairman of the C. I. acts as chairman of the E. C. C. I. and of the Presidium.

Par. XIX. The E. C. C. I. elects an Organization Bureau (Orgbureau) which discusses and decides all questions affecting organization and finance. The decisions of the Orgbureau may be appealed against in the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. But until these decisions are revoked or amended by the Presidium they remain obligatory. The composition of the Orgbureau is determined by the E. C. C. I. The members of the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. form part of the Orgbureau.

Par. XX. The E. C. C. I. elects a Secretariat which is the Executive organ of the E. C. C. I., the Presidium and the Orgbureau.

Par. XXI. The E. C. C. I. elects the editorial board of the monthly organ of the Communist International as well as the editors of all other of its publications.

Par. XXII. The E. C. C. I. elects an international secretary for the Communist women's movement, and in conjunction with the latter, passes all decisions of a political and organizational character affecting the international women's movement.

Par. XXIII. The E. C. C. I. sets up an information statistical department, agitational propaganda department (Agitprop), an organization department and an Eastern department. The E. C. C. I. has the power to set up other departments if it considers it necessary.

Par. XXIV. The E. C. C. I. and the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. has the power to send its representatives to the various sections of the Communist International. The representatives receive their instructions from the E. C. C. I. and are responsible for their actions to the latter. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. must be permitted to attend all meetings of the central organs as well as of the local organizations of the section to which they have been sent by the E. C. C. I. The representatives of the E. C. C. I. fulfill the task given them in closest contact with the Central Committee of the respective sections. Their speeches however at the congresses, conferences, etc. convened by the Central Committee of the given section, may, (in the consistent execution of the instructions of the E. C. C. I.), not coincide with the opinions of the Central Committee of the respective Parties. It is the special duty of the representatives of the E. C. C. I. to see that the decisions of the World Congresses and of the E. C. C. I. are carried out by the sections to which they are sent.

XXV. Meetings of the E. C. C. I. must take place at least once a month. A quorum is composed of not less than one-half of the members of the E. C. C. I.

IV. The Enlarged Executive

Par. XXVI. In order to decide important questions, the decisions of which admit of no delay, the E. C. C. I., in the intervals between World Congresses,

convenes not less than twice a year, meetings of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

In addition to the members of the E. C. C. I., representatives of all the sections affiliated to the Communist International participate in sessions of the Enlarged Executive. The number of representatives of the various sections at the sessions of the Enlarged Executive is determined by the Congress of the Communist International.

In addition to these meetings of the Enlarged Executive, meetings are also called immediately prior to Congresses of the Communist International.

V. International Control Commission

Par. XXVII. The functions of the International Control Commission, which is appointed by the Congress are: a) to investigate complaints of individuals and whole organizations against disciplinary measures taken against them by sections and to submit their opinions concerning them to the E. C. C. I. which makes a definite decision. c) To audit the financial accounts of the E. C. C. I., d) To audit accounts of the sections on the instructions of the E. C. C. I., Presidium or Orgbureau.

The Control Commission does not intervene in political, organizational or administrative conflicts which may arise in the various sections of the Communist International or between sections and the E. C. C. I.

The seat of the International Control Commission is fixed by the E. C. C. I. in conjunction with the International Control Commission.

VI. Relations of the Sections of the Communist International to the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXVIII. The Central Committees of all sections affiliated to the Communist International and also of organizations accepted as sympathising organizations, must systematically send the minutes of their meetings and the report of their work to the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXIX. The resignation of individual comrades from the Central Committee of any section, as well as of whole groups of comrades, is regarded as an act of disorganization of the Communist movement. All leading posts in the Communist Party belong to the C. I. and not to the bearers of the mandate. Elected members of central organs in the various section may resign their mandates only with the concurrence of the E. C. C. I. Resignations approved by the Central Committee of any section without the consent of the E. C. C. I. are annulled.

Par. XXX. Sections affiliated to the Communist international, especially sections in neighbouring countries must support each other by the closest ties of organization and information. These ties may be established by sections in neighbouring countries, ences [sic] and congresses as well as by the mutual interchange of leading comrades, which, however, must be done in agreement with the Communist International. Copies of the reports sent by such representatives to their sections must be sent to the Communist International.

Par. XXXI. Sections of the Communist International must pay regular dues to the E. C. C. I. the amount of which is determined by the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXXII. Prior to World Congresses of the Communist International, Party conferences or enlarged plenums of the central committees of the various sections are convened to discuss the questions to be raised at the World Congress and to elect delegates to it. Exceptions to this rule are permitted only by decisions of the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXXIII. In the year in which the World Congress takes place, Congresses of sections affiliated to the Communist International, are convened after the World Congress. Exceptions are permitted only by decision of the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXXIV. The Young Communist International is a full member of the Communist International and is subordinate to the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXXV. The Communist Parties must be prepared to carry on their work illegally. The E. C. C. I. must assist the Parties in the preparation for illegal work, and see to it that the work is carried out.

Par. XXXVI. The transfer of members of sections of the Communist International from one country to another is permitted only with the sanction of the Central Committee of the given section. In changing his residence, a Communist must join the section in the country of which he has become resident. Communists who leave their respective country without the sanction of the Central Committee of the section to which they belong, cannot be accepted by any other section.

EXHIBIT No. 57

[Source: Daily Worker, May 16, 1924, page 1]

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COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ENDORSES PARTY POLICY

The question whether the Workers Party was following the correct Communist policy in supporting with all its strength the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States has been raised by members of the organization in this country.

In order to settle the question of whether the Farmer-Labor United Front was a policy for a Communist Party such as the Workers Party should put into effect and in support of which it should throw all its strength, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party submitted this question to the Communist International, with which it is affiliated as a fraternal organization.

The view of the Communist International on this question is expressed in the following cablegram:

"Communist International considers June 17th Convention momentous importance for Workers Party. Urges C. E. C. not to slacken activities preparation June 17th. Utilize every available force to make St. Paul Convention great representative gathering labor and left wing.

Executive Committee, Communist International.

The fact that the Communist International supports the policy which the Workers Party has been following in relation to the June 17th Convention should inspire every Party member to more earnest support of the June 17th Convention.

The Party must throw all of its energy into familiarizing the workers and farmers of this country with the purpose of the June 17th Convention. It must endeavor to have delegates elected from all labor and farmer organizations so that the June 17th Convention will be a great mass demonstration of workers and farmers in support of independent political action in the interests of these classes and against the domination of the government by the capitalists.

The June 17th Convention is the first step toward realizing the slogan of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

In supporting the June 17th Convention, our Party is rendering the greatest service to the movement of the workers and farmers in this country.

Forward to a mass Farmer-Labor Party!

Forward to the Workers' and Farmers' Government!

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, *Chairman*,
C. E. RUTHENBERG, *Executive Secretary*.

EXHIBIT No. 58

[Source: The Workers Monthly, Chicago, October, 1925, Vol. IV, No. 12, pages 531-538]

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FROM THE THIRD THROUGH THE FOURTH CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST)
PARTY

By C. E. Ruthenberg

In his report to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International Comrade Zinoviev declared:

"I think it is quite clear by now that the Communist International, in its earliest years, in a number of countries, was only a society for the propaganda of Communism without being aware of this itself. At the beginning, we thought we were very strong, but as a matter of fact, in a number of countries at that time we did not have Communist Parties, but only great propaganda societies."

Later on, in the same report, he declared:

"In spite of all weaknesses, in spite of all shortcomings of our sections, we are now in a number of countries, no longer propaganda societies, but we have grown into a Communist Party and in part even into a mass Communist Party."

Comrade Zinoviev made clear at the Fifth Congress, and this was emphasized still more strongly at the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, held last March, that there was still a third stage in the development of the Communist Parties, that is, the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties.

The three stages of development—propaganda sects, Communist Parties, and Bolshevized Communist Parties—are also the stages of development of the Communist Party in this country. If we examine the history of the Communist Party in this country, we will come to the conclusion that our Party has definitely left behind the stage of development in which it was a propaganda sect and that it has created a firm foundation of policies and tactics for its development as a Communist Party—even a mass Communist Party—and that it now stands before those great tasks which will make it really a Bolshevik Party.

From the time of its organization in 1919, until the organization of the Workers Party at the end of 1921, was, roughly speaking, the period of the existence of the Party as a propaganda sect; the period from the formation of the Workers Party until the Fourth National Convention which closed on the sixth anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party, was the period of the development and growth with some setbacks, into a Communist Party; the Fourth National Convention is the opening of a new period in the development of the Party which gives the promise that the Party will become not only a mass Communist Party, but a Bolshevik Party. The Fourth National Convention can be said to have definitely crystallized the policies and tactics which make our Party a Communist Party and also to have laid down the beginning of the program through which the first steps will be taken for the Bolshevization of the Party.

The Period of the Propaganda Sect

The purpose of this article is not to present a detailed history of the entire development of the Party, but rather to deal with that important phase of its development which took place between the Third and Fourth National Conventions and in the Fourth National Convention. It is necessary, however, briefly to sketch the earlier years of the Party development in order to lay the basis for discussion of the last twenty months of the Party history, and also to clarify what are the characteristics of the three stages of development of a Communist Party pointed out above.

The Communist Party came into existence in the United States, as elsewhere, in response to the ferment caused in the socialist parties by the Russian Revolution. It was the historical example, that is, the establishment of a proletarian state through an armed uprising of the working masses, the sweeping away of the old parliamentary form of government, the establishment of the new workers' government upon the foundation of the soviets, that drove into the socialist parties the wedge which split them into two sharply defined groups, those who pretended they could achieve a socialist society through forms wrung from the capitalist state and those who saw the only road to socialism, the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party organized in the United States in September, 1919, clearly stated this fundamental difference in principle in the program it adopted. Its analysis of the development of the socialist party showed that reformist socialism led to the betrayal of the workers and not to socialism. It considered the propaganda of this fundamental difference between the socialists and Communists its chief task.

In the four months of existence as an open Communist Party, which our "American democracy" permitted it, the work of the Party consisted almost entirely of propaganda to drive home this difference between socialists and Communists in the minds of the workers. The government persecution towards the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920 helped to accentuate this tendency on the part of the Party. The Party was attacked because it taught the workers that they could emancipate themselves from capitalism only through an armed uprising which would overthrow the capitalist state and establish a soviet government. After it was driven underground, the Party considered it all the more its duty to continue this propaganda. This would have been all very well if the Party had understood how to connect the proletarian revolution with the immediate struggles of the workers, but it did not understand how to

do this. It had no connections with the masses of workers and their immediate struggles. The Party existed as something separate and apart from the life and struggles of the masses. The way which it showed the workers to their emancipation, was, to be sure, correct, but it had not learned how to cross the void between itself and the working masses and to lead them toward the way to which it pointed as leading to their emancipation. It had no program or policies for their immediate struggle. Its entire work consisted of pointing to the ultimate means of achieving the proletarian revolution. It was purely a propaganda society and as long as it remained such a propaganda society it could not establish its leadership and influence among the masses.

Development Toward a Communist Party

The struggle for the formation of the Workers Party and adoption of the program for work within the existing unions marked the beginning of the second period in the growth of the Party. Not that the formation of an open party in itself necessarily would transform the Party from a propaganda sect to a Communist Party. An open party can just as easily fall into a sectarian policy—as later developments of our Party show. The struggle for the open party, however, was an effort to create an instrument through which the Party could actually play a part in the every day fights of the workers, establish its prestige and influence among them, and as such must be considered as one of the first steps away from the previous sectarian policy.

The first real development from a propaganda sect into a Communist Party came during the year 1922. The Party members began to function on the trade union field as part of the Trade Union Educational League, and the influence of the Party began to develop in the struggles in the trade unions. The Party played its part in the miners' strikes and the railway shopmen's strike of that year. It learned to take up the immediate struggles of the workers and on the basis of these struggles to win support for its policies and to establish its leadership. It had learned that the workers' demands and struggles of the day are the starting point from which it must move them forward into more revolutionary action against the capitalist class and the capitalist state.

In June, 1922, the Party formulated the statement of the application of the United Front tactic to the situation in the United States. It took up the slogan of the Labor Party which had developed a strong momentum among the workers and soon became the leader in the movement for the formation of a Labor Party. The Party made the attack upon the Bridgeman Convention the means of widening its influence among the workers by initiating a united front defense. It met the government persecution of the foreign-born workers by the formation of Councils for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, thus extending its influence among the workers.

The fact that by July, 1923, when the convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party was held, our Party could elect 200 delegates to this convention, mostly from the trade unions, and could take the leadership of the 550 delegates, representing over 600,000 workers, who were present at that convention—this fact was an indication of the progress the Party has made in establishing contact with the masses and in becoming a Communist Party.

At the end of 1923, when the Third National Convention was held, the Party had seemingly cast off its sectarian past and was no longer what Comrade Zinoviev described as a propaganda society. It had sunk its roots deeply among the masses, it had won a place as the leader in the movement for a Labor Party. It had gained a strong influence in the trade unions through its fight for amalgamation. It had learned to make itself part of the immediate struggles of the workers, as in the case of Councils for Protection of the Foreign-Born. It was well on the road to becoming a Communist Party in contradistinction to the propaganda society which it had been.

The Third National Convention

With this brief preliminary survey of the past history of our Party in its struggle to become a Communist Party, the ground is cleared for consideration of the development between the Third and Fourth National Conventions of the Party.

The Third National Convention adopted the policy submitted by the Party

leadership which had guided the Party in its development along the correct Communist line. The theses and resolutions of the Third National Convention laid the basis for further development of our Party as a Communist Party. In the light of this fact we may well ask how it came to be that the Party was compelled to go through a bitter factional struggle, lasting almost a year, to prevent the Party again becoming involved in the morass of sectarianism.

The explanation is to be found in the grouping which developed within the Party itself. The sectarianism of the period of the Party history up to 1922 was a left sectarianism. The new sectarianism which threatened the Party came from the right wing of the Party.

The formation of the Workers Party at the end of 1921 had brought into the organization a membership making up a majority of the Party which had not passed through the experiences of the previous years. This group had held aloof from the Communist Party at the time of its organization in 1921, remaining in the socialist party or maintaining a separate organizational existence.

All of the language federations in the socialist party had been to a large degree national social organizations. Those language federations which joined the Communist Party in 1919 lost through the Government persecutions the major part of the element of its membership which had joined them as social organizations. At least two-thirds of the membership of the federations which joined the Communist Party in 1919 dropped out of the Party after the Government raids, leaving within the Party only the conscious Communist elements.

This was not true of the Finnish Federation, the German Federation, part of the Jewish Federation, the Czecho-Slovakian Federation and the Scandinavian Federation, all of which came into the Party only after the formation of the Workers Party. This group of the membership was still strongly under the influence of the socialist traditions. Their attitude toward the main tasks of the Party was that the Party should devote itself to propaganda and organizational work. The drawing of the Party into the main stream of the struggles of the masses in this country was criticized as "adventurism" and "grand maneuvering."

What has been said above was particularly true of the Finnish Federation, which composed at least one-third of the membership of our Party. Only a small part of this membership actually participates in the work of the Party in the class struggle in this country. The membership is composed of elements no doubt sympathetic to the Communist principles and accepting these principles, but it has not learned how Communists must apply their principles in the actual class struggle. It has not yet broken with the pleasant unruffled existence as part of a socialist organization, free from the duties, burdens and work which are the lot of a Communist who actually carries on a Communist struggle.

At the Third National Convention, the Foster group, which had been part of the leadership of the Party and which had formed a separate group on the issue of our Labor Party policy after the Federated Farmer-Labor Party convention, secured a majority in the national convention of the Party through the support of the right-wing sectarian elements described above.

Thus, while the Third National Convention adopted correct principles and policies, it placed in the leadership of the Party the group which had its support in the right-wing sectarian elements. The result of this combination soon became apparent on the first occasion that the Central Executive Committee was faced with the necessity of formulating a policy to meet a new situation. It fell into sectarian errors. The tendency of the Central Executive Committee to coalesce with its support in the Party was irresistible, and the Party as a consequence was thrown into a new struggle, the struggle against the right-wing sectarian tendency of the Foster group by the Central Executive Committee minority, which fought to keep the Party on the correct lines of development as a Communist Party.

The Issue of Trotskyism

The first question on which the influence of the right wing of our Party made itself felt was the attitude of the Foster group in the Central Executive Committee on the question of Trotskyism. Lore, who had been elected to the Central Executive Committee, telegraphed to the *Volkzeitung* that "the Trotskyites have won the Party." Lore was the leader of the extreme right of the

Party. When the issue of endorsement of the Old Guard of the Communist Party of Russia came before the Central Executive Committee, the committee majority hesitated and vacillated. It first refused to publish an article endorsing the Old Guard because not sufficient information was at hand on the issues. It later voted down a motion submitted by the minority to endorse the Old Guard and adopted the proposal to print all material, and that the question of Trotskyism should not be made a factional issue in the Party. It was not until after the convention of the Russian Communist Party definitely condemned Trotskyism and after Comrade Foster returned from Moscow that the Central Executive Committee actually went on record endorsing the Old Guard against Trotsky. Even then Ludwig Lore voted against this endorsement.

We have in this question the first indication of the tendency of the Foster majority of the Central Executive Committee to make compromises in the direction of its right wing support in the Party. The vacillation and hesitation to place itself on record on the issues of Trotskyism was due to the fact that it was exactly those groups in the Party which supported it and which were its basis in the Party which were infected by Trotskyism.

The Fight Against Loreism.

Lore has been in consistent opposition to the policies of the Party from the time of its organization. Even at the time of the formation of the left wing, Lore, together with Scott Nearing, led an opposition in the left wing and finally broke with it. Lore opposed the underground Party at a time when it was not possible to preserve the Communist movement organizationally in any other form than through an underground organization. Lore opposed the German Communist Party and the Communist International on the question of Levi and supported Serrati of Italy against the Communist International.

After the formation of the Workers Party, Lore opposed those policies which had as their purpose to take the Party into the movement of the workers and to establish its prestige and leadership through fighting with them in their everyday struggles. Thus Lore opposed the adoption of the first statement of United Front policy of the Party, which included the Labor Party policy. Lore was opposed to the Party sending delegates to the convention of the "Conference for Progressive Political Action" in Cleveland in December, 1922, which was one of the maneuvers through which the Party gained prestige in relation to the Labor Party movement. Within the Central Executive Committee, Lore fought consistently to have the Labor Party built upon individual membership, thus making it a competing organization with the Workers Party and destroying it as an expression of the United Front. The views and policies advocated by Lore were left wing socialist but not Communist views and policies.

The errors of Lore as an individual had been fought by the Central Executive Committee prior to the Third National Convention. At the Third National Convention, through his opposition to the Labor Party-LaFollette alliance, which was proposed by the convention thesis submitted by the Central Executive Committee, Lore had crystallized around himself the opposition to this policy. There developed within the Party a definite Lore group, not only opposed to the Labor Party-LaFollette alliance, but which was in opposition to the United Front tactic and maneuvering which the Central Executive Committee had applied prior to the convention in order to draw the Party into the mass struggles of the workers.

The first test of the attitude of the new Central Executive Committee majority on the question of Loreism came when Lore wrote an editorial on the Fifth Anniversary of the Communist International, distorting the entire history and policies of the Communist International. The Central Executive Committee minority demanded a statement from the Central Executive Committee repudiating this editorial. This the Central Executive Committee refused to do. This policy was in effect to protect Lore against the exposure and condemnation of his fallacious views.

In the struggle which followed on the question of Loreism, the Central Executive Committee majority manifested the same tendency, even after the first decision of the Communist International. It repeatedly refused to adopt proposals of the minority of the Central Executive Committee to expose Lore before the Party and to correct his erroneous policies. It was not until after the second decision of the Communist International categorically condemning Lore and directing his removal from the Central Executive Committee that the Central Executive Committee majority, composed of the Foster group, took a stand against Loreism.

This refusal to fight Loreism was another expression of the right-wing orientation of the Foster group, which could not take a stand against Lore because it was allied with Lore, particularly in New York City, where it depended upon the support of Lore for its support in the Party.

Liquidation of the Labor Party Policy.

The decision of the Communist International against the proposed Labor Party-LaFollette alliance, while not based on the reasons for opposition to this policy on the part of the right wing Loreist group in our Party, strengthened this group. The decision of the Communist International was not based on opposition to such a maneuver in principle. In fact, the decision made clear that such maneuvers were permissible for Communist Parties. The decision of the Communist International was made on the basis of the situation of our Party, its degree of strength and ideological development, but not because the maneuver was incorrect in principle. However, the Lore group had opposed this alliance, and the fact of the Communist International deciding against it strengthened the Lore group. Both the majority and the minority of the Central Executive Committee had been declared in error on the Labor Party-LaFollette alliance and thus had burnt their fingers. This decision had the effect of driving the Foster Central Executive Committee majority closer to the Lore group. The reaction of the Foster majority was to adopt a position in opposition to further maneuver, that is, to take a right-wing sectarian policy, as the safest course. The difference between the majority of the Central Executive Committee and the minority group was then indicated in the fact that the decision on the question of the Labor Party-LaFollette alliance had no such effect upon the minority.

With the defeat of the Party in the St. Paul Convention, compelling the Party to nominate its own candidates, in the presidential elections, came the test of the Central Executive Committee majority.

The decision made in October in relation to the dropping of the slogan for a Labor Party in the A. F. of L. convention, the statement on the results of the presidential elections, and finally the thesis of the majority declaring against the continuance of the Labor Party policy, were expressions of the new right-wing sectarianism in our Party in full bloom.

The Foster group had declared that their policy was not opposition in principle to the Labor Party policy, but opposition under the then existing conditions. It is true that the thesis of the Foster group contained the declaration: "We are not opposed to the Labor Party in principle." While this platonic declaration was made, the tone of the whole discussion in the Party was otherwise and the thesis itself declared in a section endeavoring to prove that advocacy of the Labor Party slogan was a right-wing deviation:

"The position taken by the comrades of this tendency is that the only way to crystallize independent political action of workers and poor farmers is through a Farmer-Labor Party, forgetting the existence of the Workers Party as the political class Party of the workers and poor farmers. These comrades also take the position that the only way to build a mass Communist Party in America is through a Farmer-Labor Party, thus enunciating a new principle that the Workers Party can never become a mass Communist Party except through organizing and working within a Farmer-Labor Party."

And further along in the same section we find a declaration that:

"This non-Communist conception of the role of our Party manifests itself particularly in the tendency to resort to all kinds of new political organizations, substitutes for the Workers Party, whenever an opportunity presents itself to appeal to masses of workers on concrete issues of every-day life."

These two quotations indicate clearly where the Foster group was drifting. The latter quotation is in essence a declaration against the United Front tactic. For, what do we seek to do in the United Front maneuver but to unite existing workers' organizations for a common struggle on some particular issue? The declaration that the formation of such United Front organizations is creating substitutes for the Workers Party is of course pure sectarianism, for if the Workers Party carries on a correct Communist policy in relation to such United Front organizations, they will not only not be substitutes for the Workers Party, but will be the means of building it, just as the Labor Party policy resulted in building up the Workers Party.

That the sectarian error of the Labor Party was not an isolated mistake was indicated by the fact that the Foster group made the same error in relation to work among women when it endeavored to liquidate the United Council of

Workingclass Women as a competing organization to the Workers Party, and it made a similar sectarian error in proposing that the Party should make a non-partisan relief organization a department of the Party itself.

The struggle which developed in the Central Executive Committee during the same period over the question of the Party's trade union work was part of the same general tendency of the Central Executive Committee majority. The struggles were over the questions of carrying on a campaign to win the trade unions ideologically for Communism at the same time that we carried on an election campaign, and against the over-emphasis upon the election campaign. This issue arose in another form in relation to proposals to inject major political issues into certain trade union situations. The tendency of trade union work for the sake of trade union work and not for the purpose of building up the influence and prestige of the Communist Party goes with the right-wing sectarianism.

Later in relation to the conferences of the "Conference for Progressive Political Action" which were being held in various states and the national conference held in February, 1925, the Central Executive Committee majority raised the slogan, "Boycott the C. P. P. A."

Thus the circle was completed. We had been a propaganda society, we were again to be a propaganda society. We had fought our way from the status of a propaganda society to that of a developing Communist Party playing its part in the struggles of the masses, entering into these struggles, and bringing leadership to them and direction along a Communist line. We had returned to the policy of "Boycott the C. P. P. A.," that is, boycott a mass movement of workers.

The Central Executive Committee majority elected at the Third National Convention through the support of a right wing sectarian group in our Party had coalesced with that right-wing sectarian group and had adopted the policy of this group as the policy of the Party. The Party was in danger of losing all that it had gained in developing itself as a Communist Party. It was sliding down the road the Socialist Labor Party had gone, to become a self-admiration society living its life apart from the actual struggles of the workers.

The Struggle in the Party.

It was this issue, whether we should retrace our steps toward sectarianism, or go forward in developing our Party as a Communist Party, that was at the bottom of the factional struggle in our Party during the past year. Happily, with the aid of the Communist International, the Party was returned to the right path. The decision of the Communist International swept away every shred of the sectarianism which had developed in our Party. It made clear why the Labor Party policy must be a major policy of our Party. It declared against a sectarian attitude in regard to work among women. It directed the Party to the right tactic in relation to trade union work, took decisive measures against Loreism within the Party. The Central Executive Committee minority, which had led the fight to develop the Party from a propaganda society to a Communist Party, succeeded, with the aid of the Communist International, in preventing the Party from again degenerating into the propaganda society which it had been.

The Fourth National Convention.

The Fourth National Convention marked the close of the period of struggle to prevent our Party again degenerating into a propaganda society. It also marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Party—the period of the Bolshevization of the Party.

The situation in the convention presented an interesting contradiction. All the resolutions outlining the policy of the Party for the coming period were unanimously adopted in the Party Commission which worked out these resolutions. Still, there was a sharp factional division in the convention and the ten days of debate marked one of the bitterest struggles in the history of our Party.

The explanation of this situation is to be found in the year of factional struggle to keep our Party on the correct Communist line. The policy of the Foster group had been corrected through the struggle of the minority in the Central Executive Committee and the decision of the Communist International. The resolutions presented to the Convention stressed this corrected policy. It again

put the Party on the road to development as a Communist Party. The debate on these resolutions dealt with the policies contained in the resolutions as contrasted with the policies which the Foster group had presented previously. It was necessary to point out the errors of a sectarian character which had been made and to stamp these definitely before the Party in order that there might not exist a further possibility that such errors would again find support in our Party.

The relation of forces within the convention also contributed to sharpen the discussion and the factional alignment.

An analysis of the decision of the Communist International makes clear the aims of the Communist International in relation to our Party. This aim was to break the alliance which had existed between the Foster group in the Central Executive Committee and the right wing of the Party. This policy is clearly indicated in the sharp position taken by the Communist International against Lore and Loreism and its insistence on co-operation in the Party leadership between the two leading groups in the Party.

A realization of this aim of the Communist International has been seriously hampered by the tactics of the Foster group in the period between the return of the delegation from Moscow and the National Convention and was made impossible by its alliance with the right wing of the Party in the struggle for control of the National Convention.

The Foster group had suffered a defeat in the decision of the Communist International. Its main line of policy was declared to be incorrect by the decision. While the decision criticized the minority in relation to the Labor Party policy, the main line of the minority in this respect was upheld. Facing this situation, the Foster group endeavored to divert the attention of the Party from the political issues before the Party. In place of creating the opportunity for a thoroughgoing understanding of the decision of the Communist International, which would have raised the theoretical level of our Party, it sought to divert the whole struggle into a fight over petty organizational questions and sought to divert the attention of the Party from the meaning of the decision of the Communist International on Loreism through an effort to connect the minority, which had made a consistent fight against Loreism, with the Loreist group in the Party.

These efforts of the Foster group took the form of sending to all the Party branches the "nine points" circular containing charges and defense in relation to factional actions within the Party during the absence of the delegates in Moscow. It sent to the Party a statement in regard to the Needle Trades situation in which the minority group was attacked as supporters of the Loreist elements, and a similar statement in reference to Comrade Poyntz. To all of these statements the minority group had been denied the opportunity to make a reply.

These activities of the Foster group were, to say the least, acts of bad faith in relation to the decision of the Communist International. They were efforts to divert attention from that decision and prevented the realization of the aim of the Communist International as plainly indicated in the decision, the unification of the Party leadership in a struggle against the right wing in the Party.

The election of delegates in the Party was another factor which laid the basis for a continuation of the struggle in the convention. The Foster group, as has been pointed out, previously, gained this majority in the Third National Convention through the support of the right wing of the Party. The same situation developed in relation to the elections for the Fourth Convention. It was exactly those elements which are the right wing of our Party, the Finnish Federation, the Czecho-Slovakian Federation, the Scandinavian Federation, part of the Jewish Federation, which formed the basis of the Foster group in the National Convention. In place of a unification of the leadership of the Party to fight for a correct Communist line and the Bolshevization of the Party, the Foster group followed the policy of a fight against the minority which had supported the correct policies and used the elements in the right of our Party as the basis of this struggle against the minority.

Formally, the Foster group won a majority of the delegates to the National Convention. In five districts, however, which form the greater section of the Party, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Cleveland, the minority had won a clear victory, for it claimed the districts on the basis of contests before the convention. The decision of the contested districts against the minority by the Foster group, the rejection of its proposal that in New York, Philadelphia, and Cleveland, the parity principle should be applied, was, for the minority group, a rejection of the policy of the Communist International and an indication that the

Foster group would not bring about amalgamation of the leading groups in the Party but would continue an alliance with the right wing in the Party and as leader of this right wing would continue a struggle against the minority. It was this situation, the continuation of the alignment which had caused the sectarian errors and the factional struggle of the past year, the beginning of a clear delineation of a struggle between right and left wing in the Party, which was the basis of the severe factional debate and struggle in the Convention.

The intervention of the Communist International changed this situation and eliminated the danger of a consolidated right wing leadership in our Party. This intervention took the form of a cablegram addressed to the chairman of the Parity Commission, Comrade Green, reading as follows:

Communist International decided under no circumstances should be allowed that Majority suppresses Ruthenberg Group because:

Firstly—It has finally become clear that the Ruthenberg Group is more loyal to decisions of the Communist International and stands closer to its views.

Secondly—Because it has received in most important districts, the majority or an important minority.

Thirdly—Because Foster Group employs excessively mechanical and ultra-factional methods.

Demand as minimum:

Firstly—Ruthenberg group must get not less than 40 per cent of Central Executive Committee.

Secondly—Demand as ultimatum from majority that Ruthenberg retains post of secretary.

Thirdly—Categorically insist upon Lovestone's Central Executive Committee membership.

Fourthly—Demand as ultimatum from majority refraining removals, replacements, dispersions against factional opponents.

Fifthly—Demand retention by Ruthenberg group of co-editorship on central organ.

Sixthly—Demand maximum application of parity on all executive organs of Party.

If majority does not accept these demands then declare that, in view of circumstances of elections, unclear who has real majority and that methods of majority raise danger of split and therefore Communist International proposes that now only a temporary Parity Central Executive Committee be elected with neutral chairman to call new convention after passions have died down. Those who refuse to submit will be expelled.

This cablegram resulted in a bitter struggle and division in the ranks of the Foster majority over the policy to be pursued in the face of this second decision of the Communist International. The Foster group finally decided, although the cablegram permitted them to take a majority of the Central Executive Committee, that in the face of a declaration by the Communist International that the Ruthenberg group was more loyal to the Communist International and nearer to its views, it could not take over the leadership of the Party. It proposed that a Central Executive Committee of an equal number of representatives from both groups in the convention be elected and this proposal was adopted.

At the first meeting of the Central Executive Committee, Comrade Green, the chairman of the Parity Commission, made the following declaration:

"Of course we have now a parity C. E. C., but it is not exactly a parity C. E. C. With the decision of the Communist International on the question of the groups in the American party there go parallel instructions to the C. I. representative to support that group which was the former minority. If the C. I. continues to support this policy, that will always be the case, that is, the C. I. representative will be supporting that group and therefore altho we have a nearly parity C. E. C., we have a majority and a minority in the C. E. C."

With the support of the representative of the Communist International, the majority of the leading committee of the Party was given to the Ruthenberg group. Thus again responsibility for the leadership of the Party was placed upon that group which had carried on the struggle against sectarianism and to develop our Party from a propaganda society into a Communist Party, and which during the past twenty months has carried on the struggle against the Party's again degenerating into a sectarian organization. This outcome of the National Convention is a guarantee to the Party that the struggle against sectarian errors has been finally won and that our Party will, with the support of the Communist International, go forward to new achievement in developing itself as a mass Communist Party.

The Convention Resolutions.

The resolutions adopted by the Fourth National Convention lay the foundation for such a development of the Party. In these resolutions, formulated in the Party Commission under the chairmanship of the representative of the Communist International, there is not a scintilla of sectarianism.

These convention resolutions must be studied by our whole Party, and the Party must be mobilized to transform the resolutions into actual living things in the work of the Party.

The major resolutions are those dealing with the general tasks of the Party, the Labor Party and the trade union work of the Party. The Labor Party campaign must again become a major activity of the Party. It is not only to be a propaganda campaign, but the Party must again stir into life and movement the working masses in the direction of actual organization of the Labor Party. The mobilization of the workers for a political struggle for their class interests is the first requirement of the situation of the working-class movement in the United States. If our Party can aid in stirring into life and can crystallize as an organization a movement of hundreds of thousands of workers to enter the lists to fight against the capitalist parties, then we have made the first great step forward in the development of the American working-class and at the same time toward our Party becoming a mass Communist Party.

Closely connected with the Labor Party campaign is the work in the trade unions. Our Party was able to make substantial progress in this field in the past, but it never mobilized its whole strength for the trade union work. The records show that only one-third of the Party membership are members of the trade unions. This situation must be remedied. It will be one of the first tasks of the Party to bring into the trade unions its whole membership and to mobilize it for action there. The trade unions are the greatest organized mass of workers in this country and offer the greatest possibility for Communist propaganda. Our work in the trade unions, under the slogans of the Labor Party, amalgamation, trade union unity, will create a solid foundation of Party influence among the masses.

In relation to the trade union work, the convention resolutions emphasize the part that organization of the unorganized will play in establishing Communist influence among the organized workers. Our Party must take up the task and make at least a beginning in the organization of unorganized workers. These workers will be largely the unskilled workers, most susceptible to Communist influence, and will form in the American Federation of Labor the counter-weight to the aristocracy of labor which today dominates that organization.

The program for the struggle against imperialism, for work among the farmers, work among the Negro workers, and work among women, all outline concretely the tasks of the Party in special fields which have not previously received sufficient attention and which must from now on be taken up aggressively by the Party, as part of its work of going to the masses.

Bolshevization the New Period of Development.

The Fourth Convention has not only given our Party a program for its development as a mass Communist Party, but it has taken the initiative and laid the foundation for the Bolshevization of our Party.

The resolutions outlining programs for work among the masses are, of course, an important part of the program of Bolshevization. A Bolshevik Party is a mass Party—a Party which has its roots deep among the masses and influences their struggles, leading them into ever more aggressive fights against the capitalist class and the capitalist state power. A sectarian party cannot be a Bolshevik Party. The fight against sectarianism is therefore a fight for Bolshevization. In definitely cleaning its house of all sectarianism, the Party has cleared the way for Bolshevization.

The resolution of the National Convention for the liquidation of Loreism, which means a fight against all right-wing opportunist tendencies in our Party, represents another phase of the task of Bolshevization. In expelling Lore from the Party, in its disciplinary action against Comrade Askeli, in its declaration in reference to Comrade Poyntz, the convention gave an expression of its earnestness and determination that the fight against Loreism is not a mere temporary struggle, but is to be carried on until every vestige of such tendencies is liquidated in the Party. In the attitude adopted by the new leading majority in the Jewish section convention in relation to the Loreist elements there is

further indication that there will be no compromise on this issue. The Bolshevik Party must carry on a ceaseless struggle against opportunism, and this the Party will do.

The best guarantee that sectarianism will not again gain a foothold in the Party, and also a guarantee against opportunism of the Lore type, is the raising of the theoretical level of the Party. The work of educating the membership of the Party in Marxism and Leninism therefore becomes a vital part of the work of Bolshevization. The National Convention has adopted a program for this work and the Central Executive Committee has already established an Agitprop department so that this work will be given systematic attention in the future.

The reorganization of our party on the basis of shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) is for the Party the greatest immediate transformation in the work of Bolshevization. We cannot become a Bolshevik Party as long as our Party is decentralized into eighteen language groups and exists in the form of language and territorial branches. The reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei is the basis of our becoming a mass Party.

The existing Party organization belongs to the past. It was a Party organization existing outside of the working class in place of inside as part of it. The new Party organization will create the organ for carrying out our program for work among the masses. The reorganization is the *sine qua non* without which we cannot make even the first step toward the Bolshevization of the Party. With the reorganization, a new Party will come into existence—a Party in close contact with the workers in the factories through its shop nuclei, a Party with its fractions in every trade union and benefit society and co-operative—in a word, a Party that is so deeply embedded among the workers and the organizations of the workers that there is no power which can separate it from the working masses and prevent its influence and leadership from growing powerful among these masses.

Thus, through these actions of the Fourth Convention, there has opened the new phase of Party development, the period of Bolshevization. Our Party stands before tremendous tasks and great opportunities. In order that these tasks may be accomplished and to take advantage of the opportunities before it, the Party must be united for the work it has on hand.

The Party has a correct program of activity. It has a leadership which has the stamp of approval of the Communist International as being the group closest to the views of the Communist International in our Party. We must now through actual work, through actual struggle, make our program a reality. The immediate future requires of every member of the Party greater sacrifice, greater service to the Party than ever before in its history. We have achieved the correct program, our Party leadership has shown in the past that it can put our program into action. Now the Party must work.

EXHIBIT No. 59

[Source: Excerpt from Leninism, by Joseph Stalin, published by International Publishers, New York: 1928. Pages 29-51]

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5. THE PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Hitherto I have been writing about the dictatorship of the proletariat from the standpoint of its historical necessity; from the standpoint of its nature as a class manifestation; from the standpoint of its political characteristics; and, lastly, from the standpoint of its destructive and creative tasks, which persist throughout an entire historical epoch known as the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Now we have to consider the dictatorship of the proletariat from the standpoint of its structure; its "mechanism"; the function and the importance of the "belts," the "levers," and the "guiding force," which comprise in their totality "the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Lenin), and with the aid of which the daily work of the dictatorship of the proletariat is carried on.

What are these "belts" or "levers" in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat? What is the "guiding force"? Why are they needed?

The levers and the belts are the mass organisations of the proletariat without whose aid the dictatorship cannot be realised in practice.

The guiding force is that of the advanced section of the proletariat, the workers' vanguard, which constitutes the veritable leader of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat needs these belts, these levers, and this guiding force, because without them it would, in its struggle for victory, be like a weaponless army in face of organised and armed capital. It needs these organisations, because without them it would inevitably be defeated in the fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the consolidation of its own power, for the upbuilding of socialism. The systematic help of these organisations and of the guiding force of the workers' vanguard is indispensable, because otherwise the dictatorship of the proletariat could not be durable or steadfast.

What are these organisations?

First of all there are the *trade unions*, with their national and local ramifications in the form of productive, educational, cultural, and other organisations. In these, the workers of all trades and industries are united. They are not Party organisations. Our trade unions can be regarded as the general organisation of the working class now holding power in Soviet Russia. They constitute a school of communism. From them are drawn the persons best fitted to occupy the leading positions in all branches of administration. They form the link between the more advanced and the comparatively backward sections of the working class, for in them the masses of the workers are united with the vanguard.

Secondly we have the *soviets* with their manifold national and local ramifications, taking the form of administrative, industrial, military, cultural, and other State organisations, together with a multitude of spontaneous mass groupings of the workers in the bodies which surround these organisations and link them up with the general population. The soviets are the mass organisations of all those who labour in town and country. They are not Party organisations, but are the direct expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All kinds of measures for the strengthening of the dictatorship and for the upbuilding of socialism are carried out by means of the soviets. Through them, the political guidance of the peasantry by the proletariat is effected. The soviets unite the labouring masses with the proletarian vanguard.

Thirdly we have *cooperatives* of all kinds, with their multiple ramifications. These, too, are non-Party organisations, being mass organisations in which the workers are united, primarily as consumers, but also, at a later stage, as producers (agricultural cooperatives). The cooperatives play a specially important part after the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the period of widespread construction. They form a link between the proletarian vanguard and the peasant masses, and provide a means whereby the latter can be induced to share in the work of socialist construction.

Fourthly there is the *League of Youth*. This is a mass organisation of the young workers and peasants, not a Party organisation, but in close touch with the Party. Its work is to help the Party in training the younger generation in a socialist spirit. It provides young reserves for all the other mass organisations of the proletariat in every branch of administration. The League of Youth acquires peculiar importance after the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the period when widespread cultural and educational work is incumbent upon the proletariat.

Lastly we come to the *Party* of the proletariat, the proletarian vanguard. Its strength lies in the fact that it attracts to its ranks the best elements of all the mass organisations of the proletariat. Its function is to *unify* the work of all the mass organisations of the proletariat, without exception, and to *guide* their activities toward a single end, that of the liberation of the proletariat. Unification and guidance are absolutely essential. There must be unity in the proletarian struggle; the proletarian masses must be guided in their fight for power and for the upbuilding of socialism; and only the proletarian vanguard, only the Party of the proletariat, is competent to unify and guide the work of the mass organisations of the proletariat. Nothing but the Party of the proletariat, nothing but the Communist Party, is able to act as universal leader in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Why is this? Let me quote from my pamphlet *Foundations of Leninism*:

First of all, because the Party is the rallying-point for the best elements of the working class, of those who are in touch with the non-Party proletarian organisations, and are often leaders in these. In the

second place, because the Party, as rallying-point for the best elements of the working class, forms the best training school for leaders competent to guide every kind of working-class organisation. Thirdly, because the Party, as the best training school for working-class leaders, is the only organisation competent, in virtue of its experience and authority, to centralise the leadership of the proletarian struggle, and thus to transform all non-Party working-class organisations into accessory organs and connecting belts linking up the Party with the working class as a whole.

The Party is the fundamental guiding force within the system of the dictatorship. As Lenin puts it, the Party is the supreme form of class organisation of the proletariat.

To sum up: the *trade unions*, as mass organisations of the proletariat, linking the Party with the working class as a whole, especially in the industrial field; the *soviets*, as mass organisations of all who labour, linking the Party with these latter, especially in the political field; the *cooperatives* as mass organisations, chiefly of the peasants, linking the Party with the peasant masses, especially in the economic field and as concerns peasant participation in the work of socialist construction; the *League of Youth*, as a mass organisation of the young worker and peasants, whose function it is to help the proletarian vanguard in the socialist education of the rising generation and in the formation of young reserves; finally, the *Party*, as the essential guiding force within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and called upon to lead all the before-mentioned mass organisations—here we have, in broad outline, a picture of the “mechanism” of the dictatorship, a picture of the “system of the dictatorship of the proletariat”.

Without the Party as the essential guiding force, there cannot be a lasting and firmly consolidated dictatorship of the proletariat.

To quote Lenin:

We thus have a supple, broadly based, and extremely powerful proletarian apparatus. In point of form, considered as a whole, it is not communist; but by means of it the Party is closely linked to the *class* and to the *masses*; and, thanks to it, under the leadership of the Party, a *class dictatorship* is realised. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 139.)

Of course this does not mean that the Party can or should become a substitute for the trade unions, the soviets, and the other mass organisations. The Party effectively realises the dictatorship of the proletariat. It does this, however, not directly, but with the help of the trade unions, and through the instrumentality of the soviets and their ramifications. Without these “belts”, a stable dictatorship would be impossible.

Lenin writes:

The dictatorship cannot be effectively realised without “belts” to transmit power from the vanguard to the mass of the advanced class, and from this to the mass of those who labour. . . . The Party comprises the proletarian vanguard, and this vanguard realises the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the absence of such a basis to work upon as the trade unions constitute, the dictatorship could not become effective, the functions of the State could not be fulfilled. They have to be fulfilled *through the instrumentality of a series of special institutions which are likewise of a new type, through the instrumentality of*¹ the Soviet apparatus. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xviii., part I., pp. 8-9.)

Here is a fact which may be considered the supreme expression of the guiding function of our Party. In the Soviet Union, in the land where the dictatorship of the proletariat is in force, no important political or organisational problem is ever decided by our soviets and other mass organisations without directives from the Party. *In this sense* we may say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is, *substantially*, the “dictatorship” of its vanguard, the “dictatorship” of its Party, as the force which guides the proletariat. Consider what Lenin said in reference to this matter at the Second Congress of the Communist International:

Tanner tells us that he is in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but he does not understand the term in precisely the same sense as we do. He says that by the dictatorship of the proletariat we mean, *substantially*,¹

¹ *Italicised by Stalin.*

the dictatorship of its organised and class-conscious minority. In actual fact, under capitalism, when the working masses are subject to unceasing exploitation and cannot develop their human faculties, one of the main characteristics of working-class political parties is that such parties can only enrol a minority of the working class. The reason is that, under capitalism, effectively class-conscious workers form a minority of the workers as a whole. We have, therefore, to admit that the broad masses of the workers must be led and guided by the class-conscious minority. When Comrade Tanner says that he is opposed to the Party, and in the same breath declares that a minority of the best organized and most revolutionary workers must show the way to the proletariat as a whole, I answer that really there is no difference between our views. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 270.)

Does this mean that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the guiding function of the Party (the "dictatorship" of the Party) are *one and the same thing*, that the latter can be substituted for the former without producing any change? Of course it means nothing of the kind. Comrade Sorin declares that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of our Party" (*What Lenin teaches about the Party*, p. 95). Obviously, to say that is to identify the "dictatorship of the Party" with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Can this be admitted while remaining within the confines of Leninism? No, for the following reasons:

1. In his speech to the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin does not identify the guiding role of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat. He says that the broad masses of the workers must be led and guided by the class-conscious minority—by the Party. He says that, *in this sense*, by the dictatorship of the proletariat we mean, *substantially*, the dictatorship of its organised and class-conscious minority. When he uses the word "substantially", he implies that he does not mean "wholly". We often say that the national problem is, substantially, a peasant problem. This is perfectly true. But when we say it we do not mean that the national question covers exactly the same ground as the peasant question; that the peasant question is of precisely the same scope as the national question, that the peasant question and the national question are one and the same thing. There is no need to prove that the scope of the national question is much wider than that of the peasant question, that the content of the former is much richer than that of the latter. There is an analogous relationship between the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the concept of the guiding function of the Party. Even though the Party carries out the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that, in this sense, the dictatorship of the proletariat is *substantially* a "dictatorship" of the Party of the proletariat, that does not signify that "the dictatorship of the Party" (the guiding function of the Party) is *identical* with the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the former is *coextensive* with the latter. There is no need to prove that the scope of the dictatorship of the proletariat is much wider than that of the guiding function of the Party, that the content of the former concept is much richer than that of the latter. The Party carries out the dictatorship of the proletariat; but what it carries out is the dictatorship of the *proletariat*, and not the dictatorship of something else. Any one who identifies the guiding function of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat, is substituting the "dictatorship" of the Party for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. No important decision is ever arrived at by the mass organisations of the proletariat without directives from the Party. This is perfectly true. But does it mean that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the guiding function of the Party *and nothing more*? Does it mean that the issuing of directives by the Party is one and the same thing as the dictatorship of the proletariat? Of course it does not mean this. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the issuing of directives by the Party, plus the carrying out of these directives into effect on the part of the mass organisations of the proletariat, plus their being made actual by the population at large. Obviously, we are faced here with a whole series of transitions and graduations which comprise important elements of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Between the directives of the Party and their being made actual, come the will and the activities of those who carry out these directives, the will and the activities of the class, its willingness (or unwillingness) to act in accordance with the directives, its capacity (or incapacity) for acting upon them, its capacity (or incapacity) for realising them as circumstances may demand. It is hardly necessary to prove that the Party, when it

has shouldered the burden of leadership, has to take into account the wills, the states of mind, the degrees of class consciousness, of those who are being led—of the members of the class as a whole. Consequently, any one who identifies the guiding function of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat, is substituting the directives of the Party for the will and the activities of the class.

3. "The dictatorship of the proletariat", says Lenin, "is the class struggle of the proletariat after its victorious seizure of political power". (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi., p. 240.) How can this class struggle find expression? It may take the form of a series of armed activities on the part of the proletariat designed to resist the onslaughts of the bourgeoisie which has been overthrown, or to resist the intervention of a foreign bourgeoisie. If the power of the proletariat is not yet fully established, it may take the form of civil war. After that power has been consolidated, it may take the form of widespread organisational and constructive work on the part of the proletariat, with the enlistment of the masses in these activities. In all cases alike, the "personality" at work is the proletariat *as a class*. Never has the Party, simply as a Party, been able to undertake all these activities solely in virtue of its own strength, and without the support of the class. Ordinarily the Party does no more than lead them, and it can lead them only in so far as it has the support of the class. For the Party is not the same thing as the class, and cannot replace the class. The Party, however important it may be, however indispensable its guiding function, is still nothing more than a *part* of the class. Consequently, any one who identifies the guiding function of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat, is substituting the Party for the class.

4. The Party effectively realises the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin writes: "The Party is the directly managing vanguard of the proletariat; it is the leader". This is the sense in which the Party wields power, in which the Party governs the country. But that does not mean that the Party realises the dictatorship of the proletariat outside the limits of the State authority; that the Party governs the country independently of the soviets, for it governs through the soviets. But this, again, does not mean that the Party can be identified with the soviets, or that it can be identified with the State authority. The Party is the substantial wielder of authority, but it cannot be identified with the State authority. Lenin writes: "Since we are the ruling Party, we cannot but amalgamate the chiefs of the soviets with the chiefs of the Party; in Soviet Russia they are thus amalgamated, and will remain so". (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xviii., part I, p. 112). This is perfectly correct. But Lenin does not mean that our Soviet institutions as a whole (such as the army, the transport service, the economic institutions, etc.) are Party institutions; he does not mean that the Party can take the place of the soviets and their ramifications, or that the Party can be identified with the State authority. Lenin says again and again that "the Soviet system is the dictatorship of the proletariat" and that the Soviet power is the dictatorship of the proletariat. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi., pp. 44-46). Nowhere does he say that the Party is the State authority, or that the soviets and the Party are one and the same. The Party, with its membership of a few hundred thousand, guides the soviets both nationally and locally, the soviets and their ramifications, comprising several million persons, some of whom are Party members but the majority of whom are not; it neither can nor ought to take the place of the soviets. That is why Lenin writes: "The dictatorship is realised by the proletariat organised in the soviets, and the proletariat itself is guided by the Communist Party of the bolsheviks"; why he tells us that "all the work of the Party is carried out *through*¹ the soviets, which unite the labouring masses without distinction of occupation" (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., pp. 138-140); and why he declares that the dictatorship "must be realised * * * *through*¹ the Soviet apparatus". (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xviii., part I, p. 8.) Consequently, any one who identifies the guiding function of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat, is substituting the soviets, the State authority, for the Party.

5. The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a political concept, a State concept. The dictatorship of the proletariat necessarily involves the idea of force. Without force there can be no dictatorship in the strict sense of the term. Lenin defines the dictatorship of the proletariat as "power based directly on force". (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 124.) Any one, therefore, who talks as if the dictatorship of the Party *were exercised over the proletarian class*,

¹ Italicised by Stalin.

and identifies *this* dictatorship with the dictatorship of the proletariat, is in effect saying that in relation to its own class the Party must be, not only guide and teacher, but also in some sort a State authority which rules that class by force. Consequently, any one who identifies the "dictatorship of the Party" with the dictatorship of the proletariat is tacitly assuming that the authority of the Party can be grounded on force—which is absurd, and utterly incompatible with Leninism. The authority of the Party is maintained by the confidence of the working class. The confidence of the working class is not to be won by force; for the use of force would kill confidence. It can only be won if Party theory is sound, if Party policy is correct, if the Party is devoted to the cause of the working class, if the Party is closely linked with the masses of the working class, and if the Party is ready and able to *convince* the masses that its slogans are the right ones.

What follows from all these considerations?

Here we have the deductions:

1. When Lenin speaks of a dictatorship of the Party, he does not use the word dictatorship in its literal meaning of "power based directly on force", but uses it figuratively, to mean leadership.

2. Any one who identifies leadership by the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat distorts Lenin's meaning, wrongly attributing to the Party the use of force in relation to the working class as a whole.

3. Any one who attributes to the Party a non-existent use of force in relation to the working class, violates the elementary principles of the proper mutual relationships between the workers' vanguard and the working class as a whole, between the Party and the proletariat.

This brings us to the question of the relationships between the Party and the working class, between those in the working class who are and those who are not members of the Party.

Lenin defines these relationships as "mutual confidence between the workers' vanguard and the working masses". (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xviii., part I, p. 135.)

What does this mean?

First of all, that the Party must have a good ear for the voice of the masses, must pay close attention to their revolutionary instinct, must study the actualities of their struggle, must carefully enquire whether their policy is sound—and must, therefore, be ready, not only to teach the masses, but also to learn from them.

This means, in the second place, that the Party must from day to day win the confidence of the proletarian masses; that, by its policy and its activities, it must secure the support of the masses; that it must not order but persuade, helping the masses to become aware by their own experience that the Party policy is right; that it must, therefore, be the guide, the leader, the teacher of the proletariat.

To violate these conditions is to violate the proper mutual relationships between the vanguard and the class as a whole, to undermine the "mutual confidence", to imperil discipline both within the class and within the Party.

Lenin writes:

Beyond question, almost every one knows by this time that the bolsheviks would not have been able to hold power for two and a half years, nor even for two and a half months, had there not been the strictest possible discipline, a truly iron discipline, within the Party; nor would they have been able to hold power *without the whole-hearted support of the entire mass of the working class,*¹ or at any rate the full support of all the members of the working class who are class-conscious, sincere, devoted, influential, and competent to lead those who are comparatively backward or attract them into the forward movement. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 117.)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a hard-fought fight against the forces and traditions of the old society: a fight that is both bloody and unbloody, both violent and passive, both military and economic, both educational and administrative. The power of habit, ingrained in millions and tens of millions, is a terrible power. Without the Party, a party of iron which has been tempered in the struggle, a party *that enjoys the confidence of all the straight-forward members of the working class,*¹ a party able to understand and to

¹ Italicised by Stalin.

influence the psychology of the masses, success in such a struggle would be impossible. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 136.)

But how is the Party to win the confidence and gain the support of the class? The iron discipline necessary for the dictatorship of the proletariat—how is it fashioned, upon what soil does it grow?

Here is what Lenin has to say about the matter:

How is discipline maintained within the revolutionary Party of the proletariat? What controls this discipline, and what strengthens it? First of all, there is the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, its devotion to the revolution, its self-control, its self-sacrifice, its heroism. Secondly, there is the capacity of the proletarian vanguard for linking itself with, for keeping in close touch with, for to some extent *amalgamating with, the broad masses of those who labour,*¹ primarily with the proletarian masses, *but also with the non-proletarianised masses of those who labour.*¹ Thirdly, we have the soundness of the vanguard's political leadership, the soundness of its political strategy and tactic—with the proviso that the broad masses must become convinced *by their own experience*¹ that the leadership, the strategy, and the tactic are sound. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, there is no possibility of achieving the discipline which is indispensable for a revolutionary party that shall be able to become the Party of the most advanced class, the Party whose task it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to transform the whole of society. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, the attempts to establish such a discipline will never get beyond empty talk and unmeaning gestures—bot air. On the other hand, these conditions cannot be fulfilled betwixt night and morning. Much labour and pains, hard-won experience, will be required. Their fulfilment must be guided by accurate revolutionary theory, which, however, must never harden into dogma, but must always be formulated in close touch with the practical activity of the masses and the daily work of the revolutionary movement. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., pp. 118–119.)

Again:

In order to win the victory over capitalism there must be a proper relationship between the leading party, the Communist Party, the revolutionary class, the proletariat, on the one hand, and the mass, the totality of those who labour and are exploited, on the other. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the revolutionary class, enrolling as members all the best elements of that class, consisting of fully class-conscious and devoted communists who have been enlightened and steeled by their experience in the stubborn revolutionary struggle, inseparably connected with the whole life of the working class and through this class linked up with the wider mass of the exploited, enjoying the *full confidence*¹ of one and all of these—only the Communist Party, if it fulfils all the before-mentioned conditions, is competent to lead the proletariat in the last, the ruthless, the decisive campaign against the united forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a party is the proletariat able to develop the full power of its revolutionary onslaught, to render harmless the inevitable apathy (and sometimes the active hostility) of the small minority of the workers, of the working-class aristocracy which has been corrupted by capitalism, of the old leaders in the trade unions and the cooperatives, etc. Only under the leadership of such a party can the proletariat develop all its strength, which, in virtue of the economic structure of capitalist society, is incomparably greater than its numerical ratio to the rest of the population. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 232.)

From the foregoing considerations it follows that:

1. The authority of the Party, and the iron discipline of the working class indispensable to the dictatorship of the proletariat, are based, not upon fear nor upon the concession of "unrestricted" rights to the Party, but upon the confidence of the working class in the Party and upon the support of the Party by the working class.

2. The Party does not win the confidence of the working class in the twinkling of an eye, or by the use of force against the working class. Trust

¹ Italicised by Stalin.

is gradually inspired by the prolonged work of the Party among the masses; thanks to the soundness of Party policy; because the Party is able to convince the masses by their own experience that its policy is sound, thus ensuring the support of the working class and inducing the broad masses of the workers to follow its lead.

3. The Party does not and cannot effectively lead unless its policy is sound, and strengthened by experience in the working-class struggle; it does not and cannot effectively lead unless it has the full confidence of the working class.

4. If the Party enjoys the confidence of the working class and if its leadership is effective, the Party and its leadership cannot be contraposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a firmly established dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible unless the Party leads the working class (the "dictatorship" of the Party) and enjoys the confidence of the working class.

Unless these conditions are fulfilled, "the authority of the Party" and "the iron discipline of the working class" are but empty phrases, are but an idle boast.

There is no justification for contraposing the dictatorship of the proletariat to the leadership (the "dictatorship") of the Party. The contraposition is inadmissible for the reason that the Party leadership is the most important element in the dictatorship of the proletariat—if we are thinking of a firmly established and effective dictatorship, and not of such a dictatorship as that of the Commune of Paris, which was neither firmly established nor effective. The contraposition is inadmissible because the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party leadership are, as it were, complementary parts of one piece of work, and act together along the same line.

Lenin writes:

Any one who states the question in this way, speaking of the dictatorship of the Party *or* the dictatorship of the class, speaking of dictatorship of the leaders and dictatorship of the masses as *alternatives*, shows by this very formulation that his mind is incredibly and hopelessly confused. . . . Every one knows that the masses are split up into classes; . . . that (in modern civilised countries, at least) classes are usually led by political parties; that these parties are, as a rule, managed by more or less stable groupings of the most authoritative, influential, and experienced persons among their members, elected to responsible posts and spoken of as leaders. . . . To imply that there is, in general, a contraposition between the dictatorship of the masses and the dictatorship of the leaders is utterly absurd. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., pp. 133-134.)

The statement is perfectly correct, but it presupposes the existence of sound relationships between the vanguard and the working masses, between the Party and the class. It assumes that the relationship between the vanguard and the class are, so to say, normal; that they are inspired by mutual confidence. But what will happen if the relationship between the vanguard and the class is disturbed, if the mutual confidence which ought to subsist is shaken or destroyed? Suppose that in one way or another the Party begins to set itself up against the class, thus undermining the foundations of proper relationships between the two, the foundations of mutual confidence! Can such a thing happen? Certainly it can happen, if the Party begins to base its authority among the masses, not upon its work, not upon the trust it inspires, but upon its "unrestricted" rights; if the Party is manifestly wrong in its policy, and yet will not admit and rectify its errors; or if the policy of the Party, though sound in the main, is one which the masses are not yet ready to adopt, and the Party will not or cannot wait until the masses have had a chance of learning by their own experience that the Party policy is right. The history of our Party presents a number of instances of the kind. Various groupings and fractions of the Party have failed and have broken up because they infringed one of the three conditions just mentioned—or sometimes infringed them all.

No one, therefore, is entitled to speak of the "dictatorship" (the leadership) of the Party as equivalent to the dictatorship of the proletariat unless he has in mind one of the three following cases:

1. The case in which, when we speak of the dictatorship which the Party exercises over the working class, we mean what Lenin meant when he used the phrase, not a dictatorship in the strict sense of the term ("power based directly on force"), but the guiding function of the party exercised without the use of force directed against the class as a whole—against its majority.

2. The case in which the Party is really qualified to act as leader of the class, the implication being that the Party policy is sound, and in conformity with the interests of the class.

3. The case in which the class, the majority of the class, accepts the Party policy, makes that policy its own, and, being convinced by the daily work of the Party that the policy is sound, has confidence in the Party and supports it.

Failure to satisfy these conditions will inevitably lead to a conflict between the Party and the class.

Can the Party impose its leadership on the class by force? No, it cannot. Or, if such a thing were done, the leadership would not last long. If the Party is to remain the Party of the proletariat, it must know that, above all, it is the *guide*, the *leader*, the *teacher* of the working class. We must not forget what Lenin said about this matter in *The State and Revolution*:

By educating the workers' party, Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat, thus fitting it to seize power and to lead the whole people towards socialism, to carry on and to organise the new order, to become the *teacher*, the *guide*, the *leader*¹ of all who labour and are exploited—their teacher, guide, and leader in the work of organising their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xiv., part II., p. 317.)

But can we look upon the Party as the effective leader of the working class if the Party policy is wrong, if its policy conflicts with working-class interests? Of course not! In such circumstances, the Party, if it is to remain the leader, must reconsider its policy, must rectify its policy, must acknowledge its mistakes and amend them. Consider, for instance, the compulsory levies of grain. At a certain period in the history of our Party it became obvious that the masses of workers and peasants disapproved of these levies. Thereupon the Party openly and honestly revised its policy, and the levies were abolished. At the Tenth Party Congress, Lenin discussed this question of the abolition of the forced levies, and that of the introduction of the New Economic Policy. Here is an extract from his speech:

We must not try to hush up anything. We must frankly admit that the peasants are discontented with the system we have established, and that they will not put up with it any longer. This is indisputable. They have expressed their wishes very plainly indeed. We are confronted with the wishes of the great mass of the labouring population. Their wishes have to be taken into account, and, as politicians, we are realists enough to say: "*Let us reconsider the question.*"¹ (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xviii., part I., p. 138.)

Now let us contemplate another possibility. Let us suppose that, owing to the political backwardness of the working class, the Party policy (though right in the main) does not inspire general confidence or command general support; let us suppose that the Party has not yet been able to convince the working class that its policy is sound, the reason being that (as the phrase runs) the time is not yet ripe. In such a case, is the Party to take a decided initiative? Should the Party try to give a strong trend to the actions of the masses? No, certainly not! In such cases the Party, if it is to lead effectively, must know how to wait until it has convinced the masses that its policy is sound, must help the masses to learn by their own experience.

Lenin writes:

If the revolutionary Party is not supported by a majority in the advanced sections of the revolutionary classes and throughout the country, then there can be no question of a rising. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xiv., part II., p. 255.)

Again:

No revolution is possible without a change of views in the majority of the working class. Such a change of views is brought about, in the masses, by political experience. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 172.)

Once more:

The proletarian vanguard has been won over to our ideas. That is the main thing. Until so much has been achieved, we cannot take even the first

¹ Italicised by Stalin.

step towards victory. But from this first step it is still a long way to the victory. The vanguard cannot conquer unaided. It would be worse than a blunder, it would be a crime, to send the vanguard into the fighting line before the class as a whole (the broad mass) is ready to support it, or at least ready to show benevolent neutrality and fully determined not to go over to the enemy. But propaganda and agitation alone will not suffice to ensure that the class as a whole, the broad masses of those who labour and are exploited by capitalism, are to be depended on. For this the masses must have learned by their own political experience. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 179.)

We know that the Party worked along this line from the days when Lenin wrote his April theses down to the time of the October revolution. The armed rising of October (November) 1917 was successful for the very reason that Lenin's teaching had gone home.

Such are the fundamental characteristics of a proper mutual relationship between the vanguard and the class as a whole.

What does *leadership* mean when the Party policy is sound and when the relationships between the vanguard and the class as a whole are all that can be wished?

In such circumstances, leadership means: ability to convince the masses that the Party policy is right; ability to issue and to act upon slogans that will bring the masses nearer to the Party standpoint, and will make it easier for them (as the outcome of their own experience) to realise the soundness of the Party policy; ability to raise the masses to the Party level, and thus to ensure their cooperation at the decisive hour.

Thus the method of persuasion must be the chief method employed by the Party in its leadership of the class.

Lenin writes:

If in Russia to-day, after two and a half years of unexampled success in the fight against the Russian bourgeoisie and the Entente capitalists, we were to make the "recognition of the dictatorship" a condition of membership of the trade unions, we should commit a gross blunder, should forfeit our influence over the masses, should play into the hands of the mensheviks. For the essential task of the communists is to *convince* the backward members of their class, to work *among* them, and *not to set themselves apart* by artificial and childishly "left-wing" slogans. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., p. 144.)

Of course this does not mean that the Party must convince all the workers without exception, and must not till then take any action. It means nothing of the sort. What it means is that before entering upon decisive political activities the Party must, by prolonged revolutionary work, make sure of the support of the great majority of the working masses, or at least of their benevolent neutrality. Otherwise there would be absolutely no meaning in Lenin's contention that a victorious revolution is impossible unless the Party has first won over the majority of the working class.

What is to be done if the minority refuses to submit to the will of the majority? When the Party enjoys the confidence of the majority, may it and must it force the minority to comply? Yes, it may and it must. The fundamental way in which the Party acts upon the masses is by persuasion; it is by *persuading* the majority that the leadership is safeguarded. This however does not exclude compulsion. On the contrary, it presupposes the use of compulsion when compulsion is supported by the confidence of the majority of the working class, and when the Party does not apply it to the minority until the majority has been won over. In this connexion let us recall the discussions that went on in our Party during the time when the trade-union problem was under consideration. What was the error of the opposition, of the Central Committee of the Transport Workers' Union? Did that error consist simply and solely in this, that the use of force was contemplated? Not at all! The mistake was that the opposition contemplated the use of force in spite of the fact that it was unable to convince the majority that its views were sound, in spite of the fact that it had forfeited the confidence of the majority; the mistake was that in these circumstances the opposition wanted "to make a clean sweep" of persons who enjoyed the confidence of the majority.

Here is what Lenin said at the Tenth Congress of the Party, in his speech on the trade-union question:

To restore mutual confidence between the workers' vanguard and the working masses, it was necessary that the Central Committee of the Transport

Workers' Union, made having a blunder, * * * should correct its error. When people who have made a mistake try to defend it, the political situation grows dangerous. Unless the utmost possible had been done in the democratic direction in order to carry into effect the views expressed here by Kutuzoff, there would have been a political explosion. *We must convince first, and keep force in reserve. At any cost, we must convince first, and not use force till afterwards.*¹ In this case we did not succeed in convincing the broad masses, and we therefore impaired the relationships between the vanguard and the masses. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xviii., part I., p. 135.)

Lenin writes to the same effect in his pamphlet *Concerning the Trade Unions*:

We have applied force rightly and successfully in those cases in which we have paved the way for it by persuasion. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xviii., part I., p. 19.)

This is perfectly correct, for on no other supposition is leadership possible. In no other way can the unity of the Party or the unity of the working class as a whole (as the case may be) be safeguarded. Otherwise there will be disunion, disarray, in the ranks of the workers.

Such are the fundamental characteristics of correct Party leadership.

Any other conception of leadership may be syndicalism, anarchism, bureaucracy, or what you will; it is certainly not bolshevism, certainly not Leninism.

If there are sound relationships between the Party and the working class, between the vanguard and the working masses, then there can be no ground for contraposing the leadership (the "dictatorship") of the Party to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It follows from this that there is no warrant for identifying the Party with the working class, or the leadership ("dictatorship") of the Party with the dictatorship of the working class. From the circumstance that the "dictatorship" of the Party must not be contraposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Sorin draws the erroneous conclusion that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of our Party". But Lenin does not merely tell us that to contrapose the "dictatorship" of the Party to the dictatorship of the proletariat is inadmissible; in the same connexion he declares that we must not contrapose the "dictatorship of the masses" to the "dictatorship of the leaders". Are we, for this reason, to identify the dictatorship of the leaders with the dictatorship of the proletariat? If we took that road, we might declare that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of our leaders. Such is the absurdity to which we are led if we set out from an identification of the "dictatorship" of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What are Comrade Zinovieff's views on this subject?

In reality, Comrade Zinovieff holds that the "dictatorship" of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat are one and the same thing. The only difference between him and Comrade Sorin is that Comrade Sorin says plainly what he means, whereas Comrade Zinovieff "wriggles." Read, for instance, what Comrade Zinovieff writes in his *Leninism*:

What is the prevailing system in the U. S. S. R. when considered from the class standpoint? It is the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is the mainspring of power in the U. S. S. R.? Who incorporates the power of the working class? The Communist Party! In this sense, *the dictatorship of the Party prevails.*¹ What is the legalised form of power in the U. S. S. R.? What is the new type of State system brought into being by the October revolution? The Soviet system. There is no contradiction between one and the other. (*Leninism*, pp. 370-371.)

Certainly there is no contradiction between the one and the other—provided always that when we speak of a dictatorship exercised by the Party over the working class we mean the leadership of the Party. But how is it possible, for that reason, to identify the dictatorship of the proletariat with the "dictatorship" of the Party, or to identify the Soviet system with the "dictatorship" of the Party? Lenin identified the Soviet system with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and he was right to do so, for the soviets, *our* soviets, are organisations in which the masses of those who labour are united round the proletariat under the leadership of the Party. But when, where, and in which of

¹ Italics by Stalin

his writings, has Lenin identified the "dictatorship" of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the "dictatorship" of the Party with the Soviet system, in such a way as that in which Comrade Zinovieff is now identifying them? There is no contradiction between the leadership ("dictatorship") of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, or between the guiding function ("dictatorship") of the leaders and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But should we, for that reason, declare that our country is the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *that is to say* the country of the dictatorship of the Party, *that is to say* the country of the dictatorship of the leaders? This is the absurdity to which we are led by the "principle" of the identity of the "dictatorship" of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "principle" surreptitiously and timidly maintained by Comrade Zinovieff.

In Lenin's numerous works there are, to the best of my knowledge and belief, only five passages in which he touches (and lightly) upon the question of the dictatorship of the Party.

The first of these is one directed against the social revolutionaries and the mensheviks. Here he writes:

When they complain that we have established a dictatorship of one party, and, as you have heard, propose a united socialist front, we reply: "Yes, the dictatorship of one party! We stand by this, and have no intention of giving it up, for it is the Party which, in the course of decades, has fought for and won the position of vanguard to all the factory and industrial proletariat. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi., p. 296.)

The second allusion is in the *Letter to the Workers and Peasants about the Defeat of Kolchak*. He writes:

Some people (especially the mensheviks and the social revolutionaries—even those among them who claim to belong to the left wing) try to frighten the peasants with the bogey of the "dictatorship of one party", the Party of Communist Bolsheviks. The Kolchak affair has taught the peasants not to be terrified by this spectre. Either the dictatorship of the ground landlords and the capitalists (the Iron Heel), or else the dictatorship of the working class. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi., p. 306.)

The third passage is in the answer to Tanner at the Second Congress of the Communist International. I quoted it on p. 33.

The fourth reference comprises several allusions made in *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. The passage in question was quoted by me on p. 41. See also the quotations from the same booklet on pp. 38-40.

The fifth and last occasion on which Lenin refers to this matter is in his draft scheme of the dictatorship of the proletariat where "Dictatorship of One Party" is used as a sub-title. (*Choice Works of Lenin*, Russian edition, vol. iii., p. 497.)

The reader should note that in two of these passages, the second and the fifth, Lenin has the words "dictatorship of one party" in quotation marks, thus emphasizing his view that the phrase lacks precision and is used metaphorically.

I must also point out that in *every one* of these instances when Lenin speaks of the "dictatorship of the Party" *as exercised over the working class*, he obviously does not mean dictatorship in the strict sense of the term ("power based directly on force"); he means nothing more than Party leadership.

Noteworthy is the fact that in *none* of the works, major or minor, where Lenin discusses or merely alludes to the dictatorship of the proletariat and speaks of the function of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does he imply in any way whatever that (as Sorin puts it) "the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of our Party". On the contrary, every page, every line, of these works is a strong protest against any such formulation. (See *The State and Revolution*, *The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade*, *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, etc.)

Even more noteworthy is the fact that in the theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International concerning the function of a political party (theses worked out under Lenin's supervision, often quoted in his speeches, and regarded by him as a masterly formulation of the tasks of our Party) there is not a word, literally not one word, about Party dictatorship.

What does all this mean?

It means that:

1. Lenin did not regard the formula "the dictatorship of the Party" as objectionable; he did not look upon it as accurate. That was why he rarely used the phrase, and sometimes put it in quotation marks.

2. On the few occasions when Lenin found it necessary, for controversial reasons, to speak of the dictatorship of the Party, he usually explained that when he referred to the dictatorship of the Party as exercised over the working class he was to be understood as meaning Party leadership.

3. Whenever Lenin thought it necessary to give a scientific definition of the function of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he spoke of Party leadership and nothing else (innumerable instances!).

4. That was why, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, when a resolution of fundamental importance concerning the function of the Party was adopted, Lenin never dreamed of including in it the formula of "the dictatorship of the Party."

5. Those who identify or try to identify the "dictatorship" of the Party or the "dictatorship of the leaders" with the dictatorship of the proletariat, are out of touch with Leninism, and are politically blind, for these comrades infringe the right relationships between the vanguard and the class.

It is hardly necessary to say that the phrase "dictatorship of the Party," when used without the before-mentioned qualifications, may involve us in serious dangers and give rise to a number of mistakes in our practical political work. When employed without qualification, the expression implies that we are saying:

1. *To the non-Party masses*: "Don't dare to contradict, or to discuss matters; the party is supreme; the dictatorship of the Party has been established."

2. *To the members of the Party*: "Act more resolutely; tighten up the screw; pay no heed to what the non-Party masses say; the dictatorship of the Party is in force."

3. *To the Party leaders*: "You can enjoy the luxury of self-satisfaction; you can have a touch of swelled head if you like; a Party dictatorship has been set up, and of course that really means the dictatorship of the leaders."

The present moment is one at which it is more than ever incumbent on us to keep these dangers well in mind, at a time when the political activity of the masses is increasing. Now, in especial, the Party must be ready to pay close attention to the voice of the masses; must have a fine ear for their demands; must display extreme caution and show peculiar elasticity in its policy. Now, more than ever, will the Party leadership of the masses be imperilled if communists should suffer from swelled head.

Let us never forget Lenin's golden words at the Eleventh Party Congress:

Among the masses of the people, we communists are but drops in the ocean, and we cannot rule unless we give accurate expression to the folk consciousness. Otherwise the Communist Party will not be able to lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not be able to lead the masses, and the whole machine will fall to pieces. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xviii., part II., p. 55.)

Give accurate expression to the folk consciousness! Only on condition that it does this, can the Party have the honour of being the essential guiding force in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

EXHIBIT No. 60

[Source: Excerpts from Leninism, by Joseph Stalin, published by International Publishers, New York: 1928]

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I quote Lenin once more:

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a *peculiar form of class alliance* between the proletariat (the vanguard of all those who labour) and the various strata of the non-proletarian labouring masses (the petty bourgeoisie, independent artisans, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, etc.), or with the majority of these: it is an alliance against capital; an alliance aiming at the complete overthrow of capital, at the crushing of bourgeois resistance and the frustrating of any attempt at a bourgeois restoration;

an alliance designed for the establishment and the definitive consolidation of socialism. This peculiar form of alliance is entered into under special circumstances at a time when civil war is raging; it is an alliance between the convinced supporters of socialism and its wavering allies. (Some of the allies may be "neutrals," and then an agreement to fight may be replaced by an agreement to maintain neutrality.) *It is an alliance between classes which differ economically, politically, socially, and ideologically.* (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi., p. 241.) [page 25]

* * * * *

With reference to the crushing of the exploiters, as one of the chief aims of the dictatorship, Lenin writes:

Scientifically defined, a dictatorship is an authority based directly on force, an authority which is absolutely unrestricted by any laws or regulations . . . The dictatorship means (let the cadets grasp the fact once for all!) power, unlimited power, based on force and not on law. When civil war is raging, the authority of the victors cannot be anything but a dictatorship. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii, pp. 355 and 361.) [page 26]

* * * * *

Of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean force and nothing else, although a dictatorship cannot be maintained except by force. To quote Lenin:

The dictatorship does not mean force alone, though it is impossible without force. It likewise betokens a higher organisation of labour than has previously existed. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi., p. 222.)

The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . is not merely the exercise of force against the exploiters, and indeed does not chiefly consist in the use of force. The economic basis of this revolutionary force, the guarantee of its vitality and success, is that the proletariat represents and realises a type of social organisation of labour higher than that represented and realised by the capitalist system. That is the main point. Herein lies the source of the strength of communism; herein we find assurance of its inevitable victory. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi., pp. 247-248.) [pages 26-27]

* * * * *

Let us turn to Lenin. In August 1915, more than two years before the October revolution, he said:

Irregularity in economic and political development is an invariable law of capitalism. It is, therefore, possible for socialism to triumph at the outset in a small number of capitalist countries, nay even in one alone. The victorious proletariat in such a land, *having expropriated the capitalists and having organised socialist production*, would rise against the remainder of the capitalist world, winning over to its cause the oppressed classes in other lands, inciting them to revolt against the capitalists, and even, when needs must, having recourse to armed intervention against the exploiting classes and their States. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xiii., p. 133.) [pages 58-59]

* * * * *

2. Marx's idea was that the conquest of State authority by the proletariat would *crown* the work of the revolution. The workers, having successively overthrown one fraction of the bourgeoisie after another, and having attained power, would then kindle the torch of revolution in all the countries of the world. [page 107]

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* * * That is why the fostering of revolution, the support of revolution, in other countries, is incumbent upon the country where the revolution has triumphed. That is why a country in which the revolution has triumphed must not look upon itself as an independent magnitude, but as an auxiliary, as a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in other lands.

Lenin expressed this idea pithily as follows:

In any country, the victorious revolution must do its utmost to develop, support, and awaken the revolution in all other countries. (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xv., p. 502.) [page 109]

EXHIBIT No. 61

[Source: A booklet published by Workers Library Publishers, 35 East 125th Street, New York: January, 1929]

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COMMUNISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—6TH WORLD CONGRESS

COMMUNISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. THESIS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, ADOPTED AT THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1928.

Workers' Library Publishers, 35 East 125th Street, New York. First published in January, 1929. Printed in England by the Dorrit Press, Limited (T. U. throughout) 68-70 Lant St., London, S. E. 1.

COMMUNISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Theses passed unanimously by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern on August 29th, 1928, on the Report of N. Bukharin.

INTRODUCTION

I. After the first world imperialist war the international Labour movement passed through a series of historical phases of development, expressing various phases of the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The *first* period was the period of extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system, and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat. This period reached its apex of development in 1921, and culminated, on the one hand, with the victory of the U.S.S.R. over the forces of foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution and with the consolidation of the Communist International. On the other hand, it ended with a series of severe defeats for the Western European proletariat and the beginning of the general capitalist offensive. The final link in the chain of events in this period was the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923. This defeat marked the starting point of the *second* period, a period of gradual and partial stabilisation of the capitalist system, of the restoration of capitalist economy, of the development and expansion of the capitalist offensive and of the continuation of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeats. On the other hand, this was a period of rapid restoration in the U.S.S.R., of extremely important successes in the work of building up socialism, and also of the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties over the broad masses of the proletariat. Finally came the *third* period, which, in the main, is the period in which capitalist economy is exceeding the pre-war level, and in which the economy of the U.S.S.R. is also almost simultaneously exceeding the pre-war level (the beginning of the so-called "reconstruction period," the further growth of the socialist forms of economy on the basis of a new technique). For the capitalist system this is the period of rapid development of technique and accelerated growth of cartels and trusts, and in which tendencies of development towards State capitalism are observed. At the same time, it is a period of intense development of the contradictions of world capitalism, operating in forms determined by the whole of the preceding process of the crisis of capitalism (contraction of markets, the U.S.S.R., colonial movements, growth of the inherent contradictions of imperialism). This third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the contraction of markets become particularly accentuated, is inevitably giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars; among the imperialist States themselves, wars of the imperialist States against the U.S.S.R., wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist intervention, and to gigantic class battles. The intensification of all *international* antagonisms (antagonisms between the capitalist States and the U.S.S.R., the military occupation of Northern China—which is the beginning of the partition of China—the mutual struggles between the imperialists, etc.), the intensification of the *internal* antagonisms in capitalist countries (the swing to the left of the masses of the working class, growing acuteness of the class struggle), and the wide development of *colonial movements* (China, India and Syria), which are taking place in this period, will inevitably lead—through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation—to capitalist stabilisation becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

I

The Technique and Economics of World Industry

2. There is not the slightest doubt that considerable progress has been made in the technique of industry in a number of capitalist countries. In some countries (United States, Germany) it has assumed the character of a technical revolution. The gigantic growth in the employment of internal combustion engines, electrification, the development of the chemical industry, the new methods of producing synthetic fuels and raw materials (benzine, artificial silk, etc.), the employment of light metals and the extensive development of automobile transport on the one hand, and the new forms of organisation of labour, which is linked up with the extraordinary rapid development of the endless chain system on the other, have revived the productive forces of capitalism. On this basis foreign trade is expanding and the export of capital is increasing to an extraordinary degree. The relative importance of the latter form of economic intercourse between countries has grown considerably compared with pre-war times.

3. In the sphere of economics is observed an exceptionally rapid growth of capitalist monopoly (cartels, trusts and banking consortiums) which are exercising increasing influence on agriculture. Simultaneously with the organisation of capital in cartels and trusts on a "national" scale, there is an increase in the growth of international finance capitalist combines. At the same time a growth is observed in State capitalist tendencies, both in the form of State capitalism proper (State electrical stations, municipal industrial and transport enterprises), as well as in the form of the merging of private enterprises with the organs of the State.

4. Meanwhile the general crisis of capitalism is assuming new forms and is developing special and specific contradictions, which arise out of the radical structural changes that have taken place in the world economic system. The transference of the economic centre of capitalism from Europe to America and the growing efforts of Europe, now recovered and trustified, to liberate herself from the economic domination of the United States; the development of capitalism in colonial and semi-colonial countries; the disproportion between the rate of growth of the economic and military power of certain countries and the dimensions of their colonial possessions; the danger threatening the positions of the imperialists in the colonies, primarily in China: the development of the U. S. S. R.—the counter-balance to the world capitalist system which revolutionises the working class of all countries, and the toiling masses of the colonies—all these contradictions cannot but lead, in the final analysis, to another explosion.

5. The growing productive forces of capitalism come more and more into conflict with the restricted internal markets—which have contracted as a result of the state of ruin prevailing in a number of imperialist countries after the war, the growing pauperisation of the peasant masses in the colonies—as well as with the structure of post-war world industry, the inherent contradictions of which have greatly increased and become more complicated as a result of the new, fundamental, antagonism that exists between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist countries. The disturbance of the equilibrium between America and Europe finds most striking expression in the so-called "German problem" and in the decline of British imperialism. Germany, having rapidly achieved a high level of development—thanks to a considerable degree to American capital—and compelled to pay reparations and interest on loans, cannot find sufficient markets for the export of her commodities and the whole system of her relationships is maintained by means of repeated additions of American credits, which in their turn increase the competitive power of Germany in the world market.

The decline of British imperialism reveals itself directly as a continuous process of decline and stagnation of British industry which, notwithstanding all the attempts at rationalisation and the serious depression of the standard of living of the working class, is steadily losing its competitive power on the world market in the most important branches of exports. It reveals itself in the steady decline in the exports of British capital as well as in the fact that the British bourgeoisie has lost its predominant position both as world creditor and world banker. It reveals itself primarily in enormous, chronic unemployment. This economic decline, taken together with the growth of the Dominions and the growth of revolutionary movements in the colonies, is reflected in the tendency towards the break-up of the British Empire.

6. The successes achieved in technique and organisation have helped to create chronic mass unemployment in the leading industrial countries. The unemployed army of to-day far exceeds in numbers the industrial reserve army of pre-war times, and is not absorbed completely even in periods of boom. In the United States, for example, where the greatest successes have been achieved in technique, we have simultaneously with a powerful increase in production, a diminution in the amount of labour power employed by capital in industry. Even in those countries where great technical successes have been achieved, rationalisation, which, while causing an enormous expansion of production, results in the intensification of labour to the utmost, to a murderous speeding up of labour and to an unparalleled exhaustion of human labour power. The mechanisation of the labour process enables the capitalists to employ unskilled labour to a greater extent (woman and child labour), and generally to substitute unskilled labour power for skilled labour power.

The attempts to alleviate these difficulties by forming European and international cartels merely reproduce on an expanded basis and in new forms (the introduction of the quota system, the struggle for enterprises not yet absorbed by cartels, etc.), the competitive struggle between Great Britain and the European Continental States, as well as on the Continent of Europe itself, which is politically and economically broken up into fragments and covered with a network of tariff barriers.

Under such conditions the problem of markets and spheres of investments becomes extraordinarily acute. Hence the maturing of a new series of gigantic military conflicts, of wars of intervention against the U.S.S.R., and the intervention now proceeding at full pace in China. Therefore, the development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation inevitably leads, in the final analysis, to the present "stabilisation" period growing into a period of gigantic cataclysms.

II

Intra-State Relationships and the Problems of So-called "Foreign Politics"

7. The relations between capitalist States and the U.S.S.R.; the attitude of imperialism towards China and the relations between Europe—principally Great Britain—and the United States represent in general the basis of international relationships in the present period. The growth of Germany and the re-grouping of States resulting from it, represents one of the principal factors in the change of inter-State relationships in Europe.

8. The transference of the world's economic centre to the United States of America and the increase in the latter's imperialist aggressiveness resulting from that, must be regarded as an important factor in the modern development of capitalism generally. As permanent creditor of Europe, the United States represents the lever of Central European revival; at the same time, however, she is strengthening her own position in almost all parts of the globe. As a result of the squeezing out of British capital, South America is gradually becoming an enormous "sphere of influence" of the United States, who suppresses all resistance on the American Continent with blood and iron (Nicaragua, etc.); Canada, and even Australia, are more and more gravitating towards so-called "economic co-operation," in which the hegemony of the United States is assured beforehand. All over the world the United States is developing extensive plans to secure possession of the most important sources of raw materials, to weaken Great Britain's position by destroying her monopoly in oil and rubber, and her raw cotton base in Egypt, the Sudan, etc. In Africa, the United States is developing extensive plans directed towards undermining the power of Great Britain in the cotton-growing industry; in China, in conflict with Japan and England, she holds the stronger position, and while screening herself for the time being behind the principle of the "open door," she is, in fact, taking part in the partition of China. Thus North American imperialism is more and more passing from the policy of so-called "peaceful penetration" to the policy of direct military, colonial occupation.

9. The rapid expansion of the United States inevitably brings her interests into conflict with the interests of decaying, but still extremely powerful, British imperialism. The antagonisms between the Dollar Republic, with her rapid rate of development and relatively small colonial possessions, and the declining British colonial Empire, with its gigantic colonial monopoly, represents the pivot of international antagonisms in the present period, and it is precisely here that the complications of future struggles for a redistribution of the colo-

nial (and not only of the colonial) world are maturing. Anglo-American "co-operation" has changed into fierce Anglo-American rivalry, which widens the prospects of a gigantic conflict of forces.

10. The influence of American capital in Europe made itself most strongly felt in the economic recovery of Germany. From a State which had sunk to the lowest depths of economic ruin, Germany has again risen to great heights with the aid of systematic credits from the United States. This also has caused the elevation of German's political role. The growth of monopolistic capitalism in Germany, on the one hand, accelerates the process of breaking up the Versailles Treaty, and on the other hand, it causes Germany to adopt a more definitely "Western" (*i.e.*, imperialistic and anti-Soviet) orientation. While in the days of her economic, political and national humiliation Germany sought an agreement with the proletarian State, the only State that was opposed to her imperialist enslavement, the tendencies of German neo-imperialism that have arisen are forcing the German bourgeoisie more and more towards an anti-Soviet position.

11. This fact must in its turn inevitably change the grouping of the European States. The prevalence of a whole series of internal European antagonisms (primarily Franco-Italian, in the Balkans and in North Africa), on the background of the general instability of relationships, leads to a continuous regrouping of the Powers. However, through the kaleidoscopic changes in the groupings there runs a fundamental tendency, the tendency of combatting the Soviet Union. The innumerable treaties and agreements concluded between a number of minor and major States (Poland, Roumania, Italy, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, the "Russian Border States," etc.) directed against the U. S. S. R., and concluded at the dictation of London and Paris, express this tendency to an increasingly marked degree. The change in Germany's attitude, to a certain extent, marks the completion of a definite stage of this process, which is a process of preparation by the counter-revolutionary imperialist bloc for a war against the U. S. S. R.

12. The struggle for markets and for spheres for the investment of capital is not only pregnant with wars against the U. S. S. R., and with wars among the imperialists themselves, it has already resulted in a great war of intervention for the partition of the enormous Chinese market. In China, where the imperialists are simultaneously confronted with an object of exploitation and a revolutionary movement, which is undermining the domination of capitalist principles, the establishment of general imperialist blocs is most highly probable. Therefore, simultaneously with a bloc of imperialist States against the U. S. S. R. we have a general counter-revolutionary, militarist intervention against the forces of the Chinese revolution. At the same time, however, this joint struggle against the Chinese revolution develops a profound antagonism of interests within the imperialist bloc, primarily an antagonism between the predatory and openly annexationist imperialism of Japan and the tremendous power of American imperialism, which, in the present stage of development, cloaks herself in the false toga of pacifism. Thus the imperialist war actually being waged against the Chinese people may develop into a gigantic conflict between the imperialists.

III

The State Power of the Bourgeoisie and the Re-grouping of Class Forces

13. In the great majority of capitalist countries at the present time the politics of the bourgeoisie are determined by two main tasks: first, to further increase "competitive power," *i.e.*, to further develop capitalist rationalisation, and, second, a prepare for war. From the *social-class* standpoint bourgeois politics leads, on the one hand, to increased pressure upon the working class and to an increase in the rate of exploitation. On the other hand, they lead to the employment of "compensating" methods of economic and political corruption, the conscious vehicle of which social-democracy is more and more becoming.

14. The centralisation of capital and the absorption, through the medium of the banking system, or large landed property into the general finance capitalist organisations, help more and more to consolidate the combined forces of the big exploiters, whose organisations are becoming directly grafted to the organs of State power. While the system known as *war* State capitalism, to a considerable degree, represented a system of "siege economics," which was "abol-

ished" at the conclusion of the war, the growth of State capitalist tendencies on the other hand, which at the present time is based on the growth of productive forces and the rapid centralisation of industry, is objectively a prerequisite for military economic mobilisation for future conflicts. The shifting in the weight of the productive forces in the direction of the chemical industry, which is of first-class importance in modern warfare, still further enhances the significance of this fact.

15. This evolution in the relationships between the State power and private capitalist organisations, the concentration of all the bourgeois forces in the bourgeois State, gives rise in all capitalist countries to a reactionary evolution of the whole of the so-called "bourgeois State system." This evolution, which is the characteristic expression of the present critical period of capitalism, finds expression politically in the general crisis of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarism, and leaves a specific impress upon all the economic conflicts between capital and labour, causing them to become extraordinarily acute.

Every strike of any magnitude brings the workers into conflict with trustified capitalist giants, which have become merged with the imperialist State power. Consequently, every strike assumes a political, *i.e.*, a general, class character. The development of every such strike must, therefore, lead to its assuming an "anti-State" character. It is precisely this state of affairs that compels the bourgeoisie and its State to resort to complex methods of economically and politically corrupting definite sections of the working class itself and its political and industrial organisations. The grafting of the upper stratum of the reformist trade unions and "reformist parties" on to the employers' organisations and the bourgeois State, the appointment of workers to official positions in the State and in capitalist organisations, the theory and practice of "industrial democracy," "industrial peace," etc.—all these are preventive measures directed against the development of the class struggle.

16. Simultaneously, the imperialist States more and more develop weapons and methods of repression against the revolutionary detachments of the proletariat and particularly against the Communist Party, the only Party that organises and leads the revolutionary working-class struggle against imperialist wars and growing exploitation. These measures are also part and parcel of the war preparations of the imperialist States. At the same time, however, they reflect the general acuteness of class antagonisms and particularly the intensification of all forms and methods of the class struggle, as expressed in the increasing application of Fascist methods of oppression by the bourgeoisie. These measures include: the Trade Union Act in Great Britain; Paul Boncour's military law, a number of so-called "Defence of the Realm Acts," for example, in the Balkans, the acts of repression against the Communists in France; the wrecking of the trade unions and the terror against the Communists in Italy; terror in Japan; terror in Poland; the mass execution of Communists, the revolutionary workers and the peasants in China, and the acts of repression perpetrated against revolutionaries in the colonies generally; the attempt to dissolve the Red Front Fighters in Germany, etc. In a number of countries where the Communist Parties are still legal the bourgeoisie is striving with the aid of the social-democrats to drive them underground. For that reason to bring the masses to a state of fighting preparedness and strenuous struggle against any attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to repeat such attacks become immediate tasks.

17. Simultaneously, the resistance of the working class—which has already recovered from the severe defeats of the preceding period—is growing and assuming extremely diverse forms. The development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation, rationalisation, growth of unemployment, the increasing pressure upon the standard of living of the working class, the ruination of the petty-bourgeoisie, etc., inevitably intensify the class struggle and widen its basis. The general process of the "working class swing to the left" in European countries continues further; the influence of purely bourgeois parties upon the mass of the workers wanes; a section of the workers abandon these to join the social-democrats, while another section joins the Communist Parties. There is a quickening in the process of more militant elements of the working class abandoning the social-democrats and coming over to the Communist camp. Social-democracy is more and more relying upon the petty-bourgeoisie, and is therefore transferring its social basis from the working class to the petty-bourgeoisie. The influence and authority of the Communist Parties among the working class are growing. Just as the beginning of the stabilisation period and the general capitalist offensive gave rise to great defensive battles, so the new period is marked by great mass

struggles. These include primarily: the strike wave in a number of countries (Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc.); the uprising of the Viennese proletariat; the demonstrations against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti; the movement in favour of the U. S. S. R., etc. Thus, notwithstanding the counter-measures taken by the bourgeoisie and social-democracy, the reproduction of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization and the growing acuteness of the class struggle cause an ideological differentiation and growth of the revolutionary forces in the ranks of the working-class movement to the strengthening of the position of Communism in the international Labour movement.

IV

Class Struggle, Social-Democracy and Fascism

18. Notwithstanding the growing acuteness of the class struggle, reformism in the European and American Labour movement reveals symptoms of virility and political tenacity. The general social and economic basis of this fact is the slow rate of development of the crisis of capitalism, in the course of which some of the principal parts comprising the capitalist system are on the upgrade while others are undergoing a process of relatively slow decline. This is illustrated by the following facts: the growing consolidation of the position of the United States as the world exploiter, creditor and usurer (the "prosperity" of the United States); the considerable colonial might of Great Britain, which is only gradually losing its positions in the world market; the upward trend of German economy, etc. Connected with this primary process is the secondary process of the grafting together of the State apparatus and capitalist organizations with the upper stratum of the Labour organizations, led by social-democracy: the establishment of a new bureaucracy consisting of Labour bureaucrats (State and municipal officials, officials of capitalist organizations, functionaries serving "joint" Labour and capitalist organizations, so-called "representatives of the proletariat" in the Post Office, on Railway Boards and in banking organizations, where they speak in the name of trade unions, co-operative societies, etc.).

19. This process of bourgeoisising the upper stratum of the Labour bureaucracy is deliberately fostered and encouraged by social democracy. Social-democracy has passed from shame-faced defense of capitalism to open support of capitalist construction; from mouthing phrases about the class struggle to the advocacy of "industrial peace"; from the slogan "Defend the fatherland" to preparations for military operations against the U. S. S. R. (Kautsky); from verbal defense of colonies to the policy of directly supporting colonial oppression; from petty-bourgeois pacifism to the deification of the League of Nations and from pseudo-Marxian revisionism to the Liberalism of the British Labour Party.

20. Wholly corresponding to this ideological position is the practical activity of the social-democrats and reformist trade union leaders, primarily their campaign for the wide-spread introduction of "American" methods of corrupting the working class; the activities of the International Labour Office; the conferences between representatives of the General Council of the T. U. C. and the Labour Party with employers' organisations in England; the "National Economic Council" in France; the "Schlichtungswesen" (Arbitration Courts) in Germany; the Compulsory Arbitration Acts in some of the Scandinavian countries, the establishment of a joint organ of the "Chamber of Commerce" and "Chamber of Labour" in Austria, etc. The treacherous role of the social-democrats and of the reformist trade union leaders during strikes and political crises, during conflicts and rebellions in the colonies, their justification of the employment of terror against the workers (the strike in Great Britain, the Vienna uprising, the metal workers' strike in Germany, shooting down of workers in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, the rebellion in Indonesia, the revolution in China, the rebellions in Syria and Morocco, etc.) is now supplemented by ferocious attacks upon the Communists and the revolutionary workers (the expulsion policy and the policy of splitting the unions, the co-operative societies and other mass organisations adopted in a number of countries).

21. At the present time this class-splitting policy, so widely practised by the reformist leaders who, at the dictates of the bourgeoisie, expel the best revolutionary elements from the proletarian mass organisations, is an inseparable part of their policy of co-operating with the bourgeoisie for the purpose of disrupting from the outset the internal unity of the fighting ranks of the proletariat, and in this way to weaken their resistance to capitalist attacks. This policy represents an essential link in the chain of social imperialist policy (the armaments policy,

their anti-Soviet policy and their predatory policy in the colonies). To counteract these attempts on the part of the reformists to disintegrate the proletarian class front from within, the Communists must, particularly at the present moment, commence and develop a strenuous counter-offensive; the reformist policy of splitting the mass proletarian organisations (trade unions, co-operative societies, cultural and sport leagues, etc.,) must be countered by a mass struggle for class unity.

A particularly shameful role in this reformist splitting campaign is played by the so-called "Left" social-democratic leaders, who make verbal claims of being in favour of unity but who, in fact, unreservedly support the criminal splitting tactics of the Second International and of the Amsterdammers.

22. In the sphere of foreign politics, the upper stratum of the social-democrats and of the trade unions in the imperialist countries consistently express the interests of the bourgeois State. Support for this State and its armed forces, its police, its expansionist strivings, its fundamental hostility towards the U. S. S. R., the support of predatory treaties and agreements, of colonial policy, of occupations, annexations, protectorates and mandates; support of the League of Nations and the malicious campaign conducted by the imperialist Powers against the U. S. S. R.; social-democracy's participation in the "pacifist" deception of the masses, in preparation for war against proletarian republics and the reformist deception of colonial workers (Purcell in India, the Second International's resolution on the colonial question)—such, in the main, is the actual line of conduct of social-democracy in the sphere of foreign politics.

23. Throughout the whole of the past period social-democracy has acted as the last reserve of the bourgeoisie, as a bourgeois "Labour" Party. Through the medium of social-democracy the bourgeoisie paved the way for the stabilisation of capitalism (the series of coalition Cabinets in Europe). The consolidation of capitalism rendered the functions of social-democracy as a governing party in a certain measure superfluous. The ejection of social-democrats from coalition governments and the formation of so-called "purely bourgeois" governments took the place of the so-called era of "democratic pacifism." By playing the role of opposition on the one hand, and the role of agitator and propagandist of so-called "realistic pacifism" and "industrial peace," on the other hand, social-democracy retained considerable strata of the working class under its influence, absorbed a section of the workers who had abandoned the bourgeois parties, acquired influence among that section of the petty-bourgeoisie that was swinging to the Left (the elections in France and in Germany), and have again entered Cabinets in Central Europe. It must be borne in mind, however, that these new coalition governments, in which social-democrats are directly participating, cannot and will not be a mere repetition of previous combinations. This particularly applies to foreign politics generally, and to war politics in particular. Social-democratic leadership will play an immeasurably more treacherous role in the present period than it did in all previous stages of development.

It is necessary also to bear in mind—particularly in view of the coalition policy practised by social-democracy and the evolution of its official upper stratum—the possibility of a growth in the so-called "Left-Wing" of Social-democracy (Austro-Marxism, Tranmaelism, the ideology of the British Independent Labour Party, Maximalism in Italy) which deceives the workers by methods more subtle and therefore more dangerous to the cause of the proletarian revolution. Experience in critical periods (the revolution in Germany in 1923, the British strike, the Vienna uprising), and also the attitude of Left-Wing social-democrats towards imperialist war preparations against the U. S. S. R., have glaringly revealed that the Left-Wing social-democratic leaders are the most dangerous enemies of Communism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was most strikingly demonstrated by the shameful conduct of Austrian social-democracy, this "model party," the "Left" wing of the Second International, at the time of the sanguinary July battles of the Vienna proletariat. This utter bankruptcy of Bauer, Adler and Co. strikingly reveals that "Austrian Marxism" in developing more and more a reactionary tendency—particularly after the suppression of the Vienna uprising—that in practice it constantly betrays the cause of Labour in the most shameful manner and serves as the most dangerous instrument in the hands of the reformist for deceiving the revolutionary masses. Therefore, while taking into account the leftward swing, even among the workers in the ranks of social-democracy, and while striving to exercise increasing influence upon them, the Communists must resolutely expose the "Left-Wing" social-democratic leaders as the most dangerous channels through which bourgeois politics may penetrate into the working class, and to

win over to their own side the masses of the workers who must inevitably abandon these Left-Wing social-democrats.

24. Simultaneously with co-opting social-democracy, the bourgeoisie in critical moments and under certain conditions establishes a Fascist regime.

The characteristic feature of Fascism is that as a consequence of the shock suffered by the capitalist economic system and of special objective and subjective circumstances, the bourgeoisie—in order to hinder the development of the revolution—utilises the discontent of the petty and middle, urban and rural bourgeoisie, and even of certain strata of the declassed proletariat, for the purpose of creating a reactionary mass movement. Fascism resorts to methods of open violence in order to break the power of the Labour organisations and those of the peasant poor, and to proceed to capture power. After capturing power Fascism strives to establish political and organisational unity among all the governing classes of capitalist society (the bankers, the big industrialists and the agrarians), and to establish their undivided, open and consistent dictatorship. It places at the disposal of the governing classes armed forces specially trained for civil war, and establishes a new type of State, openly based on violence, coercion and corruption, not only of the petty-bourgeois strata but even of certain elements of the working class (office employees, ex-reformist leaders, who have become government officials, trade union officials, and officials of the Fascist Party, and also poor peasants and declassed proletarians recruited into the "Fascist militia").

Italian Fascism—which by various means (support of American capital, unexampled economic and social pressure upon the masses, certain forms of State capitalism) has managed, during the past few years, to alleviate the consequences of the internal political and economic crisis—has created the classical type of the Fascist system.

Fascist tendencies and the rudiments of the Fascist movement exist in a more or less developed form in nearly all countries. The ideology of class co-operation—the official ideology of social-democracy—has many points of contact with Fascism. The employment of Fascist methods in the struggle against the revolutionary movement is observed in a rudimentary form in the practice of numerous social-democratic parties, as well as in that of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

In the sphere of international relations Fascism conducts a policy of violence and provocation. The Fascist dictatorships in Poland and in Italy more and more reveal aggressive tendencies, and represent to the proletariat of all countries a constant menace to peace—a threat of military adventures and war.

V

Colonial Countries and the Chinese Revolution

25. The general crisis of the world capitalist system finds most striking expression at the present time in colonial and semi-colonial rebellions and revolutions. Resistance to the imperialist policy of the United States (Mexico and Nicaragua); the movement against the United States in South America; the colonial uprisings in Syria and Morocco; the continuous ferment in Egypt and Korea; the rebellion in Indonesia; the maturing revolutionary crisis in India; and, finally, the great revolution in China, are all events and facts indicating the gigantic role the colonies and semi-colonies play in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

26. The most important of these facts, an event of world historical importance, is the great Chinese revolution. It directly brings within its orbit tens of millions and, indirectly, hundreds of millions of people. This is the first time that such a gigantic human mass has entered into the struggle against imperialism with such force. The close connection that exists between China, Indo-China and India, in its turn, embraces the significance of the Chinese revolution to an enormous degree. Finally, the very progress of this revolution, its democratic character and its inevitable transformation into a proletarian revolution must demonstrate to the international proletariat the full significance of the international role the Chinese revolution plays.

27. While being an anti-imperialist and national-liberation revolution, the Chinese revolution is at the same time, in its objective content and in its present stage, a bourgeois democratic revolution, which will inevitably grow into a proletarian revolution. In the process of its development, as the broad masses of the workers and peasants became mobilised, as the agrarian revolu-

tion actually developed and inflicted plebeian punishment upon the landlords, the gentry and the "tuhao," the national (Kuomintang) bourgeoisie, in a series of evolutions, finally deserted to the camp of the counter-revolution, entered into alliance with feudalism and compromised with the imperialist violators.

For that reason the struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for land and against the rule of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. It is inseparable from the struggle against the landlords (gentry and tuhao) and the militarists, and against their internecine wars—which result in the plunder of the masses of the people and in the strengthening of the positions of the imperialists. The liberation of China can be achieved only in the struggle against the Chinese bourgeoisie, in the struggle for the agrarian revolution, in the confiscation of the landlords' land, and in the liberation of the peasantry from the crushing burden of taxation.

The liberation of China cannot be achieved without the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, without the confiscation of the land, without the internationalisation of foreign enterprises, banks, transport, etc.

These tasks can be fulfilled only by a victorious rebellion of the broad masses of the peasantry, marching under the leadership and under the hegemony of the revolutionary Chinese proletariat.

The present stage of the Chinese revolution is characterised by the following features: notwithstanding internal rivalries the bloc between the imperialists, the feudal elements and the bourgeoisie has inflicted a severe defeat upon the proletariat and the peasantry, and has physically exterminated a considerable section of the ranks of the Communist Party. The Labour movement has not yet wholly recovered from defeat. The development of the peasant movement in a number of districts continues. In those districts where peasant rebellions have been victorious, peasant organs of power have been established, and in some places peasant Soviets. The Communist Party is gaining in strength and becoming internally consolidated; its authority and influence among the broad masses of the workers and peasants are growing. Taken as a whole, making allowances for the lack of uniformity of development in various parts of the enormous territory of China, the peasant situation must be characterised as the stage of preparation of the mass forces for a fresh rise in the revolutionary movement.

28. In India a fresh wave of the national-revolutionary movement has arisen, characterised by the independent action of the proletariat (the textile strike in Bombay, the railway strike in Calcutta, the First of May demonstrations, etc.). This new outbreak has its roots deep down in the general conditions of the country. The rate of industrialisation, which was greatly accelerated in the war and the post-war periods, has now slackened down. The policy of British imperialism retards the industrial development of India and leads to the pauperisation of the peasantry and to their divorce from the land. The attempt by means of petty agrarian reforms to create a thin stratum of well-to-do peasants—which is to serve as a prop for the British Government and native feudalism—is accompanied by the still further pauperisation and increased exploitation of enormous masses of the peasantry. The cruel exploitation of the workers, which, in some places, still bears the forms of semi-slavery, is combined with the extreme intensification of labour. In the fight against this barbarous exploitation the proletariat is liberating itself from the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the reformists—notwithstanding the fact that the trade union apparatus is still in the hands of the latter. The peasant movement, disrupted in 1922 by the treachery of Gandhi and subjected to cruel suppression by the feudal reaction, is slowly but surely recovering. The Liberal National bourgeoisie—the leading wing of the Swaraj Party—although compelled by the unyielding attitude of British imperialism to resume their qualified oppositional tactics are, as a matter of fact—notwithstanding all their anti-British demonstrations—seeking a compromise with imperialism at the expense of the masses of the toilers. On the other hand, the whole of the development of India impels the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie of town and country, and primarily the ruined and pauperised peasantry, along the path of revolution. Only under the leadership of the proletariat will the bloc of workers, peasants and the revolutionary sections of the intelligentsia be in a position to smash the bloc of imperialist landlords and compromising bourgeoisie, release the agrarian revolution and break the imperialist front in India. The unification of the Communist elements and groups into a strong

Communist Party, the organisation of the masses of the proletariat in trade unions, a systematic struggle in the trade unions for the complete exposure and expulsion of the social-treacherous leaders, are the essential tasks of the working class of India and a necessary condition for the mass revolutionary struggle for Indian independence.

29. The revival of the Chinese revolution and the inevitable intensification of the revolutionary situation in India may create an absolutely new world political situation and upset the relative stabilisation of the capitalist system. The development of conflicts among the imperialist States, their bloc against the U. S. S. R. and the profoundly acute struggle between imperialism and the colonial world, again and again confirm the correctness of the characterisation of the present epoch as an "epoch of wars and revolution."

VI

The Tactical Line and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International

30. The problem of combatting the approaching imperial war, the defence of the U. S. S. R., the fight against the intervention in and the partition of China and the defence of the Chinese revolution and colonial uprisings, are the principal international tasks of the Communist movement at the present time. These tasks must be linked up with the everyday working-class struggle against the capitalist offensive and directed towards the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

31. The fight against the danger of imperialist wars between capitalist States and imperialist wars against the U. S. S. R. must be conducted systematically from day to day. It will be impossible to conduct this fight without exposing pacifism, which, under present conditions, is an important instrument in the hands of the imperialists for their preparations for war and for concealing their preparations. It will be impossible to carry on this struggle without exposing the "League of Nations," which is the principal instrument of imperialist "pacifism." Finally, it will be impossible to carry on this struggle without exposing social-democracy, which is helping imperialism to screen its war preparations with the flag of pacifism. Continuous exposure by facts of the work of the "League of Nations"; constant support for the U. S. S. R. disarmament proposals and exposure of the "home" government *on this question* (together with interpellations in parliament backed by mass demonstrations in the streets, etc.); continuous publicity for facts about the armaments of imperialist States, about the chemical industry, about the war budgets, the secret and open treaties and plots of the imperialists, about the role of the imperialists in China, exposure of the falsehoods spread by social-democratic "realist-pacifists" about ultra-imperialism and exposure of the role of the "League of Nations"; continuous publicity on the "results" of the first world war and of the secret military and diplomatic preparations made for it; to fight against pacifism in all its forms and the propaganda of Communist slogans—primarily the slogan of defeat of the "home" imperialist country; work among the soldiers and seamen; the establishment of underground nuclei; work among the peasants—such are the fundamental tasks of the Communist Parties in this sphere.

32. An imperialist victory in the fight against the U. S. S. R. would mean much more than the defeat of the proletariat of the U. S. S. R.; it would inflict the severest defeat the international proletariat has ever suffered throughout the whole course of its existence. The Labour movement would be thrown back for decades. The severest reaction would rage in Europe. If, as a result of the influence of the October revolution and of the series of revolutions in Germany, Austria and other countries, the working class managed to achieve a number of important gains, the defeat of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. would open up a new page of history inscribed with records of absolutely unexampled and ferocious counter-revolutionary terror. Hence it is essential that attention be concentrated on the defence of the U. S. S. R. For that reason alarm for the fate of the U. S. S. R., against which the military forces of the imperialists are being collected, must stimulate systematic work in preparation for the conversion of war against the U. S. S. R. into war against imperialist governments, into war for the defence of the U. S. S. R.

33. The fight against imperialist war and the fight for the defence of the Chinese revolution and of the U. S. S. R. call for the raising of the militant *international solidarity* of the working class. Experience has shown that the Communist Parties are not coping with their international tasks. The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. stated that, "hardly any of the Parties affiliated to

the Communist International developed sufficient energy in the struggle for the support of the British strike and of the Chinese revolution." Subsequent experience has confirmed the fact that precisely the international tasks of the movement are insufficiently understood. In a number of cases, particularly in regard to the fight against intervention in China, the Sections of the Communist International displayed a lack of adequate mobilising ability. The Congress calls upon all Communist Parties to take determined measures to remove these shortcomings, and urges the need for systematic work on these questions (wide publicity in the press, propaganda and agitation material, etc.)—it urges the need for far more energetic *international* and militant self-education of the Party members and education of the masses of the world proletariat.

34. Support of colonial movements, particularly on the part of the Communist Parties in the oppressing imperialist countries, represents one of the most important tasks of the present day. The fight against intervention in China; the fight against the suppression of the liberation movement in all colonies; work among the armed forces and determined support of rebellious colonial peoples—such are the measures to be adopted for the immediate future. The Congress at the same time instructs the Executive Committee to devote more serious attention to the colonial movement, and, correspondingly, to re-organise and strengthen its own departments directing this work.

The Congress also lays special stress upon the necessity for the energetic organisation of a movement among the negroes in the United States and in other countries (especially in South Africa). In this connection the Congress demands that all manifestations of so-called "white chauvinism" be resolutely and ruthlessly combatted.

35. In "advanced" capitalist countries, in which decisive battles for the proletarian dictatorship and socialism will take place, the general tactical orientation of the Communist Parties must be towards preventing the Labour organisations, towards preventing the trade unions from becoming "grafted" with the trusts, and against "industrial peace," compulsory arbitration, against the State power of the bourgeoisie and against the trusts. The Communist Parties must untiringly explain to the masses of the workers the close connection that exists between "industrial peace" and arbitration and the measures of repression exercised against the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian movement and the preparation for imperialist war.

36. In view of the intensified trustification of industry, the tendencies towards State capitalism, the grafting of the apparatus of the reformist unions with the organisations of the State and the trusts, and in view of the new, thoroughly bourgeois and actively imperialist ideology of social-democracy, the struggle against the "bourgeois Labour Party" must be intensified. This follows logically from the change in the relation of forces and from the changed position of social-democracy, which is now entering into a more "mature"—from the point of view of imperialism—stage of development. The Congress therefore entirely approves the tactics outlined at the Ninth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The test to which these tactics were subjected during the elections in France and in the British movement has wholly confirmed their absolute correctness.

37. These tactics, while changing the *form*, do not in any way change the principal *content* of the tactics of the united front. The intensification of the struggle against social-democracy transfers the weight of importance to the united front *from below*, but it does not relieve the Communists from the duty of drawing a distinction between the sincere, but mistaken, social-democratic *working men*, and the obsequious social-democratic leaders cringing at the feet of imperialism. On the contrary, it makes it more obligatory for them to do so. Nor is the slogan "Fight for the *Masses!*" (including the masses following the lead of the bourgeois and the Social-Democratic Parties) repealed by this. It must become the object of attention in the work of the Communist International more than ever before.

To care for every-day needs of the working class; to give strenuous support to even the most insignificant demands of the masses of the workers; to penetrate deeply into all mass proletarian organisations (trade unions, cultural organisations, sports organisations, etc.); to strengthen the positions of the Party in the factories and works and in large enterprises particularly; to work among the backward strata of the proletariat (agricultural labourers) and among the unemployed, and at the same time unflinchingly to link up the minor every-day demands with the fundamental slogans of the Party—all these must serve as the principal tasks of the Party. Only to the extent that these

tasks are fulfilled will the winning over and mobilisation of the masses be really accomplished.

38. In regard to the *trade union movement*, the Congress resolutely calls upon all the parties to exert the maximum of effort on this sector of the front. The very fact that in a number of countries the reformists are forcing the expulsion of Communists (and of Leftists generally) from the trade union organisations makes it necessary for the fight for Communist influence in the trade unions to be carried on at the present time with greater energy than ever. Unless they strengthen their positions in the trade unions the Communists may become isolated from the mass of the industrially organised proletariat. For that reason the Communists, by every-day, devoted and patient work in the trade unions, must win for themselves among the broad masses of the trade unionists authority as experienced and capable organisers, who fight not only for the proletarian dictatorship, but for all the every-day partial demands of the masses of workers; they must win authority as leaders of well-conducted strike struggles.

The Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade union opposition and the revolutionary trade unions can win the leadership in these struggles only in intense struggle against the social-democratic and politically corrupt trade union bureaucracy. In order to achieve real success in winning over the masses special attention must be devoted to *the careful preparation* of strikes (mass work, strengthening of trade union fractions, etc.), *to the capable leadership* of strikes (establishment of strike committees and utilisation of factory councils), and explaining to the masses the political causes and conditions for the success or failure of every industrial conflict and strike.

Where a united front exists between the bourgeois State, the employers' organisations and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, jointly striving to suppress the strike movement by means of compulsory arbitration, the fundamental task is to stimulate the energy and the initiative of the masses and, if circumstances are favourable, to conduct the strike struggle even in opposition to the will of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

While precaution should be taken against being provoked by the reformists into acts calculated to secure the expulsion of the Communists and to split the trade union movement, and while taking all measures to paralyse unexpected blows from the reformists, every effort must be made to combat tactics of capitulation (unity "at any price," abstaining from defending expelled comrades, failure to fight strenuously against compulsory arbitration, unreversed obedience to the bureaucratic trade union apparatus, touting down of criticism of the reformist leadership, etc.). To organise the unorganised, to win over the reformist trade unions, to organise the expelled where conditions are suitable (in countries where the trade union movement is split), to break away local organisations we have captured and get them to affiliate to revolutionary industrial organisations—these are the tasks of the day. Under no circumstances must the Communists lose the initiative in the struggle for national and international trade union unity. They must conduct a determined struggle against the splitting policy of the Amsterdam International and of its national sections. In view of the intensified struggle between Communism and reformism it is extremely important to develop the work of the Communist trade union fractions, of the trade union opposition and of the revolutionary trade unions, and to increase in every way the work and activities of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Communist Parties must support the work of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and of the Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat, in so far as the latter stand on the basis of the class struggle and conduct a revolutionary fight against imperialism for the independence of the colonies and semi-colonies.

39. The growth of the importance of the youth in industry, due to capitalist rationalisation, and the growing danger of war make it more than ever necessary to intensify work among the youth.

The Congress instructs the Young Communist International to examine the question of the tactics and the methods of work of the Young Communist International, with a view to embracing larger sections of the working youth, to adopting more varied methods of recruiting, to securing more lively and active response to their economic, educational and theoretical requirements, while at the same time preserving the militant political features of the Young Communist Leagues.

In view of the more important part now being played by the youth in industry it is necessary to intensify the work of the trade union youth sections. In those places where young workers are not eligible for membership in trade unions it is necessary to proceed to organise, under the leadership of the Young Communist Leagues, special youth societies, the object of which shall be to fight for the economic needs of the proletarian youth. To conduct the industrial struggle; to participate in the leadership of strikes and in special cases, independently to conduct strikes; to work in the trade unions; to fight for the right of young workers to membership of the trade unions; to see that the Young Communist Leagues penetrate into every organisation to which young workers belong (trade unions, sport organisations, etc.); to develop anti-militarist work; to give a sharp turn to methods and tactics in the direction of mass work—such must be the principal tasks of the Young Communist International. Unless it undertakes and fulfils these tasks the Young Communist International will never be able to organise a real mass struggle against imperialism and war. The Congress is of the opinion that a change over to mass work is essential. It calls upon all the sections of the Communist International and upon the E. C. C. I. to render more systematic aid to the Communist youth organisations and exercise more systematic guidance over them. The Communist Party, as well as the Young Communist League, must devote greater attention to work among workers' children and to the activities of Communist Children's Leagues.

The Congress at the same time instructs the E.C.C.I. to carry out, through the medium of the International Women's Section, measures for intensifying the work among industrial *working women* and among women toilers generally, and in doing so to utilise the experience of the so-called working women's "delegate meetings."

40. In the conditions of growing danger of imperialist wars the work of the Communist Parties in the rural districts and among the very broad masses of the toilers generally, acquires special significance. On the basis of the results of the elections in France and Germany, the Congress resolves that work among the agricultural labourers and small peasants must be intensified. The Congress draws special attention to the necessity for intensifying work among the peasantry and places on record that this work has been neglected by the majority of the Communist Parties. The Congress instructs the E.C.C.I. to take measures to stimulate the work among the peasantry, particularly in agrarian countries (Roumania, the Balkans, Poland, etc.), as well as in France, Germany, etc. The Congress instructs the E.C.C.I. to take urgent measures to stimulate the work of the International Peasants' Council and calls upon every Section to support this work.

41. The Congress instructs the E.C.C.I. to take measures to assist the organisations conducting the struggle for liberation in capitalist countries and in the colonies, which mobilise the broad masses of the toilers in defense of the Chinese revolution and of the U.S.S.R., which aid the victims of White Terror, etc. It is necessary to intensify and improve the work of the Communists in organisations like the "Groupe d'Unité," "The League for the Struggle Against Imperialism," "Friends of the U.S.S.R. Society," the "I.C.W.P.A.," "W.I.R.," etc. The Communist Parties must render every support to these organisations, help in the circulation of their publications, render support to their local branches, etc.

42. The increasing repression and growing acuteness of the class struggle, and particularly the prospects of war, impose upon the Communist Parties the task of discussing and drawing up plans for the timely establishment of an underground apparatus, which shall guarantee continuity of leadership in future battles, unity of the Communist line of policy and unity of Communist action.

VII

A Retrospect of Work Done, Achievements, Mistakes, and the Tasks of the Industrial Sections

43. The Congress places on record a number of important achievements in the work of the Comintern. Among these are to be included: the growth of the influence of Communism, which for the first time has extended its influence to the countries of South America, Africa, Australia, and a number of Oriental countries (the strengthening of the Communist position in Japan, and the spread of Communism in China); the expansion and deepening of the influence of the Comintern in the imperialist countries—notwithstanding the partial stabilisation of capitalism and the relative strength of social-democracy (Ger-

many, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain); the growth of underground parties marching forward in spite of incredible police and Fascist terror (Italy, Poland on the one hand, and China, Japan on the other)—in China this terror bears the character of unparalleled mass butchery. Finally the growth of the Bolshevist Parties, accumulation of experience, internal consolidation, overcoming of internal strife, recovery from the recent "opposition" crisis, and the overcoming of the Trotskyist opposition in the Communist International.

At the same time it must be stated that all the Sections of the Communist International suffer from a number of general defects. These are: the as yet weak development of militant international solidarity; a certain amount of provincialism, manifesting itself in a lack of ability properly to appreciate the full significance of particularly big questions; weakness of work in the trade unions; lack of ability organisationally to consolidate the growth of political influence and to secure stability of membership of the parties; inadequate attention on the part of a number of Parties to the work among the peasantry and among oppressed national minorities; a certain element of bureaucracy in the Party apparatus and methods of work (inadequate contact with the masses, weak initiative in recruiting members, lack of animation in the work of the subordinate nuclei, and a tendency to impose the work mainly upon Party functionaries); relatively low political and theoretical level of the Party cadres; weak contact with big industrial enterprises, while the reorganisation of the Parties on the basis of factory nuclei is far from being completed, etc.

44. *The Communist Party of Great Britain*, whose past activity was judged by the Seventh Enlarged Plenum, now stands confronted by new tasks. The sharp turn to the Right on the part of the leaders of the General Council of the T. U. C. and of the Labour Party; "Mondism"; the process of transformation which the Labour Party is undergoing into a Social-Liberal party on the continental Social Democratic model (the introduction of a corresponding political discipline, the growing centralisation of the apparatus, etc.), the expulsion of Communists and revolutionary workers generally from the trade unions, and the policy of splitting the trade unions inaugurated by the reformists (for example in Scotland) while on the other hand the rank and file of the workers are displaying more and more Leftist temper, has confronted the Communist Party with the task of maintaining a much more definitely class position and of conducting a more determined struggle against the Labour Party. The Communist Party of Great Britain, while displaying ability to approach the trade unions and capability in conducting work in a number of separate practical spheres, failed, however, immediately to appreciate the new circumstances and at its last Congress committed a serious mistake in advancing as the principal slogan, a Labour Government controlled by the Executive of the Labour Party. In connection with the new situation in Great Britain the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. passed a resolution on tactics which implied a definite change in the whole work of the Party. Experience has shown that this tactical line corresponds to the new and special situation in Great Britain and in the British Labour movement. Complete class independence of the Communist Party; ruthless struggle against the Labour Party; energetic exposure of "industrial peace" with the Fascist chemical King, Mond; expansion and the organisational consolidation of the Minority Movement; to lead the strike movement; to conduct an active struggle against the foreign policy of the Government and of the Labour Party; to fight against intervention in China and against preparation for war against U. S. S. R.; to support the Indian Revolution—these are the fundamental tasks of the Communist Party at the present time. At the same time the Party must take all measures possible to increase its membership, to develop its work in the factories, to strengthen the Party apparatus, to establish closer contact with the masses in the factories and workshops, to abandon the narrowness from which it suffers somewhat in its ideological and political outlook, etc. The Congress of the Communist International instructs the Party to initiate a wide discussion on the tactical change in the Party policy and on the methods of carrying out the new tactics.

45. A correct appreciation of the political line and of the work of the *Communist Party of France* was given at the Sixth and particularly at the Ninth Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The latter found that a tactical change was necessary in the policy of the Communist Party of France in connection with the parliamentary elections. At the same time the Plenum emphasised the necessity for changing the relationships then existing between the Communist Party of France and the Socialist Party of France and for completely eradicating from

its ranks the old parliamentary traditions and the tendency to link up the policy of the Communist Party with that of the "Left" wing petty-bourgeois parties. The results of the elections proved that the line laid down for the French Party by the Ninth Plenum was correct. In the course of the election campaign, however, a number of mistakes and defects were revealed in the activities of the Party (election work was too superficial; this work was not linked up with the immediate struggles of the proletariat; weakness of the average membership of the Party; inadequate work among the farm labourers and peasants). Hence, the principal tasks that now confront the French Party are the following: to intensify the work among the masses of the industrial proletariat (particularly in the factories); increased recruiting of new members; radical improvement of trade union work; greater activity in the leadership of strikes and of the immediate struggles of the proletariat generally; to organise the unorganised; to establish wider trade union democracy in the C. G. T. U., in all links of the organisation, and the proper organisation of the work of Communists in the trade unions. The Party must intensify its anti-militarist work, its colonial work and work among the foreign workers. In internal Party life the Party must primarily put up strong resistance to Right wing tendencies which are offering more or less open resistance to the new political line of the Party (parliamentary deviations, survivals of anarcho-syndicalist tendencies towards restoring the territorial bases of organisation). At the same time the Party must overcome "left" tendencies (excessive prominence of the Party in the trade unions, the overbearing, "commanding" attitude of Communists in the trade unions, repudiation of the united front tactics, etc.). In the sphere of organisation, the Party must take measures to widen its base in the big enterprises, to strengthen the Party nuclei in big enterprises, to stimulate their political life and to recruit new members for the Party.

46. Notwithstanding the exceptional terror directed against it, the *Communist Party of Italy* has managed to preserve its illegal organisation and to continue its propaganda and agitational work as the only Party genuinely fighting for the overthrow of Fascism and the capitalist regime. It has managed to extend considerable influence over the most active elements of the working class, who enabled the General Confederation of Labour to continue in existence after it was betrayed by the reformist leaders. However, the Party made the mistake in not changing the methods of its organisational work in proper time in order to preserve intact its revolutionary fighting capacity amidst conditions of Fascist reaction and Fascist exceptional laws. Consequently, organisational tasks now acquire exceptional significance for the Italian Party (the creation of fresh cadres, the restoration of strong mass organisations, the adoption of new methods of agitational work, etc.).

In internal Party life, the Party has overcome the "Bordiga" ideology, which formerly predominated in its ranks, and has succeeded in securing a large measure of unity in ideology and political views. These successes enable the Party energetically to resume its former struggle against Right wing deviations (abandonment of the fight for the leadership of the proletariat), for under present conditions, these tendencies represent a very serious danger to the Party. At the same time, the Italian Communist Party must strongly combat all tendencies towards repudiating or curtailing the possibilities of extensive work for winning the masses who are at present under the influence of non-Communist, but anti-Fascist tendencies, or of the masses which Fascism is striving to influence. The Congress instructs the Italian comrades to utilise to a greater degree than they have done hitherto all the opportunities that present themselves for work in the Fascist mass organisations, and for creating independent mass organisations for the purpose of expending the influence of the Party.

47. The 3¼ million votes obtained by the *Communist Party of Germany* at the last elections reveal on the one hand the considerable growth of Communist influence among the masses of the workers and on the other hand the great disproportion that exists between the political influence of the Party and its organisational strength (stationary membership: 3¼ million votes, but only 125,000 paying members). The successes achieved in the trade union movement totally fail to correspond to the magnitude of the tasks that confront the Party in this sphere of work. A great achievement is the organization of the Red Front Fighters, which is developing on a mass basis. The complete liquidation of ultra-Left deviations, the collapse of the so-called "Lenin Bund" and the self-exposure of its Social Democratic core, also represent a great victory for the German Communist Party. The Communist Party of Germany is one of the best units of the international proletarian revolutionary army, but it has against

itself the best organized Social Democratic Party, which still has extremely strong roots in the country,—this creating favourable soil for Right wing deviations even in the Communist movement itself. For that reason, consistent struggle against Right deviations (the slogan of control of production in the present stage of development; opposition to the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U.; compromising attitudes towards left wing Social Democrats, etc.); unflinching liquidation of tendencies conciliatory towards these deviations, while at the same time utilising for responsible Party work all the best Party workers who stand for the decisions of the Comintern and for the Essen Congress of the Communist Party of Germany; to steer a determined course for the consolidation of the Party; to consolidate all the forces of the existing leadership and strengthen its collective character, while maintaining the absolute subordination of the minority to the majority—all these are the tasks of the day. These tasks also include the creation of new proletarian cadres; increasing the activity of the Party masses; raising the cultural, political and theoretical level of the active Party members; to improve the press and increase its circulation; to improve trade union work and the leadership of industrial conflicts.

48. The *Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia* continues to make progress in the direction of becoming a real mass Party of the proletariat. Nevertheless, it suffers from serious shortcomings, viz., a certain amount of opportunistic passivity in the leadership and inadequate ability to mobilise the masses and to organise mass resistance (for example, the protest against the prohibition of the Spartakiade); the excessively legalist lines on which it conducts its practical work; inadequate attention to the peasant and national question and also extreme tardiness in removing defects in trade union work (lack of a sufficiently distinct Communist line; exclusiveness of Red trade unions; weak ties in reformist unions, with cases of ideological captivity of Communists, etc.). At the same time strong emphasis must be laid on the need, while conducting a strenuous fight against the Government, and while protecting the legal positions, of the Party, for preparing for underground conditions of working and fighting.

49. The *Communist Party of Poland* (underground) working amidst conditions of Fascist terror has not only preserved its position, but has grown in membership and still more in political influence, and is becoming a serious political factor in the country, particularly in the industrial centres. Having completely rectified the grave opportunistic errors committed during the Pilsudsky *coup d'état*, the Party now has a correct political line. However, very serious danger exists in the internal struggle within the Party which is totally unjustified in view of the absence of any really important political disagreements. In view of the special importance that attaches to the Polish Party, and the grave responsibility that rests upon it in the event of war, the Congress strongly demands the complete cessation of factional struggle, and gives the E. C. C. I. special instructions to take in the name of the Congress all the necessary measures towards this end.

50. The *Communist Parties in the Balkan countries* are at the present time confronted by extremely important tasks. The tasks emerge from the instability of the internal political situation in all the Balkan countries, the steady intensification of the agrarian crisis in these countries, the growing complexity of national problems, and also from the fact that the Balkans represent one of the most dangerous hotbeds for the breeding of fresh wars.

Recently, nearly all the Communist Parties in the Balkans experienced serious internal crises called forth by the political errors, right-wing deviations in certain leading groups and by intense factional strife, all of which in turn were called forth by the severe defeats and the extreme complexity of the objective situation. At the present time, however, nearly all the Communist Parties in the Balkans are well on the way towards liquidating these internal crises, and, notwithstanding the reign of terror introduced by the respective Balkan Governments, are nearly all consolidating, restoring and expanding their contacts with the masses of the workers and peasants in the respective countries.

The Congress strongly emphasises the necessity for a correct line of policy for the Balkan Communist Parties in the national question, and the need for extensive agitational and organisational work among the masses of the peasantry.

Now that the *Communist Party of Roumania* has gone a long way towards overcoming the serious internal crisis which until very recently paralysed its work, the Congress strongly stresses the political and organisational tasks that now confront it in view of the fact that the Roumanian bourgeois and feudal

classes are striving to excel all others in their preparations for an attack upon the U.S.S.R.

All the Balkan Parties must, far better than they have done hitherto, co-ordinate and combine their work under the general political slogan of "A Workers' and Peasants' Balkan Federation."

51. In regard to the *Scandinavian* countries, the Congress takes note of the intensification of class antagonisms in these countries, of a further sharp swing to the right of social-democracy; and in Norway the complete capitulation of the centre (Traumaelism) to social-democracy and a direct transition to the side of ministerial socialism. At the same time, the masses of the workers are swinging to the left, and are, to an increasing extent, adopting the slogans of the Communist Party (the printers' strike and the protest strike against the anti-strike laws in Sweden; the builders' strike against compulsory arbitration and the establishment of Workers' Self-Defence Corps by the land and forest workers as a protection against blacklegs in Norway). The swing to the left of the masses manifests itself in the movement in favour of agreements between the Scandinavian and Soviet trade unions, and in the Norway-Finland-Russian Conference that took place in Copenhagen, which demonstrated the desire of the masses for international trade union unity. Notwithstanding these successes, the Communist Parties in all the Scandinavian countries must, more strenuously than hitherto, strive to organisationally consolidate their political and ideological influence upon the masses of the toilers, and particularly to expand and consolidate the swing to the left of the proletariat by proper organisational measures.

52. The *Workers' (Communist) Party of America* has displayed more lively activity and has taken advantage of the symptoms of crisis in American industry and the growth of unemployment (caused by the extremely rapid rise in the organic composition of capital and the development of the technique of production). A number of stubborn and fierce class battles (primarily the miners' strike) found in the Communist Party a stalwart leader. The campaign against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was also conducted under the leadership of the Party, within which is observed a slackening of the long-standing fractional struggle. While recording successes, however, references must be made to a number of right mistakes committed in connection with the Socialist Party; to the fact that the Party has not with sufficient energy conducted work for the organisation of the unorganised and for the organisation of the negro movement, and to the fact that it fails to carry on a sufficiently impressionable struggle against the predatory policy of the United States in Latin America. These mistakes, however, cannot be ascribed exclusively to the majority leadership.

On the question of organising a Labour Party, the Congress resolved: that the Party concentrates on the work in the trade unions, on organising the unorganised, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realisation of the slogan of a broad Labour Party, organised from below. The most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional strife—which is not based on any serious differences on principles—and at the same time to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to give a definite stimulus to the promotion of workers to leading posts in the Party.

53. The *Communist Party of Japan*, with its underground apparatus, has made its first entry into the electoral struggle. Notwithstanding the terror, it carries on mass agitational work, publishes an illegal organ, carries through mass campaigns (for example, the campaign of protest against the dissolution of the three mass organisations: Rodo Nominto, the Hyogikai—Left-Wing Trade Union Federation—and the youth organisation). The principal task confronting the Party which is overcoming its internal ideological waverings, is to proceed along the path of converting itself into a mass Party. In order to achieve this persistent work must be carried on among the masses of the proletariat and in the trade unions, and the fight must be conducted for trade union unity. Work must also be carried on among the masses of the peasantry, particularly on the basis of the tenant-farmer movement. Notwithstanding the difficult conditions under which the Party has to work (the law inflicting the death penalty for "dangerous thoughts") and the numerical weakness of the Party, it must exert every effort to defend the Chinese revolution and to fight against the predatory policy of Japanese imperialism.

54. The *Communist Party of China* has suffered a series of severe defeats due to a number of grave opportunist errors committed in the past, viz., lack of independence from and failure freely to criticise the Kuomintang; the failure

to understand that the revolution was passing from one stage to another, and the necessity for timely preparations for resistance, and, finally, its retarding of the agrarian revolution. Under the blows of defeat the Party has heroically rectified its mistakes, and has declared ruthless war on opportunism. Its leaders, however, committed a mistake of another kind in failing to put up sufficient resistance to obvious putschist and adventurist moods, which led to the unsuccessful uprisings in Hunan, Hupeh and other places. On the other hand, several comrades dropped into opportunist errors; they began to advance the slogan of a National Assembly. The Congress considers it to be absolutely wrong to regard the Canton uprising as a putsch. The Canton uprising was an heroic rearguard action of the Chinese proletariat in the preceding period of the revolution, and notwithstanding the grave errors committed by the leaders in the course of the rising, it marks the beginning of the new Soviet phase of revolution. The principal tasks confronting the Party in the present situation, in the trough of two waves of the revolution, are to fight for the masses, to carry on mass work among the workers and peasants, to restore their organisations and to take advantage of all discontent with the landowners, the bourgeoisie, the militarists and the foreign imperialists for the purpose of developing the revolutionary struggle. To achieve this it is necessary to strengthen the Party itself in every way. The slogan of mass uprising now becomes a propaganda slogan, and only to the extent that the masses are really prepared and the conditions for a fresh revolutionary tide mature, will it again become the slogan of immediate practice on a higher plane, under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry based on Soviets.

55. In the *Latin-American* countries the principal task of the Communists is to organise and consolidate Communist Parties.

In some countries (Argentine, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay) Communist Parties have been in existence for several years, and consequently the task that now confronts them is to strengthen themselves ideologically and organisationally and to transform themselves into genuine mass parties. In several other countries independent Communist Parties, organised as proletarian parties, do not yet exist. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to devote more attention to the Latin-American countries generally and to draft a "programme of action" for the parties in these countries (which, among other questions, include the extremely important agrarian peasant question and the question of combatting United States imperialism). The E. C. C. I. must secure the definite organisation of these Parties, to see that proper relations are established between them and the non-Party organisations (trade unions, peasant unions), to see that they carry on proper work among the masses; that they consolidate and broaden the trade unions, unify and centralise them, etc.

56. The Congress notes a growth of Communist influence in *South Africa*. The Congress imposes the obligation upon all Communists there to take up as their central tasks the organisation of the toiling negro masses, the strengthening of negro trade unions and the fight against "white" chauvinism. The fight against foreign imperialism in all its forms; the advocacy of complete and absolute equality for negroes; strenuous struggle against all exceptional laws against negroes; determined support for the fight against driving the peasants from the land; to organise the peasants for the struggle for the agrarian revolution, while at the same time strengthening the Communist groups and Parties—such must be the fundamental tasks of the Communists in these countries.

57. The Congress notes with special satisfaction that in the U. S. S. R., the land of the *proletarian dictatorship*, the Party of the proletariat, the C. P. S. U., after overcoming the social-democratic Trotskyist deviations in its ranks, and after overcoming a number of the objective economic difficulties arising in the reconstruction period, has achieved important successes in the work of building up socialism in the U. S. S. R., and has proceeded now to take up the work for the socialism reorganisation of peasant economy. Work for the building up of socialism in the U. S. S. R. must henceforth develop on the basis of the industrialisation of the country as a whole, and on the basis of intensified socialist construction in the countryside (Soviet farms, collective farms and the organisation of individual farms into mass co-operative farms). Simultaneously with this work, the Leninist slogan concerning reliance upon the rural poor, alliance with the middle peasants and struggle against the kulak (rich farmer) must be systematically carried out.

The Congress places on record that the C. P. S. U. has taken timely note of the elements of bureaucracy and conservatism in certain links of the State, economic, trade union, and even the Party apparatus, and that it is con-

ducting a strong campaign against these tendencies. The development of self-criticism; the intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy; the rallying of the forces and unfolding the activities of the working class—which commands the hegemony in the whole revolutionary development of the U. S. S. R.—represent the most important tasks of the Party. The Congress expresses the conviction that the Party will not only emerge victoriously from the economic difficulties arising from the general backwardness of the country, but—with the aid of the whole of the international proletariat—will also emerge victoriously from the external conflicts, for which the ruling groups in imperialist States are systematically preparing.

VIII

The Fight for the Leninist Line and the Unity of the Comintern

58. On the background of grave difficulties of the stabilisation period in the capitalist countries, and of the difficulties of the reconstruction period in the U. S. S. R., oppositional groups arose in the Communist International which strove to organise themselves on an international scale. Their various wings and shades (from extreme right wing to extreme "left" wing) found their most complete expression in the criticism of the dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., which slanderously ascribed a more or less petty-bourgeois character to this dictatorship and undermined the mobilising capacity of the international proletariat. In the various national sections of the Comintern these views were linked up with extreme right (the Souvarine group in France) and with extreme "left" views (Korsch and Maslov in Germany). All these tendencies, inspired and united by Trotskyism, formed a united bloc, but began rapidly to break up after the defeat of the Trotskyist opposition in the C. P. S. U. The principal nucleus of this bloc in Western Europe, the so-called "Lenin-Bund," which was based on the platform of Trotskyism, and which organised itself into an independent Party, exposed itself as an open agent of social-democracy. In fact a considerable section of this group passed directly into the Social-Democratic Party, the open and bitter opponent of the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

59. On the basis of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, and directly owing to the influence of social-democracy, the principal line of deviation from the correct political position observed within the Communist Parties at the present time is towards the right. This manifests itself in survivals of "legalism," in an excessive obedience to the law, in "khvostism" in relation to the strike movement (dragging at the tail of the movement), in an incorrect attitude towards social-democracy (for example, the resistance that was offered to the decisions of the Ninth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in France), in inadequate reaction to international events, etc. In view of the existence of relatively strong Social-Democratic Parties, these right deviations are particularly dangerous and the fight against them must be put into the forefront. This implies a systematic struggle against a conciliatory attitude towards Right-Wing tendencies within the Communist Parties. However, side by side with this there are "left" deviations, which find their expression in a tendency to reject the tactics of the united front and the failure to understand the enormous importance of trade union work, in a policy of revolutionary phrases, and in China, in putschist tendencies.

60. The Congress instructs all the Parties to combat these deviations and to combat them primarily by means of persuasion. The Congress places on record that the decisions of the Seventh Enlarged Plenum concerning the raising of the theoretical level of the membership and the promotion of new Party workers, etc., has not been carried out in a number of important countries. The Congress is of the opinion that in view of the extreme complexity of the international situation and the possibility of sharp changes in the historical situation, all measures must be taken to raise the theoretical level of the Communist Parties generally, and of their principal cadres in particular. In view of the necessity to consolidate the central leadership of the Communist International, and to guarantee the closest contact with the Parties, the Congress resolves that authoritative representatives of the most important parties be appointed in the capacity of permanent workers in the leading organs of the Communist International.

61. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to employ all measures necessary to preserve the unity of the Communist International and of its sections. Only

on the basis of good team work and on the condition that differences are removed, primarily by methods of internal Party democracy, will it be possible to overcome the enormous difficulties of the present time and to fulfill the great tasks of the immediate future.

The serious mistakes observed in the internal life of our Parties at the present time (the tendency towards bureaucracy, drop in Party membership in several countries, political inactivity of the subordinate organisations, etc.) can be overcome by raising the level of political life in the Communist Parties in all their organisational links on the basis of wider internal democracy. This does not imply that discipline is to be relaxed; on the contrary, it implies the general tightening up of iron, internal discipline, the absolute subordination of the minor organizations, as well as other Party organisations (parliamentary fractions, fractions in the trade unions, the press, etc.) to the leading Party centres and of all sections of the Comintern to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The tightening up of proletarian discipline in the Parties; the consolidation of the Parties; the elimination of factional strife, etc., are an absolute condition for the victorious proletarian struggle against all the forces imperialism is mobilising.

EXHIBIT No. 62

[Source: The Communist, September, 1929. Max Bedacht, editor. From an article entitled, "Ten Years of the Communist Party in the United States"]

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The resolution of the Second World Congress on the role of the workers' councils (soviets) destroyed this illusion and brought our American Party back to the realities of the American class struggle and the needs of the American working class in this struggle.

The 21 conditions of membership in the Communist International, adopted at the Second World Congress, also settled definitely the character of a Communist and of a Communist Party.

From the Second World Congress on the development of our Party and its unification was distinctly on a basis of a progressive absorption of the decisions of the Second World Congress by the Party.

The second period of post-war capitalism made it clear to our Party that it can play its revolutionary role only in the degree in which it succeeds in making itself the leader of the American working masses in their every-day struggles, and in the degree it succeeds in conveying to these masses out of the experiences of this every-day struggles the conception of the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The Communist International, as the international leader of our Party, was most instrumental in creating this definite understanding of its tasks in our Party. Especially Comrade Lenin was instrumental in bringing our Party out of the clouds of revolutionary phrases on to the firm ground of revolutionary action. His "Left Communism: An Infantile Disorder," and his discussions with representatives of the American Party, and especially his conferences with the delegation of our Party to the Third World Congress, were starting points in the concretization of the tasks of our Party. In his conferences with the American delegation to the Third Congress he proved to the delegation that he knew the general problems of the American Party better than the American Party or its representatives did. [page 484]

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The guiding hand of the Comintern, so invaluable during the entire existence of our Party, again straightened out its course. [page 485]

EXHIBIT No. 63

[Source: The Communist, September, 1929, Vol. VIII, No. 9, pages 502-511; Max Bedacht, editor]

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THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMINTERN IN AMERICA

By Leon Platt

The internal struggle now taking place in the Communist Party of America as well as within the Communist Parties of other countries, is the most outstanding

and important since the days when the international communist movement declared Trotskyism a counter revolutionary ideology and opened war against it. The actions of Lovestone and his group, and the struggle of our Party against them bring to the surface a series of questions, which are of decisive importance to the membership of our Party and to the revolutionary workers who carry on their daily struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. The present day position of Lovestone on the role of the Comintern, the role of leadership in a Communist Party, and his role in the struggle against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union must be exposed before the working class, and show his degeneration to Social Democracy.

1. *Why do the Communists fight among themselves?*

Many of our Party members and revolutionary workers who are being influenced by our Party ask this question. The bourgeoisie, the social democrats and all other enemies of the revolutionary movement are again rejoicing over the internal struggle in our Party and the actions the Party had to take in eliminating some of its former leaders who ceased to lead and became misleaders. The Communist Party wants to make it clear that internal controversies in a Communist Party are not based on personal struggle between individual leaders. Internal fights in a Communist Party are based on political differences and not on unprincipled scramble for power as the bourgeoisie interprets and as even some of our backward members believe it to be.

The development of the revolutionary movement is not following a straight line. The tactics and policies of our Party are being shaped according to the economic and political situation existing in the United States at given periods and are subordinated to our chief aims of the full realization of our Communist program. If at a certain period the economic and political conditions change, then the party basing itself on Leninist analysis of these changed conditions must also change its course and adopt new tactics to be able to cope with the newly created situation. This the Party must do if it does not want to isolate itself from the toiling masses and remain the leader of the working class in its struggle against capitalism.

From the experience of the revolutionary movement we know that, in a period when the Party has to take a sharp turn, we have certain sections of our members as well as sections of our leadership, who do not see the changed economic and political conditions and consequently refuse to follow the new political line of the Party and not only persist in maintaining their old course but begin actively to oppose the new orientation and decisions of the Party. This creates the basis for differences in a Communist Party. It is true that our American Party went through many years of unprincipled struggle without any political basis; this fact was already long ago established by the Comintern and does not concern the present struggle of the Party against Lovestone and his group.

The Communists as convinced Leninists carry on an uncompromising struggle against those who deviate from the Leninist line of the Party. This struggle cannot remain a secret or be avoided. The Party as the leader of the working class, brings out into the open all the political differences that exist in the Party and on the basis of consistent Leninist political discussion it clarifies its membership and the revolutionary workers and thereby adopts a correct Communist policy that will lead the working class to victory. However, those leaders of the Party, who refuse to subordinate themselves to the accepted opinions and decisions of the Party majority and insist on following a different line, the Party vigorously combats and does not hesitate to use any disciplinary measures against them.

2. *The Question of Leaders in a Communist Organization*

The present period of capitalist development, known as the third period, is being characterized by the sharpening of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism which have their inevitable effect upon the working class, leading to developing sharp class struggles. Lovestone refuses to see the contradictions arising in the present third period of capitalist development and began to organize an active opposition to the new course of the Party and the Communist International. The American Party as well as the Communist International has already had experience with situations, where former Party leaders instead of being the champions of the new course and tactics of the Party become an hindrance and prevent the Party from carrying out its new tasks. Of particular importance to us are the experiences derived from our struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.

When Lovestone today pretends not to understand the reasons for the decisive and energetic action of the Party against him and his group it will be of interest to recall some of the views expressed by one of the present leaders of the right wing group and see how today they lost every vestige of Communist consciousness and responsibility. In a speech made by Wolfe on Trotskyism in 1928, it is said:

"We live in a changing world and those who are not capable of adjusting themselves may lead today in the right direction, tomorrow in the wrong direction. Then they become misleaders and must be fought. The history of our movement is full of such persons." (From a corrected stenogram of a speech by B. D. Wolfe.)

"Thus the same leader continuing to lead in the same direction when a new direction is necessary, becomes a misleader and it becomes necessary for the working class to cease to follow him, oftentimes to fight him." (From an article by B. D. Wolfe, Leaders and Faction fights.)

This was the approach of our Party membership in the struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. However, it is not only limited to Trotskyism, but applied to leadership in a communist organization generally. In the present moment in the case of Lovestone, Wolfe, and Gitlow.

The Trotskyites, to justify their struggle against the Communist International brought up the past services of Trotsky, his personal abilities and individual greatness. Likewise Lovestone and his groups bring continually up their past work as a justification for their present slander and struggle against the Comintern. The membership must answer Lovestone as it did to Trotsky, that their past work as leaders who today became renegades is not the question before the Party. The party and the revolutionary working class do not judge their leaders only on their past. What is important for the party is where do they lead at present? We shall let Wolfe speak again to show how Lovestone and Wolfe degenerated to social democracy. In the same speech Wolfe continues:

"So I say we cannot ask how eloquently does this man speak? How much has he served us in the past, how much has he seemed to be a leader. At every stage, again and again, we must subject our leadership to the most searching analysis and ask *where are they leading in the present movement?* What are the objective results of their proposals for the working class? In our movement there is no room for hero worship. When our leaders become misleaders, we break them just as we have made them, otherwise we cannot go ahead to victory."

The membership of our Party has no sentimental approach to its leadership and the personal factor is not important. The membership therefore must understand and not to permit itself to be confused with the demagogic arguments of Lovestone expressed in every one of his anti-Party documents, about his past services, long membership in Party, devotion, etc. . . . All this does not justify his struggle against the Communist International, but on the contrary condemns him. This petty bourgeois ideology basing leadership in a Communist Party on sentiment must be condemned, because it weakens the consistency of a bolshevik leadership which can only lead to the political degeneration of the party. Only those who are permeated with a bourgeois ideology and completely degenerated into the camp of social democracy can judge leadership on the basis of personal characteristics. The membership of a Communist Party has only a political attitude to its leadership. They judge concrete deeds and policies and nothing else, and in spite of everything Lovestone, Wolfe and Gitlow have done in the past the moment however, they began to struggle against the Communist International they were condemned by the membership and expelled from the Party. To make Wolfe understand why this was done we will let Wolfe speak again:

Let him not dare to say: 'Look what I did for the movement yesterday.' For the working class must always answer: 'What are you doing for the movement today?' It is useless for him to urge: 'On such and such an occasion I was right' when it is clear to all conscious workers that on the present occasion he is wrong."

"The revolution has no respect for persons. In fact the more prominent a leader has been in the past, and the greater his reputation, the more dangerous his influence for the bad becomes when he attempts to lead in the wrong direction." (Leaders and Faction Fights by B. D. Wolfe.)

The history of all those who deviated from the line of the Communist International and resisted its decisions shows that they inevitably have to land in the

camp of social democracy. From passive resistance and disagreements on little questions they finally build up a political platform which becomes incompatible with membership in the Communist International.

3. *The role of the Comintern.*—The 6th World Congress correctly pointed out and confirmed by the 10th Plenum of the C. I. that the main danger facing the Communist Parties is the right danger. The right danger consists in the failure to see the contradictions of capitalism in the present period, the shakiness of capitalist stabilization, the great disproportion between the developing forces of production and the contraction of markets, the effects of capitalist rationalization on the working class, sharpening of the contradictions between the state building socialism and the capitalist world and the effect of all these contradictions on the working class and the further development of capitalism. The working class in the present period of capitalist contradictions is becoming more radicalized and is entering into a counter-offensive against its exploiters, the economic struggles of the workers are today being raised to a higher level and the daily struggles for better economic conditions are today assuming a political character and directed against the capitalist system as a whole. The increasing pressure of the imperialist world on the colonial countries inevitably leads to a growing resistance on the part of the colonial people against imperialism and the growing class differentiation in the colonies, where the working class is also assuming the role of the leader of the National Liberation movement. On the other hand the basic internal and external contradictions of capitalism, are sharpening the war danger between the U. S. S. R. and the imperialist world and between the imperialist powers themselves. Deviations from the above analysis given by the Comintern, inevitably leads to an overestimation of the strength of capitalism and thereby creating the impression that the working class will never be able to overthrow capitalism, underestimation of the readiness of the working class to struggle for better economic conditions, softening of our struggle against the "progressive" and "left" wing of the Socialist party. Not seeing the present contradictions of capitalism and their effect upon the working class will lead the party to isolation from the masses and instead of being at the head of these struggles of the workers the party will find itself at the tail end of these struggles. For this reason the C. I. and every Party in the Comintern are carrying on a bitter struggle against the right winger and conciliators who fight the political line of the Communist International. This struggle was yet begun at the 9th Plenum of the C. I. and at the 6th congress, however, the moment the decisions of the congress began to be put into effect, the right wing became more crystallized and increased its resistance to the line of the C. I. This necessitated for the C. I. to take more energetic measures in combatting the right wing. To Lovestone, however, the right wing in the Comintern is the Comintern itself. In one of his documents of August 19, Lovestone writes:

"Replacing any attempt (by the 10th Plenum L.P.) to estimate the situation of the parties of the Comintern as a whole, there are whole columns of measureless abuse against the "rights and conciliators" (that is generally primarily at those who resist the revision of the line of the 6th congress.)"

The characteristic feature of all those who in the past have fought the line of the Comintern and refused to carry out its decisions is, that they carry on their struggle under the pretext of fighting the revisionist and saving Leninism. In America too, Lovestone is justifying his struggle and slander against the Communist International under the pretext that the E.C.C.I. and the 10th plenum are revising the decision of the 6th congress and Leninism. In the same document of August 19, Lovestone states:

"The tenth Plenum and its thesis has put a stamp of official approval on the dangerous line of revision of the 6th congress decisions and of Leninism recently carried through by the E. C. C. I. and the "new leaderships" in the U.S. and other countries."

The party and the Communist International are not blind to this hypocrisy. From the experience of the revolutionary movement we know, that many crimes were committed in the names of Leninism and Marxism. In 1912 Bernstein revised Marxism under the excuse that he was trying to save Marxism. Trotsky and Cannon in America are today fighting the Communist International also under the excuse that they are fighting the revision of Leninism. Brandler and Thalheimer in Germany, who deny the existence of the war danger advocating collaboration with the social democrats for workers control of production, denying the fascist role of the social democrats, are also fighting the Comintern under the excuse that the Comintern is revising the 6th congress and Leninism.

The events that took place since the 6th congress proves distinctly that not only was the analysis of the 6th congress correct, but that this line was effectively

carried out by the Comintern in the course of the daily struggles of the International proletariat. The sharpened struggle against social democracy and the exposure of its fascist role before the working class, the raising of the economic struggle of the workers to a higher level by transforming them into political struggles against capitalism generally, the August 1, anti-war demonstrations, all this represents an effective application of the policy adopted at the 6th World Congress of "class against class." The expulsion of the right wingers from the Communist International and cleansing the ranks of all communist parties from opportunists and social democrats is a continuation of the policy laid down at the 6th congress of struggle against the right danger and ideological consolidation of the Communist Parties. The anti-war demonstration of August 1 taking place over the entire world is a direct outgrowth of the line of the 6th congress in the struggle against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand issuing strike-breaking bulletins on August 1, urging the workers not to strike when the party in certain sections of the country did issue the slogan: "Down tools on August 1," failure to see the contradictions of capitalism in the third period, failure to see the growing radicalization of the American workers, violation of the most fundamental principles of communist organization, etc., represents not only a revision of the 6th world congress decisions but of communist principles generally and succumbing to social democracy.

Lovestone with his "theory" of the "degeneration" of the Communist International is going a step further. He is not limiting himself with the charge that the C. I. is revising the 6th congress and Leninism, but that the C. I. is destroying the Communist Parties of the International. In the document of August 19, Lovestone writes:

"The 'new leaderships' are conducting a campaign of ideological and organizational terror (similar to our own 'enlightenment campaign') which have succeeded in paralyzing the energies of the Parties and giving them great political and organizational setbacks . . . in practically all countries (U. S. S. R., Germany, France, U. S. Czecho-Slovakia, England, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, Canada, etc.)"

What is the political meaning of Lovestone's charges of the "degeneracy" of the Comintern, what political conclusions can he draw from this if he is to take Lovestone seriously? If the Comintern is revising Leninism, so what is it accepting in its place? Every class conscious worker knows, that today there are only two ways for the working class to follow, either along the Leninist revolutionary lines or along capitalist lines. The revolutionary front and the capitalist front are today more leveled than ever before, there is no middle ground between them. According to Lovestone, when the Communist International revised Leninism it naturally must accept social democracy, then the logical conclusion one can come to is, that the Comintern is no longer a communist organization, that it outlived its purpose and has no justification for its existence as a revolutionary force. These are the conclusions Lovestone draws in one of his documents of September 4. In this document Lovestone charges the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International that they revised Leninism and accepted Trotskyism in its place. Lovestone says:

"With the support of the E. C. C. I. the 'new leaderships' are carrying through a revision of the line of the 6th congress and Leninism. Such revision has brought them closer to the line and views of Trotskyism in its various forms." The revolutionary working class however, knows that Trotskyism is a counter-revolutionary ideology incompatible with Communism and those who "are brought closer to the line and views of Trotskyism in its various forms" are counter-revolutionaries.

The renegade Lovestone further says that the E.C.C.I. endorsed such leaderships in the various parties of the C.I. that "have succeeded in paralyzing the energies of the Parties and giving them great political and organizational setbacks . . . in practically all countries (U.S.S.R., Germany, France, U. S., Czecho-Slovakia, England, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, Canada, etc." What political conclusions can one draw from this statement if he is to take Lovestone seriously in the case. If the Comintern today is destroying the energies of the parties—the leader of the working class and giving them great organizational and political set-backs, then the Comintern is not only destroying the Communist movement which it itself helped to build, but with this very act it is defeating the working class and thereby assuming a counter-revolutionary role and must be combatted as such. If the Comintern is no longer the general staff of the world revolution, the leader of the struggles of the exploited

and oppressed workers and colonial people then why should the workers follow the Comintern and carry on struggles under its banner? If the Comintern replaced Leninism with Trotskyism then why should a true communist belong to the Comintern? This is where Lovestone leads to. This is how Lovestone thinks and this is political basis for struggles against the Party and the Comintern leading directly to counter-revolution.

However, the developments since the world congress prove that it is Lovestone who degenerated to Trotskyism and revised Leninism, and that the C.I. applied the decisions and program adopted at the 6th congress in a true Leninist fashion. The struggles carried on by our German Party under the leadership of the C.I. in the Ruhr district, the strike in Lodz, the strikes in Bombay, Calcutta, the strike of the textile and agricultural workers of Czecho-Slovakia, the miners' and textile strikes in France, the strikes in Colombia, the Gastonia strike, the heroic struggles of the Berlin proletariat on the barricades on May 1, the political demonstrations of the International proletariat on August 1 against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. All these heroic battles of the International working class, led under the direct guidance of the Communist International shattered the capitalist world and drove social democracy to fascism, all this shows distinctly that the Comintern is the only revolutionary organization fighting capitalism.

Only a renegade and social democrat blinded by his zeal to discredit the leader of the working class can say that the Comintern today is revising Leninism and accepting Trotskyism in its place and breaking up the various parties of the Communist International. Such views have no place in Communist Parties and individuals holding such views cannot remain members of the Communist International, and when the Party expelled Lovestone and his right wing group, it did what Wolfe himself expected the Party to do:

"The vanguard of the working class is not made up of blind followers and the wisdom of no individual is greater than the collective wisdom of the Party that judges him and that places him in a position of trust and removes him from this position according to how he serves at any given moment." (Leaders and Faction Fights, B. D. Wolfe.)

The Struggle Against War and for the Defense of the Soviet Union

The main task facing the Communist movement is the struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. The Party must popularize the achievements of the Russian workers in their building up of socialism and mobilize the support of the American workers for the defense of the U. S. S. R. What is the role of Lovestone in our struggle against war? It is necessary to establish the fact, that any one having a wrong view on inner Party questions cannot fight the war danger. The struggle and the slanders of Lovestone against the Comintern is undermining the prestige of the Comintern and thereby weakening our struggle against imperialist war. The direct acts of Lovestone coming out against the strikes the Party called in various sections of the country for August 1 and minimizing its political significance is of the same counter revolutionary character as the action of the Trotskyites who have also appealed to the workers not to demonstrate on August 1. Then if the Comintern revised Leninism and is not longer a revolutionary organization, why then shall the workers respond to the call of the Comintern in the struggle against war? Why should the workers defend this comintern?

If the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is accepting Trotskyism and is not building socialism then it is going to capitalism, and then why should the workers defend it? If the Russian Communist Party is nothing else but a bureaucratic machine revising Leninism then why should the workers of other countries follow the example of the Russian party and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat in their country? It must be recognized that Lovestone with his slanders against the Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is undermining the prestige of the U. S. S. R., the successful building up of socialism and is weakening the efforts of the party and the C.I. in mobilizing the support of the American workers for the defense of the Soviet Union. In this present period the attacks of Lovestone on our party is of the same counter-revolutionary nature as those of the Trotsky opposition. It would be here of interest to bring the opinion of one of the present leaders of this right wing group, of those who slander the Comintern and the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. and its effect on our struggle against war. In 1925 Wolfe wrote:

"If they were successful if the working class were to believe their slanders,

then they would be strengthening the imperialist armies, lessening the possibility of turning the imperialist war into a civil war, strengthening the forces preparing to attack the Soviet Union, and weakening the forces preparing to defend it. Their propaganda is the more dangerous because it is disguised in the name of Communism." (B. D. Wolfe, the Trotsky Opposition, page 55.)

As part of the struggle of our party against war, the party must carry on a struggle against counter-revolutionary Lovestonism and with his defeatist attitude, spreading pessimism, is undermining the efforts of the Party and the Comintern in mobilizing the workers for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The struggle against Lovestone and his right wing group can best be carried on by building the Party. Unless we widely popularize the decisions of the 6th world congress and the 10th plenum and make every member understand the contradictions of the present period of capitalist development and its effects on the working class, the party will not be in a position to lead the growing struggles of the American workers. In this period particularly it will be necessary for the party to continue its uncompromising struggle against Lovestone and all other manifestations of the right danger. The best answer the Party membership can give to disruptive activities of Lovestone is to strengthen the party organization, raise the political level of the membership and activate our party units. The American Party has great opportunities of becoming a mass party if it will follow and apply the political line of the Communist International. The position of the American working class is continually becoming worse, the deadly effects of rationalization and the tremendous war preparations of American imperialism will bring the American workers to the realization that only through sharp class struggle against their exploiters, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the T.U.U.L. established in Cleveland on August 31, will they be able to defeat their capitalist enemies. While the membership will build the party and T.U.U.L. and other mass organizations, Lovestone and his group will further degenerate into social democracy and completely go over into the camp of capitalism.

EXHIBIT No. 64

[Source: Daily Worker, July 11, 1929, page 1]

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FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR MUST RALLY MASSES OF WORKERS THROUGHOUT U. S.

The capitalist governments and the imperialists of the whole world are alarmed at the preparations going on everywhere to make August 1 a day of mobilization of the masses for revolutionary struggle against the war danger.

The trickery, the duplicity, the stealthy preparations that are being made to plunge the world into another war are being exposed in every capitalist country in the world.

August 1 must put the war-mongers on the defensive. In no uncertain terms the masses will rally against the conspiracies, the provocations and the open war preparations against the Soviet Union, the federated republic of workers and peasants.

The workers in the two giant imperialist countries, the United States and England, will stage strikes and great demonstrations against the war preparations of their governments.

The Communist Party of the United States is the driving force in the fight against imperialist war here. The biggest districts of the Party have already held conferences that laid down the principal agitational and organization tasks for August 1. There will be demonstrations of a nature never before staged in the United States. Many war industries themselves will be hit by the workers employed in them.

In the preparation for August 1, the Daily Worker plays an increasingly important role. We expose the war plans of the imperialists and act as collective organizer in mobilizing the workers in the great basic industries for the struggle against the war danger. We have plans on foot to publish some of the most startling information about the war game of the United States government.

But in order to be able to carry out our tasks funds are urgently needed to keep the Daily alive. The raising of funds to help the Daily and the campaign for the One Day's Wage for the Party and the Daily are a part of the fight against the imperialists. The Communist International, in its directives for Inter-

national Day Against War, August 1, urged the raising of funds with which to carry on the struggle not only for the mightiest of demonstrations and strikes on that day, but to enable the Parties to be in a financial condition to continue and intensify the struggle in the coming months; it must be the turning point whereby the workers take the offensive against the war-mongers. Instead of the end it is the beginning of our offensive.

But first and foremost it is necessary that our Party press survive in order that the workers may be able to get day by day information the development of the struggle. But this cannot be done without immediate assistance. Rush funds at once to the Daily Worker, 26 Union Square, New York.

EXHIBIT No. 65

[Source: Daily Worker, May 20, 1929, page 3]

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DECISIONS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. ON THE ADDRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Decisions made Saturday, May 18, 1929.)

1. The Central Committee accepts and endorses the Address to the American Party membership by the Executive Committee of the Communist International and undertakes to win the entire Party membership for the support of the Comintern Address.

2. The Central Committee pledges itself unconditionally to carry into effect the decisions contained in this Address.

3. The Central Committee pledges itself and its members to defend the Address of the Comintern before the membership against any ideological or other opposition to the Address.

4. Central Committee calls upon the members of the delegation in Moscow to withdraw all opposition to the Address and to the decisions contained therein and to do all in their power to assist the Comintern and the Central Committee of the American Party to unify the Party in support of these decisions.

5. The Central Committee instructs the Secretariat to proceed immediately, in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, to take all measures necessary to put into application the decisions and to realize the objectives of the Comintern as expressed in the Address.

6. The Central Committee approves all decisions of the Secretariat of the same date, accepting and ordering immediate publication in the entire Party press of the Address of the E. C. C. I. to the American Party membership, and instructs the Secretariat to put these decisions into effect immediately.

EXHIBIT No. 66

[Source: Excerpts from a pamphlet entitled "Building Socialism in the Soviet Union," by Leon Platt: Workers Library Publishers, 39 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y.: 1929. With an Introduction by the Agit-Prop Department, Communist Party of the U. S. A. Pages 5, 32, 38-40]

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INTRODUCTION

The 12th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution brings again to the working class of the world its epoch-making lessons of how the working class has defeated and overcome its enemies. When on November 7, 1917, the workers of Russia seized power under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, the Bolsheviks of the Communist Party, the realization in life of the long-dreamed-of dictatorship of the proletariat became an ineradicable fact of history of the most far-reaching revolutionary consequences.

If the November 7th Revolution shook the world, *then how much more world-shaking are the events accompanying the 12th Anniversary of that Revolution, which witnesses the beginnings of the concrete achievement of those aims for which the proletariat seized power*, that is, the building of a new system of society, of socialism, which should bring to the working class all those tremendous advantages made possible by the achievements of science in industry.

The *Five Year Plan*, the first year's operation of which is celebrated on the 12th Anniversary of the seizure of power, is the final seal upon the success and world-revolutionary significance of the Russian Revolution. It is the concrete expression of the *Building of Socialism*.

For the workers of the United States as well as of the whole world, the facts regarding the tremendous achievements being achieved in the Soviet Union are of the utmost interest and importance. To present them in their historical setting, and in a popular and easily-read style, this little pamphlet is issued by the Communist Party of the U. S. A. on the occasion of the 12th Anniversary, in the expectation that it will prove to be an introduction for thousands of American workers not only to an understanding of the Soviet Union but also to their duties and opportunities in the way of preparing the ground for similar victories and achievements in their own land.

AGIT-PROP DEPARTMENT.

Communist Party of the U. S. A.

NEW YORK CITY.

* * * * *

The Five Year Plan shows that only the Communist Parties and the Communist International are really the revolutionary leaders of the world proletariat. That only the Communist Party of the United States, the American section of the Communist International is capable of emancipating the American working class and leading it to victory. It proves that the Communist International is and will be the only revolutionary force that will lead the workers and the exploited colonial people to the social revolution.

10. The Tasks of the American Working Class

The economic and political system existing in the Soviet Union system. A war between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world is unavoidable. The Imperialist powers in spite of the great differences and antagonisms that exist between them are uniting for a combined attack on the Soviet Union. The attack on the Chinese Eastern Railroad by the Chinese generals, which has not the support of the Chinese workers and peasants, but which was inspired and is being supported with ammunition and finances, by the great imperialist powers, is already a concrete expression of the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union. The successful building of Socialism and the great improvement of the conditions of the working class and the superiority of Soviet Economy over the capitalist economy serves as an inspiration to the exploited workers of the capitalist countries and to the oppressed people in the colonial and semi colonial countries, encouraging them to throw off the capitalist class in their own country and follow the example of the Russian workers and establish a workers' and farmers' government under the leadership of the Communist Party. In addition to that is the fact that one sixth of the world's market having one eighth of the world's population is taken out from the sphere of capitalist exploitation, which would otherwise offer a rich field for the investment of the surplus capital of the Imperialist powers, and a valuable market for the surplus products of the capitalist countries. All these factors lead to an unavoidable war against the Soviet Union. The workers of the capitalist countries will be armed and called upon to go to war against the Soviet Union, to overthrow the workers' and farmers' government, to reestablish the old inferior methods of capitalist production and establish the rule of imperialism. The American workers when called upon to go into this war against the Soviet Union, must refuse to fight the Russian workers, and go over on the side of the Red Army. The American workers, like the Russian workers in 1917 must turn the imperialist war into a civil war against their real enemies—the capitalist class of the United States which exploits and oppresses the American working class.

Aside from this great task, the American workers must recognize that the best way they can help the Russian workers to establish a strong socialist foundation is by strengthening their revolutionary struggle against American capitalism. The stronger the American workers build the new revolutionary industrial unions, the wider they spread out their struggle against capitalist rationalization, the more the American workers join the Communist Party, the greater will be the guarantee of the successful carrying out of the Five Year Plan and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union.

At the same time the American workers must learn, that the aims of the Russian workers and peasants and the aims of Communist International are

not only to maintain the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and build socialism in the Soviet Union alone, but to destroy capitalism the world over and establish a workers' and farmers' government in every country. Though the Russian workers today are already laying the basis for the successful building of socialism, yet they will only be able to establish Socialism finally and completely when the proletarian revolution will also take place in other countries. This means that it is also the duty of the American workers to overthrow American capitalism and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 67

[Source: A booklet published by Workers Library Publishers, 35 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y.: 1929]

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TEN YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By I. Komar

Workers' Library Publishers, 35 East 125th St., New York. Published in March, 1929. Printed in England by the Dorrit Press, Limited (T. U. Through-out), 68-70 Lant St., London, S.E.I.

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TEN YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Historical Importance of the Third International

Immediately after the establishment of the Comintern, April 15th, 1919, Lenin wrote an article entitled "The Place of the Third International in History," in which he lays down the historical role of that organisation.

"The First International,"* says Lenin, "laid the foundation of the proletarian international struggle for socialism. The Second International† prepared the ground for a wide extension of the movement in a number of countries. The Third International succeeded to the fruits of the work of the Second International, threw overboard its opportunist social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ballast and made a beginning with the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This is the great historic importance of the Communist International. The realisation of proletarian dictatorship is the task of a whole historic epoch, the extension of which we, Leninists, cannot determine by a definite date. The first stronghold of proletarian dictatorship—the Soviet Union, has been in existence eleven years, and is going towards socialism. "On the Russian proletariat has devolved the great honour of being first in the field," says Lenin in his address at the opening of the April Conference of the Party in 1917, "but it must not forget that its movement and revolution constitute merely a part of the world revolutionary proletarian movement which is growing in strength from day to day."

*1864-1872.

†1889-1914.

According to this viewpoint of Lenin, the working class of the Soviet Union must consider the ten years' history of the Comintern as a phase of the great epoch of struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The Russian workers started this—the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world will bring it to a finish under the leadership of the Comintern.

The ten years of the militant history of the Comintern confirm the statement of the First Congress of the Comintern according to which "the Third International is the International of open mass action, the International of revolutionary realisation, the International of practical action." (Manifesto of the First Congress.) While at the first Constituent Congress of the Comintern only 11 Communist Parties were represented (the other delegates represented only groups, nuclei and embryonic Communist Parties), 59 Communist Parties participated in the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. This figure alone shows that the Comintern has become a world Party in the first ten years of its existence, has been transformed into a world organisation spread over all parts of the globe. At the time of the establishment of the Comintern, the imperialist world had isolated the Soviet Republics and everything which went on within their frontiers by means of a "real conspiracy of silence." (Lenin in the article quoted above.) The bourgeoisie endeavoured to surround also the Communist International with "a conspiracy of silence." At present, no one can simply ignore the Comintern. The bourgeois slogan at the present juncture with regard to the Comintern is: *strangulation, brutal persecution*. The majority of the 59 Communist Parties represented at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern work *illegally*, and the rest of the Parties are being gradually deprived of legal possibilities of work. This persecution of the Sections of the Comintern is one of the best proofs that "the spectre of Communism" has become a real and a growing danger to the imperialist bourgeoisie. A "danger" which the bourgeoisie and its ally, social-democracy, full of intense hatred, are endeavouring to remove, but which, in spite of persecution, is growing continually and, *via* victories and defeats, is marching towards the inevitable final victory. "Let the bourgeoisie do its worst, let it kill thousands of workers, victory is ours, the victory of the world Communist revolution is guaranteed." (Lenin: speech at the opening of the First Congress of the Comintern.)

Imperialism, says the Programme of the Comintern, "binds the whole world in chains of finance capital; forces its yoke upon the proletariat and the nations and races of all countries by methods of blood, iron and starvation; sharpens to an immeasurable degree the exploitation, oppression and enslavement of the proletariat."

The opportunist Second International of Social-Democracy has become an agency of imperialism in the ranks of the working class. However, to counterbalance it throughout the world there is "the Third, Communist International—the international organisation of the working class which embodies the real unity of the revolutionary workers of the world." (Programme of the C. I. Introduction.) The Comintern was created under Lenin's leadership, Lenin was the great advocate of the creation of the Third International, and its founder. Under Lenin's banner and under the leadership of Lenin's Party, the Comintern has established its strength in the first ten years of its existence, and has been converted into an invincible revolutionary force.

Against Reformism and Treachery—for the Restoration of the International

On August 4th, 1914, the beginning of the world war, Rosa Luxemburg called the German social-democracy "*a stinking corpse*." On November 1st, 1914, Lenin followed up this with: "The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism and long live the Third International."* On the same day was issued the manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik) on the imperialist war. The manifesto of the Bolsheviks condemned the war as an imperialist slaughter caused by the ruling classes—the finance and industrial bourgeoisie and its government. "The war is the beginning of the disintegration of the capitalist system," says the manifesto. "It calls forth the growth of the forces which make for an economic and political crisis, it intensifies and accentuates the discontent of the toiling masses, it leads them to civil war. The task of the socialists does not consist in being afraid of civil war, but in getting ready for such a war and for a proletarian revolution." The manifesto divulges the treachery of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Par-

*"The position and tasks of the Socialist International," *Social Democrat*, No. 33.

ties and calls upon all consistent internationalists to explain to the masses the real character of the war, to expose the treachery of these leaders, to break off all relations with them, to carry on work among the masses under the slogan "Down with the imperialist war, transform it into civil war directed against your own governments. Long live proletarian revolution and socialism."

This constituted the ideological platform of the struggle for the creation of the Third International. The task consisted in uniting, in the period of the fierce world slaughter, those forces of the international labour movement which were capable of putting into practice the slogan "Transformation of the imperialist war into civil war." The difficulties of this struggle were very noticeable at the international conferences held during the war in Switzerland. Lenin's views concerning the collapse of the Second International and the necessity of acting in the spirit of the decisions of the Basle Congress of the Second International in 1912 (in accordance with which the crisis created by the war must be used by the social-democrats for "the acceleration of the downfall of capitalism," in the spirit of the Paris Commune and of the Russian revolution of 1905), did not only meet at these conferences with resistance on the part of avowed opportunists, but had even to go through an extremely difficult ideological struggle with the centrists, semi-internationalists who under the cloak of revolutionary phraseology rejected the consistent viewpoint of Lenin and his conclusions.

The first international conference held in the spirit of struggle against war was the International Women's Conference in April, 1915. The conference was held at the initiative of the Bolsheviks and of comrade Clara Zetkin. It was attended by representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland. The majority of the conference represented the viewpoint of struggle against war, but it rejected the consistent Leninist viewpoint defended by comrades Krupskaya and Inez Armand. Speaking of the results of the Women's Conference, Lenin described the resolution of the majority as follows: "Not a sound in condemnation of the traitors, not a word about opportunism, merely a repetition of the ideas of the Basle resolution! Just as if nothing serious had happened—just a small casual mistake, so let us repeat the old decision—just a slight divergence, and not on a matter of principle, so let us plaster it up! Surely this is downright mockery with regard to the decisions of the International, and with regard to the workers." (Article "On Struggle Against Social Chauvinism"—*Social Democrat*, 1-6-1915.) However, the Women's Conference adopted the manifesto against the war.

A step forward was the International Youth Conference, which was also held in April, 1915, in Berne. The organiser and leader of this conference was Willi Münzenberg. The conference was imbued with the rebel spirit of Karl Liebknecht. The resolutions of the conference bear witness of its revolutionary spirit. However, here, too, the slogan, "Transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war" did not get any recognition. Nevertheless, this youth conference is of considerable historic importance; it passed the resolution on observance of International Youth Day as a day of anti-war struggle, it founded the organ "Youth International," to which Lenin became a contributor. The Berne Youth Conference was an important step towards the establishment of the Communist Youth International.

"Slowly," says Lenin, "moves the development of the international socialist movement in the epoch of the very serious crisis caused by the war. It moves, nevertheless, towards a break with opportunism and social-chauvinism. The International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald (Switzerland), September 5th, 1915, has shown this very clearly." (*Social Democrat*, No. 45-46, 11-10-1915, "The First Step.")

On the initiative of the Italian and Swiss socialists, invitations to the conference were sent to all internationalists who disagreed with the social-patriots and advocated class struggle against the war. Lenin and the Bolsheviks thought that only the most consistent and revolutionary internationalists, internationalists who were for the slogan "Transformation of imperialist war into civil war" should be invited. However, the conference was convened on the above-mentioned basis. Two tendencies soon made themselves felt at the conference. The majority was under the leadership of Ledebour (Germany) and Martov (the Russian Menshevik). This majority declared itself internationalist, condemned the tactics of the social-patriots and recognized the necessity of class struggle also during the war. It rejected, however, all Lenin's conclusions concerning the necessity of accentuating and extending the class struggle to the extent of civil war, concerning the proletarian revolution, the ruthless exposure of all treacherous leaders before the masses, concerning the necessity of breaking with these leaders and organising a new International.

Under Lenin's leadership the "Zimmerwald Left" participated in the conference in spite of its attitude to the majority of this conference, and signed the manifesto because it meant "a step forward." At the same time the "left" began the struggle against the "half-heartedness" of the majority and its readiness to make peace with the opportunists. "The international revolutionary-Marxist section of the conference"—as Lenin calls the "Zimmerwald Left"—expressed openly at the conference its opinion of the majority. Lenin pointed out that the manifesto proclaims "the necessity of arousing the revolutionary spirit," but says nothing in a straightforward, open and definite manner about the revolutionary means of struggle." (Lenin, "The First Step.")

In the quoted article, comrade Lenin comes to the conclusion that the manifesto of the Zimmerwald Conference means a step toward ideological and practical break with opportunism and social-chauvinism. At the same time he condemns the "inconsistency and incompleteness" of the manifesto.

The draft resolution of the "left" was rejected at the conference by 19 votes against 12. But after the conference it became the basis of the further work of the "left." Soon after the Zimmerwald Conference, the "left" began to publish *Vorbote* in German and *The Communist* in the Russian language, strengthening at the same time its influence in all the countries.

The "Zimmerwald Left" is the first nucleus of the Communist International. The path from the "left" to the Comintern is the path of struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, the path of an increasingly ruthless exposure of the traitors and of an ever-growing realisation of the necessity of creating a new International.

A characteristic stage along this path is the Kienthal Conference (or the Second Zimmerwald Conference). At this conference the left is already better represented, it constitutes about one-half of the conference. Here also "two views, two tactics" are represented, as stated by Zinoviev in his article "Zimmerwald-Kienthal": "Some think that the Second International has suffered shipwreck, and that in the fire lit by the world war are being forged the premises for the Third International, an International free from opportunism and nationalism. Others again have not understood the character of the war, nor the character of the crisis through which socialism is going." (Against the Stream.) However, the relative majority was already more on the side of the "left."

The war of 1914-1918 gave rise to the first attempts to establish a new, revolutionary International, as a counterpoise to the Second Socialist-Chauvinist International, and as a weapon of resistance to bellicose imperialism (Zimmerwald-Kienthal). The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia gave an impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in the centres of capitalism and in the colonies. In 1919 the Communist International was formed.

The New Epoch

"Under the banner of the Workers' Soviets, of the revolutionary struggle for power and proletarian dictatorship, under the banner of the Third International—workers of the world, unite!" (From the Manifesto of the Constituent Congress of the Comintern.)

"Our Party must not wait but must found the Third International immediately. . . ." wrote Lenin on April 10th, 1917, in the pamphlet "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution." The shock to world capitalism, the accentuation of the class struggle and the direct influence of the October revolution created the revolutionary foundation for the establishment of the Communist International. A breach was made in the imperialist front, in its weakest spot, in Russia the imperialist war was transformed into civil war, and in the conflagration of the civil war the proletarian revolution was victorious. The October revolution, for the first time in human history, set up and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in an enormous country, brought into being a new Soviet type of State and laid the foundations for the international proletarian revolution.

The characteristic feature of the Third International consists in the fact that it is called upon "to carry out, to put into practice the behests of Marxism and to make the old ideals of socialism and of the Labour movement a reality; this most characteristic feature of the Third International immediately asserted itself by the fact that the new, third 'International Workingmen's Association' began to coincide to a certain extent with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics." (Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History," written

on April 15th, 1919.) The birth of the Third International took place under the aegis of proletarian dictatorship, and rested on the first victorious proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Russia.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party strove consistently for the immediate establishment of the Communist International. On January 24th, 1919, the C. C. of the Bolshevik Party, together with a number of other Parties, issued a Manifesto, in which the necessity of convening a congress of advocates of the new International is explained.

The sympathy for the proletarian revolution in Russia and the interest in Bolshevism were rapidly growing. Under the influence of the victorious proletarian revolution, of the intense post-war capitalist crisis and of the accentuation of the class struggle in a number of capitalist countries, the revolutionary elements of all the socialist parties began to throw vacillation to the winds and to group themselves around Lenin and his Party. On the other hand, the leaders of the Second International endeavoured, at the conference in Berne, to revive that International. All this helped to clear up the position of the revolutionary elements.

The Manifesto of eight organisations invited the representatives of all Parties, groups and tendencies which, in connection with the war and the crisis in the International, had declared themselves advocates of the proletarian revolution and of the organisation of a new International. This Manifesto met with a ready response among all the Communist elements of the Labour movement.

From March 4th to 7th, 1919, the Constituent Congress of the Communist International took place in Moscow. Apart from the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) the following organizations were represented at this Congress: the Communist Party of Germany (an outcome of the "Spartakus Bund"), the Communist Party of Austria and Hungary, the left circles of social-democracy in Sweden and Norway, the American Socialist Labour Party, the revolutionary Balkan Federation, the Communist Parties of Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, the oppositional circles of the Socialist Party of Switzerland and other groups, including one representative of the Zimmerwald Left from France.

It was decided at the conference which preceded the Congress to reject the proposal of the representative of the German Communists concerning the postponement of the establishment of a new International, and to convert the Congress into a constituent congress of the Communist International. Having heard the reports of the representatives of the various countries, the Congress turned its attention to the elaboration of the Platform of the Communist International.

The Platform deals with the chief contradictions of imperialism which are leading to its downfall. The imperialist war, an inevitable result of capitalist development, has called forth a rebellion of the masses against the capitalist classes. The transformation of the imperialist war into civil war in a number of countries, and the victory of the proletariat in Russia have ushered in a new epoch of Communist revolutions. Conquest of political power has become the order of the day for the proletariat of all countries. The final victory of the proletariat can be guaranteed only through the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. The aim of the proletariat in the near future is—organization of the International Soviet Republic. The means of struggle are—all the forms of mass struggle, including the highest form, armed insurrection.

The main problem before the Congress was the consideration of the question of "bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship." In the epoch of imperialist wars and revolutions dictatorship is only possible in the form of domination by one class—dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat. Democracy has been converted by the bourgeoisie and the social traitors into an instrument of struggle against the liberation of the working class, into counter-revolutionary support for the tottering bourgeois rule. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power draws the most destitute and the widest possible sections of workers into all the forms of social and political activity. Therefore, it represents the most consistent proletarian democracy.

On the basis of the statement of the Zimmerwald Left, the First Congress of the Comintern decided to consider the Zimmerwald Association dissolved.

Having discussed the attempt to revive the Second International, the Congress considered in a special resolution the tendencies in the Second International before and during the war, came to the conclusion that three main tendencies existed there. The first tendency is the social-chauvinist. The typical representatives of this tendency are the German social democrats who share power with the German bourgeoisie and "who have become the assassins of the leaders

of the Communist International—Karl Leibknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The social-chauvinists are the class enemies of the proletariat.”

The second tendency is the so-called centrist tendency. The resolution explains the development of this tendency of Kautskyists and German independents from outward opposition to the social-chauvinists to complete identification with them.

The third tendency is the Communist tendency. In the Second International this tendency defended the Communist-Marxist views on war, but remained in the minority. The group of left radicals (subsequently the Spartacus group in Germany), the Bolshevik Party in Russia, the Left-Wing of the Youth International in a number of countries formed the first nucleus of the new International.

The Manifesto of the First Congress indicates the main features of the development of the Labour movement and of socialism, from the creation of the First International by Marx and Engels, *via* the collapse of the Second International, and up to the moment of the establishment of the Comintern. The Communist International sets itself the task of co-ordinating the genuine revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. As an immediate task, the Manifesto indicates the strengthening of existing and the organisation of new Communist Parties in all countries, a complete break with opportunism and relentless struggle against it, *rapprochement* between the proletariat of the advanced western countries and the oppressed peoples of the East, unification of the struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry, active help to the first proletarian State of the world.

The appeal of the First Congress of the Comintern fell on fertile ground.

After the First Congress began the ideological and organisational growth of the Comintern. The characteristic feature of the first period of the post-war capitalist crisis—the period of actual revolutionary crisis—was a series of revolutions and revolutionary actions. During the first period of the existence of the Comintern, between its First and Second Congresses we witnessed: the proletarian revolution in Hungary, the Soviet Government in Bavaria and the bourgeois-national revolution in Turkey. “The first attempts at revolutionary overthrow, which sprang from the acute crisis of capitalism (1918-1921) ended in the victory and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. and in the defeat of the proletariat in a number of other countries.” (*Programme of the Comintern.*) Why could not the Comintern, in these first attempts, achieve the same results as its founder, the Bolshevik Party, in the October revolution and in the civil war in Russia? The Programme of the Communist International gives a direct answer to this question: “These defeats were primarily due to the treacherous tactics of the social-democratic and reformist trade union leaders, but they were also due to the fact that the majority of the working class had not yet accepted the lead of the Communists and that in a number of important countries Communist Parties had not yet been established at all.”

In spite of these defeats, the Comintern developed enormously in the first years of its existence. The news of the organisation of the new International accentuated the inner-Party struggle in the socialist parties of the West, called forth a series of splits and affiliations of the seceded Communist organisations and groups to the Comintern.

At the time of the Second Congress of the Comintern, which was opened on July 19th, 1920, in Moscow, representatives of 66 Parties and organisations of 35 countries participated in its work. At the time of the Second Congress the victories of the Red Army, the rapid success of Communism in the western Labour movement, and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the East made the Comintern very popular. This rapid growth of the popularity of the Comintern brought with it the danger of undesirable and even hostile elements penetrating into its ranks. The historic task of the Second Congress of the Comintern consisted in closing the road to the Comintern to all but genuine Communist elements, by means of the famous “21 conditions.”

The representatives of the “centrists” from the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and of the left in the French Socialist Party declared at the Congress that in a number of questions they agreed with the Comintern. They failed, however, to understand the revolutionary epoch, and demanded easier conditions of admission and also more freedom for the individual national sections.

Yet another "left" tendency made its appearance at the Congress. The representative of this tendency was the Communist Labour Party of Germany, and also a section of the Italian and Dutch Communists. This tendency visualised the struggle for Soviet power in the European countries solely in the form of armed insurrection. It rejected struggle for the capture of the trade union rank and file, participation in bourgeois parliaments and utilisation of other legal possibilities, being of the opinion that the new epoch which had just begun demands complete relinquishment of these "obsolete methods of struggle."

On the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, the Congress directed its main attack against the right, emphasising the necessity of simultaneous struggle against "left" tendencies. In his pamphlet, Lenin emphasises that Bolshevism grew, gained in strength and steadfastness first and foremost and mainly in the struggle against opportunism. In the already mentioned pamphlet Lenin writes that "this enemy (opportunism) is still the chief enemy, on an international scale. This enemy received, and still receives, maximum attention from Bolshevism." The left tendency is considered by Lenin on the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party and is described by him as follows:

"The petty-bourgeoisie brought to a state of frenzy by the horrors of capitalism, is a social phenomenon appertaining, just as anarchism, to all capitalist countries." Lenin condemns "the instability of such revolutionism." The rejection of compromise "on principle" by the left is mere "childishness." In this pamphlet Lenin also explains that there are compromises and compromises. "One should be able," writes Lenin, "to analyse the circumstances and concrete conditions of every compromise or of every variety of compromise."

The decision of the Second World Congress on the role and structure of the Communist Party before and after the conquest of power explains the attitude of the Comintern towards the left and the right tendency.

The discussion of the national question by the Second Congress of the Comintern is important from the viewpoint of principle. On the basis of Lenin's Theses the national-liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples is described in the resolution of the Second World Congress as the inevitable result of capitalist development and as the inevitable element in the growing proletarian revolution. On the basis of Lenin's Theses, the Congress pointed out that there is an indissoluble connection between the national and the peasant question. Just as in the individual countries, the union between the working class and the fundamental mass of the peasantry constitutes a premise for the victory of the proletariat and the consolidation of its dictatorship, the world victory of the proletariat demands the unification of the struggle of the advanced toiling masses of the West with that of the oppressed nationalities of all countries.

The discussion of the question of revolutionary parliamentarism at the Second World Congress is of great importance to the entire subsequent revolutionary parliamentary work of the Comintern. The Congress exposed the opportunist parliamentarism of the parties of the Second International, and issued the direction of revolutionary utilisation of parliament and of other forms of bourgeois democracy for the purpose of strengthening Communist influence among the masses.

This revolutionary parliamentarism is essential for all Communists in countries where the Soviet power has not yet been established.

The trade union question played an important role at the Second Congress. Work in trade unions is one of the most important tasks of all the Communist Parties. For a Communist Party the conquest of power cannot be thought of without the energetic participation of the widest possible masses including the organised. Immediately after the Second Congress of the Comintern, the Red International of Labour Unions was established in Moscow. The Manifesto of the Second World Congress exposes the treacherous role of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, and invites affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions.

The resolutions of the Second Congress are of great importance to the ten years' struggle of the Comintern and to the whole period of its development. In the years of struggle which followed the Second Congress, these resolutions served as a guide, and their decisions in questions of principle are included in the Programme of the Communist International.

The resolutions of the Second World Congress accelerated the establishment of clarity in the ranks of the followers of the Third International. In rapid succession, Communist Parties were formed in Great Britain, America, Italy (through splits in the Socialist Parties) and Czecho-Slovakia. The split in the

Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany strengthened the Communist Party. The Congress of the Peoples of the East convened in the U. S. S. R. associated itself with the resolutions of the Second Congress. A beginning was made in Japan with the formation of a Communist Party. The same happened in Roumania.

The acute post-war capitalist crisis was nearing its end. With the help of the social-democracy, capitalism was emerging gradually from this crisis. "As a result of these defeats, which created the opportunity for intensifying the exploitation of the mass of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, and for severely depressing their standard of living, the bourgeoisie was able to achieve a partial stabilisation of capitalist relations." (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

However, in spite of these defeats, the Comintern was converted, in the first years of its existence, into a world Party, which, in spite of persecutions and defeats, was strengthening its ranks, and was continuing on a world scale the struggle for the capture of the masses.

The "Stabilisation" of Capitalism and the Stabilisation of the World Organisation of the Comintern

The Struggle for the Masses

"Imperialism is therefore moribund and decaying capitalism. It is the final stage of development of the capitalist system. It is the threshold of world social revolution." (*Programme of the Comintern.*) In the period of a prolonged general crisis in the capitalist system the Communist Party must fulfil its historic task—the conquest of proletarian dictatorship. However, to be able to carry out this the Communist Party must have a clear conception of the strategical premises of a victorious proletarian revolution. First of all it must set itself the strategical aim¹ of capturing the majority of its own class, and it must achieve this aim. The fundamental slogan of the Third Congress of the Comintern (June 22nd–July 12th, 1921) was precisely emphasis of the necessity of capturing the proletarian masses for the struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

This fundamental slogan was determined by the change in the world situation at the time of the Third Congress. When, with the help of social-democracy, capitalism had somewhat recovered from the acute post-war crisis, it began an offensive against the working class in the economic and political spheres. The organ of power of the capitalist class—the capitalist State—had regained its strength and had also begun an attack on the revolutionary working class. After a number of defeats (in Hungary, Italy, Germany, etc.) the working class had to go from offensive to defensive. In its work the Second World Congress of the Comintern took into consideration this change in the international situation.

To understand the resolutions of the Third Congress it is essential to study the state of the world economy. Was the Comintern right in estimating the contemporary epoch as the epoch of the downfall of capitalism and of the rapid growth of the proletarian revolution. The answer of the Third Congress of this question is: Although capitalism has consolidated itself to a certain extent, its disintegration continues. However, this disintegration is not without interruptions and is developing, not in a direct line which leads to the precipice, but by way of a series of booms and slumps. The activity of the masses, throttled by defeats and want, is bound to revive as soon as the economic situation becomes brighter. The revival of capitalist economy does not mean that capitalism's sickness unto death has been overcome. This sickness unto death—the insuperable capitalist contradictions—continues to have effect under various conditions and in various forms.

The question of the recuperation of capitalism in the tendency to further development, raised by the Third Congress of the Comintern, was given a more and more definite formulation in the subsequent deliberations of the Comintern, on the basis of the characteristic features of the post-war development of capitalism which were becoming more and more evident. The Fifth World Congress formulated the decision on the stabilisation of capitalism and emphasised the relativity of this stabilisation. The Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern formulated very carefully, on the basis of new incidents, the decision on the transitory, unstable character of the stabilisation. In any case, the corresponding consideration of the question by the Third International determined in principle the character of the entire subsequent work of the Comintern.

As important with regard to principle are the detailed decisions of the Third World Congress on questions of tactics. The Third Congress drew lessons from the defeat of the March action of 1921 in Germany, and condemned the then "left" majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, which, by considering "attack" as the only suitable method of struggle, was artificially accelerating the March events. The Third Congress condemned this "offensive-theory," and proposed to the Communist Party to carry out a more careful and systematic preparation of proletarian struggles. At the same time the Third Congress condemned severely the right, who described the March insurrection as a "putsch," and confirmed the expulsion of Levi from the ranks of the Comintern.

"Having organized ourselves into a Party," said Lenin at the Third Congress of the Comintern, "we must learn to prepare revolution," Lenin attacked those who do not know what the word masses means. "To achieve victory one must have the sympathy of the masses." "An absolute majority is not always necessary. However, for victory, for the retention of power, one must have on one's side not only the majority of the working class, but also the majority of the exploited toiling rural population." Bolshevik experience, applied to the lessons of past struggles, brought forward at the Third World Congress the slogan: "To the masses!"

The Third Congress discussed, in the spirit of the Second Congress, the question of work in the trade unions and organisational questions, developing still further the decisions of the preceding Congress on these matters.

Of great importance is the decision of the Third World Congress on the tactics of the Russian Communist Party. The Congress fully endorsed the correctness of the change in the economic policy. The tactics of the New Economic Policy, declared the Third World Congress, is of international importance, theoretically and practically. Therefore, the Congress resolved to explain the character of this policy to the toiling masses of all countries.

"When the revolutionary tide is not rising, the Communist Parties must advance partial slogans and demands that correspond to the everyday needs of the toilers, and combine them with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. United front tactics also occupy an important place in the tactics of the Communist Parties throughout the whole pre-revolutionary period as a means towards achieving success in the struggle against capital, towards the class mobilization of the masses and the exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders." (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

The basis for this statement in the Programme of the Comintern was elaborated on the basis of the decision of the Third Congress by the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in December, 1921, in the united front theses.

These theses explain the character of the tactics laid down at the Third Congress in the slogan "To the masses!" The united front should be interpreted as unity of all workers who are prepared to strive for the greatest possible unity of all the Labour organisations, and must take into their hands the initiative for joint action. The task of the Communist International and its sections consist in exposing before the masses the social-democrats who are destroying the united front of the proletariat. However, the necessary premise for this is complete independence of the Communist Party and full freedom of criticism for Communists. The First Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in February-March, 1922, also dealt with the question of the united front. The idea of the necessity of a united proletarian front to resist the bourgeois offensive was penetrating more and more into the consciousness of the toiling masses. Under the pressure of the masses, the leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-Half (Vienna) Internationals were compelled to seek means of contact with the Comintern for the discussion of this question. The enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern discussed the proposal of the Two-and-a-Half International concerning the convocation of a conference of the three Internationals. The French Communists declared at this Plenum that they consider possible the application of the united front tactics only in the economic sphere. The Italian "left," headed by Bordiga, declared that the united front tactics is possible only in the trade union sphere. To counter-balance these erroneous views, the Enlarged Plenum elaborated a resolution on the basis of the above-mentioned decision of the Executive Committee. In this decision the Executive Committee emphasises that the application of the united front tactics is the duty of every Communist Party, that this tactics constitutes a

powerful means of exposing the opportunism of the reformist leaders and of dissociating the toiling masses from these leaders, and also of uniting the proletarian masses under the banner of the Comintern. As a result of the discussions, the Comintern accepted the proposal of participation in the conference of the three Internationals.

The conference of the three Internationals led to the election of a Commission in which all the three Internationals were represented. The Conference resolved to carry out a joint demonstration and brought forward, in connection with it, slogans of joint struggle for the eight-hour day, against unemployment, for proletarian unity in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, for the Russian revolution, and for the establishment of political and economic relations with Russia by all countries, as well as for the organization of a united proletarian front in all countries. Soon after this conference the reformists convened a conference of their own at which the united front of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals against the Comintern materialised.

The lessons of these events were summed up by the Second Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in June, 1922. The Plenum placed on record that, in spite of the break up of the Unity Commission, the premises of the united front tactics still exist, and will even play a more important role than before. Therefore, the Comintern must continue to strive for the establishment of the united front.

The final lessons of the united front tactics were laid down by the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern (June 17th-July 8th, 1924). The Fifth Congress summed up the October events, 1923, in Germany and declared that in a number of sections of the Comintern, "right" as well as "left" tendencies were noticeable in the application of the united front tactics.

The right brought to nought the fundamental task of the united front tactics, forgetting that the main object of this tactics is the exposure of the treacherous leaders and the liberation of the toiling masses from their influence. They interpreted the united front slogan, first and foremost, as a call to conciliation, and even to unification, with the social-democratic upper strata. This distortion of the united front tactics on the part of the right had very serious consequences during the revolutionary crisis in Germany, October, 1923. The majority of the C. C. of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Brandler, entered into an alliance with the upper stratum of the "left" social-democrats, and was betrayed by them at the decisive moment.

On the other hand, "ultra-left" elements (Italy, Germany, France) distorted the united front tactics, sabotaging work in the proletarian mass organisations, chiefly in the trade unions, under the pretext that these organisations are under reformist leadership.

"A correct application of the united front tactics, and, generally speaking, the solution of the problem of capturing the masses, presupposes, in its turn, systematic and persistent work in the trade unions and other mass organisations of the proletariat," says the Programme of the Comintern. The Fifth Congress of the C. I. elaborated an exact formulation of the united front tactics in this spirit. This decision rejects the united front only with the upper stratum of the Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions. Application of the united front tactics *from below* (with the masses) is essential always and everywhere. The establishment of a united front from below, simultaneously with negotiations with the reformist upper stratum, is admissible only in countries where social-democracy is still very strong.

At the Fifth Congress the slogan of the Third Congress of the Comintern "To the masses" is given additional emphasis: "To the masses and again to the masses!" is the call of the Fifth World Congress.

In pursuance of the line of the Third World Congress of the Comintern, i. e., the line of struggle for the capture of the masses and for the development of the Communist Parties into real mass Parties of the proletariat, the Fifth Congress made a number of extremely important organisational decisions.

Of paramount importance to the further development of the Comintern is the direction concerning the organisation of factory nuclei. The decisions of the Fifth World Congress concerning the organisational construction of the Communist Parties, the functions of the Party Committees and their relations with Communist fractions in trade unions and other mass organisations, and also concerning the organisation of mass work among non-Party working men and women, led to the thorough reorganisation of all the Sections of the Comintern in the organisational sphere.

All these decisions were adopted by the Fifth World Congress on the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, and were confirmed by it in a special resolution on the "Bolshevisation" of the Sections of the Comintern. This decision summed up the whole experience of the Leninist Bolshevik Party, which is of international importance, and was transmitted to all Sections of the Communist International and put into practice there.

In connection with the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany (1923), the Fifth World Congress placed on record the relative stabilisation of capitalism. It emphasised, however, at the same time the temporary character of this stabilisation. A series of phenomena in Germany, France, Great Britain, etc., and also the growing discontent of the toiling masses and the accentuation of the class struggle bear witness, as confirmed by the Fifth World Congress, of the instability of this stabilisation.

During the Fifth Congress, Fascism celebrated in several countries its victorious offensive against the defeated working class. In other countries the "democratic era" set in.

Fearing revolution, the bourgeoisie was compelled to substitute for the mailed fist policy the policy of deceit by means of seeming concessions. The Programme of the Communist International describes as follows the application of these two methods of bourgeois rule: "Adapting itself to the change in the political situation, the bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of Fascism or to the method of coalition with social-democracy according to the changes in the political situation; while social-democracy itself often plays a Fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism." Mussolini's rule in Italy and the Labour Government in Great Britain are two classical examples of these two methods of bourgeois rule.

For the Soviet Union

In view of the fact that the U. S. S. R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements, and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must, on its part, facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R., and defend her against the attacks of the capitalist Powers by all the means in its power." In the spirit of these words of the Programme of the Comintern, the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern (November 5th-December 5th, 1922) assumed the form of a demonstration of the Comintern for the Russian revolution. The Fourth World Congress met on the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviet Power. The reports on the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviet Power were made by Lenin, Clara Zetkin and Bela Kun. In these reports and in the resolutions on this question, stress was laid on the importance of the October revolution and of the existence of the Soviet Power for the cause of international revolution and for the Comintern.

The Fourth World Congress took place after the Fascist *coup d'état* in Italy. In connection with the consolidation of White Terror in all countries, the Congress called upon the Communist Parties of all countries to organise material and moral support for political prisoners in bourgeois jails. Thus, the Fourth Congress laid the foundations of the I. R. A. (I. C. W. P. A.).

The Fourth Congress discussed the question of the Versailles Peace Treaty, and pointed out, in this connection, the growing danger of new wars. This question was discussed in the Comintern at the First Enlarged Plenum of its Executive. This Plenum adopted the decision of strengthening Communist work in the armies, and especially among the youth. Soon after the Fourth Congress, at the Third Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in the middle of 1923, the Comintern took up once more the question of the growth of the war danger.

The Growth of the Comintern and of its Sections

In the years between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses, the Communist International extended its influence considerably. The organisations of its Sections gained in strength. The numerical development of the Communist Parties is not a criterion of their consolidation. The growing persecution of the Communist Parties hinders the growth of the organisations. The growing influence of the Communist Parties is noticeable in the role they play in the class struggles, in their influence in the trade unions and other mass organisa-

tions and also at parliamentary elections. The number of votes polled by the Communists is considerably increased in many countries.

In several countries the Communist Parties have achieved considerable success with regard to the establishment of mass organisations which are under their influence, this in accordance with the decisions of the Fifth Congress. We would like to mention, as an example of this the Red Front Fighters' League in Germany which is well-known to workers throughout the world.

Of particular importance in the struggle of the Comintern is the Communist Youth International, the leader of the revolutionary young proletariat in all countries. From its very inception, the Communist Youth International has been leading the revolutionary struggle of the young proletariat and has been in all countries the loyal supporter of Communism, the growth of which it endeavours to promote in every possible way.

Before Another World War

Four years passed between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses of the Comintern. During these years the attention of the militant front of the Communist International was concentrated on events of enormous historic importance to the whole world. During this period we witnessed the gigantic struggle between the British miners and the capitalists and the nine days' General Strike. A series of colonial insurrections and wars, and, first and foremost, the Chinese revolution sapped the roots of world imperialism. In 1927, we witnessed in the Vienna streets a sanguinary struggle of the workers against growing Austrian Fascism. "These events, as well as events like the uprising in Indonesia, the deep ferment in India, the great Chinese revolution, which shook the whole Asiatic Continent, are links in one and the same international revolutionary chain, constituent parts of the profound general crisis of capitalism. (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

As a result of the first imperialist World War and of the October victory of the proletariat in Russia, the whole world split into two fundamentally hostile camps: "The camp of the imperialist States and the camp of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R." Capitalism cannot solve the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world except by an attempt to destroy the Soviet Union.

There was also a further accentuation of the internal contradictions of the capitalist world economy. The struggle for oil, rubber, cotton, coal and ore, for the redistribution of markets and spheres for the investment of capital, is making inevitably for a new world war.

The differences between the imperialist countries and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are growing. "The great Chinese revolution, which roused hundreds of millions of the Chinese people to action, caused an enormous breach in the imperialist system." (*Programme of the Comintern.*) The awakening of the colonial masses constitutes a more and more dangerous front against the struggle of the imperialists.

"Finally, the revolutionary crisis is inexorably maturing in the very centres of imperialism: the capitalist offensive against the working class, the attack upon the workers' standard of living, upon their organisations, and their political rights, and the growth of White Terror, rouse increasing resistance on the part of the broad masses of the proletariat and intensify the class struggle between the working class and trustified capital. The great battles fought between labour and capital, the accelerated swing to the left of the masses, the growth in the influence and authority of the Communist Parties; the enormous growth of sympathy of the broad masses of workers for the land of the proletarian dictatorship—all this is a clear symptom of the rise of a new revolutionary tide in the centres of imperialism." (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

On the basis of a careful investigation of the development of world economy and of the labour movement in the period between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern, on the basis of the preparatory work of a series of Enlarged Plenums of the E. C. C. I. held during this period, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (July–August, 1928) carried out a big piece of work. It embraced the whole previous development of the Comintern and summed up in its resolutions the lessons of the ten years' struggle of the Comintern. By the final adoption of the Programme of the Communist International, the Sixth Congress subjected, on the basis of Marxist-Leninism, the whole history of the struggle between capital and labour to a thorough historic

appreciation, and laid down the tasks as well as the circumstances and conditions of the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat for the whole epoch of this struggle.

In this pamphlet we are able to lay stress only on a few characteristic features of the enormous work carried out by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. The Programme of the Comintern must become the subject of careful study; it must be read, studied and fully assimilated by all workers. The Comintern dealt with the question of the Programme at three Congresses—for the first time at the Fourth Congress, then at the Fifth, and it was only on the basis of the work of many years, that the Sixth Congress was able to produce the final formulation of the Programme.

The International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern

The basic resolution of the Sixth World Congress analyses the entire post-war development of capitalism. This post-war development is divided into three periods. The first period—from the end of the war to 1923—was the period of the most serious capitalist crisis.

Out of this crisis the first Socialist State emerged strengthened, but on the other hand, the international proletariat suffered a series of serious defeats. In these struggles the Communist Parties, the organisers of future victories, were born. The second period, which set in approximately at the end of 1923, brought with it, on the one hand a partial stabilisation of capitalism, and, on the other hand, the rapid economic development of the Soviet Union. The third period begins where the capitalist system exceeds the pre-war level of production. This development is accompanied by a simultaneous transition of the Soviet Union to the period of reconstruction.

The third period does not by any means indicate the longevity or stability of the contemporary capitalist development. On the highest economic plane, there arise in an accentuated form the former differences which are bound to lead to new gigantic crises. Experience throughout the post-war historical period has shown that the stabilisation achieved by the repression of the working class and the systematic depression of its standard of living can only be a partial, transient and decaying stabilisation (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

Capitalism is doing its utmost to strengthen its position. It develops its technique, it does its utmost to rationalise production with a brutal disregard for human labour power. The capitalist offensive against the working class is extending. This is accompanied by a swing to the left among the proletarian masses.

In the present conditions, the struggle against capitalism is indissolubly connected with the struggle against Social Democracy.

During the progress of the international revolution, the leading cadres of the Social Democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions on the one hand, and the militant capitalist organisations of the Fascist type on the other, acquired special significance as a powerful counter-revolutionary force actively fighting against the revolution and actively supporting the partial stabilisation of capitalism. (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

Social Democracy became a clearly expressed counter-revolutionary force. Its chief role consists at present in sabotaging the unity of the proletariat, so necessary in the struggle against imperialism. The preparation and organisation of the victory of the national revolution demands imperatively strenuous struggle against reformism.

The Sixth Congress, on the basis of an investigation of the international situation and of an analysis of the capitalist differences emphasises the enormous importance of the war question for the whole present period. Therefore, the war question, the question of methods of struggle against new imperialist wars, was the centre of the work of the Sixth World Congress. The Sixth World Congress paid also considerable attention to the colonial question.

The task of capturing the widest possible proletarian masses is becoming more and more pressing for the whole Comintern. The struggle against the anti-Communist forces within the working class, first and foremost against Social Democracy, is one of the most important tasks of the Communist Party. The Sixth Congress considered the work of the Sections of the Comintern and drew attention to a number of serious omissions in the carrying out of the strategical and tactical tasks of the Communist Parties. More attention to the work of the

trade unions, more attention to the work of strengthening the influence of the Communist Party on the peasantry. Wholehearted support for the revolutionary liberation movements in the colonies and for the movements of the oppressed peoples in general. Such are the slogans of the Sixth Congress.

The Unity of the Comintern

In the spirit of Lenin's teaching and on the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, the Comintern strengthened its Bolshevik skeleton through continuous struggle against "left" as well as "right" tendencies. In the period following the Fifth World Congress, the Comintern had to carry on repeatedly a stubborn struggle against various oppositional tendencies. The Sixth World Congress bears witness of the complete unity of the Comintern. This unity in its ranks was achieved through the victory over Trotskyism. From the Fifth World Congress onwards, the series of Comintern Plenums reflected the attempts of Trotskyism to revise Leninism. The Sixth Congress showed that Trotskyism has been completely exposed in the ranks of the Comintern.

With the partial stabilisation of capitalism, various Social Democratic tendencies exercise influence over some circles in the Communist Parties. The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern directed its chief attack against the right tendency in the Communist Movement. We must not forget the still existing power of Social Democracy in the ranks of the working class. Millions of workers are still voting for the Social Democrats at the elections. The ideological influence of Social Democracy penetrates, and frequently to a considerable extent, also into the Communist Parties. Therefore, we must direct our chief attack against the right. However, we must at the same time bear in mind the existence of "left" tendencies.

Fifty-nine Communist Parties were represented at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, i. e., ten Sections more than at the Fifth World Congress. In the course of ten years' of continual struggle the Communist International has strengthened its organisation and has extended its ideological and organisational influence to wide sections of workers in the capitalist and colonial countries. The Comintern is maintaining everywhere its fighting position. It is the only leader in the struggle against world imperialism, the loyal guard of the First Socialist State, the leader in the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the whole ten years' history of the Communist International bear witness of this. "The Sections of the Communist International know only one kind of discipline, the discipline of the international proletariat which guarantees the victory of the workers of all countries in the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat." (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

"Communists carry on with the utmost bravery this struggle in all the sections of the international class front, in spite of the brutal terrorism of the bourgeoisie, being firmly convinced that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable and cannot be averted."

The Programme of the Struggle for Proletarian Dictatorship

Eighty years have passed since the time when Marx and Engels on behalf of a small propagandist society, the Communist League, published the "Communist Manifesto" (1847). In the period when capitalism was only at the beginning of its victorious progress, the founders of scientific Socialism announced in the "Communist Manifesto" the inevitable downfall of the capitalist system and called the proletariat to carry out the death sentence of history. At first, however, the "Communist Manifesto" reached only the small vanguard, the group of advanced fighters which made the first attempts to create proletarian fighting organisations.

The "Communist Manifesto" could not be anything but a call for the unification of the Communists. It was the first political mass manifesto to the Communists. It examined contemporary capitalism and brilliantly predicted the trend of the proletarian class struggle. Tens of years of proletarian class struggle, after the publication of the "Communist Manifesto," made the brilliant prognostication of Marx and Engels a reality.

A few years after the appearance of the "Communist Manifesto" the Communist League was liquidated. It was only in 1864 that the "International Workingmen's Association" was founded. Once more Marx formulated the Programme for this Association, for the First Proletarian International. It

was now a question of the international amalgamation of the existing proletarian organisations, which had reached different degrees of development and held different views with regard to the aims and methods of struggle. Marx wrote an address in which he explains the necessity of creating an international proletarian organisation and invites to join its ranks. At the same time Marx wrote an explanation of the statutes of the First International in which he shows clearly the aim of all Communist movements and points the way they should go. If the "Communist Manifesto" was a powerful call to rally under the banner of Communism, the "Address" drawn up by Marx—the Programme of the First International—was to quote Franz Mehring's splendid definition, "the raising of the banner which the struggling proletarian armies of the individual countries must never lose sight of if they want to achieve the great victorious united front of the contemporary proletariat."

The Second International did not even attempt to elaborate a united programme for the international movement. True, individual Parties of the Second International adopted a programme of their own. However, these programmes are limited to a definite country, and even if they express themselves for Socialism, they avoid by all manner of means mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx and Engels criticised very severely the first programmes of the German Social Democracy which served as a model to the other Social Democratic Parties: "That which, to all intents and purposes, should have been said, is absent there"—said Engels.

The latest programmes of the Parties of the Second International are programmes of capitalist rationalisation.

The inability of the Second International to produce one international programme showed merely that the individual parties of the Second International recognised only "their own State, their own country and did not want to undertake any international obligations.

The Third Communist International had to be in order to give to the revolutionary proletariat of all countries one revolutionary international programme of action. The character of this Programme was defined by Lenin in 1914 when he confirmed the final collapse of the Second International: "The Third International has before it the task of organising the forces of the proletariat for revolutionary pressure on the capitalist Governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power, the victory of Socialism." ("Tasks of the Socialist International," 1914.)

The Programme of the Communist International is the programme of struggle for World Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The First International laid the ideological foundation for the international proletarian struggle for Socialism. The Second International, in the best period of its existence, prepared the ground for the expansion of the labour movement among the masses. The Third, Communist International, in continuing the work of the First International, and in accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International, resolutely lopped off the latter's opportunism, social chauvinism, and bourgeois distortion of Socialism and set out to realise the dictatorship of the proletariat—says the Programme of the Comintern. The brilliant prognostication of the "Communist Manifesto" and of the Programme of the First International is becoming a reality in our epoch. The construction of Socialism in one country, the international struggle against imperialism, from highly developed capitalist Great Britain down to the most backward African colony, must be carried on under a united leadership. The Programme of the Comintern is a guide to the revolutionary World army of Communism, and will be a guide to millions of proletarians and to the oppressed of all the countries of the globe until the world victory of the international proletariat has been won.

EXHIBIT No. 68

[Source: Excerpt from the Daily Worker, New York, January 18, 1930, page 3. From an article entitled "Strengthen Bolshevik Methods of Party Work," by H. Benjamin]

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Our struggle against imperialist war; for the defense of the Soviet Union and in support of the revolutionary struggles of the colonial masses can become really effective and assume revolutionary form only if we take these struggles into the factories and especially those factories where war materials are produced; onto the waterfronts from which the war materials are shipped and upon the ships on which they are conveyed

EXHIBIT No. 69

[Source: Excerpt from a statement by William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, before Aldermanic President McKee. Daily Worker, New York, March 15, 1930, page 5]

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"You cannot cure unemployment except by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet Government in the United States." Aldermanic President McKee, a fat, Tammany politician asked: "Do you people advocate the violent overthrow of the government?" Foster: "We explain to the workers, and we teach the workers that only by violence finally can a revolution be accomplished. All revolutions have been accomplished by force and violence."

EXHIBIT No. 70

[Source: Excerpt from speech by Robert Minor before Mayor James J. Walker, New York, N. Y., Daily Worker, New York, March 15, 1930, page 5]

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Whereas the Communist Party is the party of the working class, leading the workers in the class struggle and recognizing that all of history is made up of this struggle which has never been solved and never can be solved without violence. It is not a question of violence or no violence. It is a question of which class.

EXHIBIT No. 71

[Source: The Communist, May 1931, Vol. X, No. 5; pages 409-423; Max Bedacht, editor]

* * * * *

ON THE USE OF "TRANSMISSION BELTS" IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

By C. A. Hathaway

"What is the reason that in spite of the fairly good response of the unemployed workers to our slogans, demands and actions, we do not develop a real organized mass movement of the unemployed workers?"

"Because we have no real organized Unemployed Councils. Our Councils are too loose. Thousands and thousands of workers join and leave. No membership meetings are held and, because of this, the Councils do not have any elected leaders. We have no functioning fractions in the Councils. The Party's guidance in the Unemployed Councils consists of nothing but one comrade bringing down instructions of the Communist Party to the unemployed workers."—From the March 26th organization bulletin of the New York District.

* * * * *

This extremely sharp indictment of our unemployment work, presented in the form of a reply to his own question, was written by a leading New York comrade. It was written, please note, just 18 months—a year and one-half—after the outbreak of the present severe economic crisis which brought misery, hunger and starvation to millions of American workers. It was written a month after International Unemployment Day (February 25th) this year, the preparations for which should have marked a decisive change for the better in our work among the unemployed.

Was this comrade mistaken in his indictment? Did he paint too gloomy a picture? In the main, I think not! With a few rare exceptions, here and there, his statements are correct. We have not yet real, organized Unemployed Councils. Those that we have—again with a few exceptions—function too loosely, without regular membership meetings, without real leadership, without Party fractions, and without real Party guidance and direction.

Is this state of affairs confined to the New York District of which this comrade wrote? I think not! Reports from Pittsburgh, Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and elsewhere indicate that this is quite a general situation. They indicate that the localities which can boast of well functioning Councils that lead broad mass movements of unemployed workers are still decidedly scarce.

Answer Needed for Whole Party

The question raised by the comrade writing in the New York organization bulletin must be quite fully answered, therefore, not only for New York, but for the whole Party.

"What is the reason that in spite of the fairly good response of the unemployed workers to our slogans, demands and actions, we do not develop a real organized mass movement of the unemployed workers?"

The comrade, not incorrectly when his purpose is considered, placed the emphasis, in replying, on our organizational shortcomings.

There are, of course, also serious political shortcomings—too general slogans, working out of slogans without consultation with the workers, insufficient attention to local issues of vital concern to the unemployed, weak and unsystematic exposures of the charity organizations and of the demagoguery of the bourgeois and reformists, insufficient continuity and persistence in our work, failure in time to see the need for directly undertaking relief in acute cases of suffering, bureaucratic tendencies and failure to develop the initiative of the workers themselves, many opportunist conceptions of both the Right and "Left" variety, etc. These, together with the organizational shortcomings enumerated in the bulletin, are certainly very major reasons for our failure to develop "a real organized mass movement of the unemployed workers."

But there is still a most vital question to be answered!

Why, after a year and one-half of acute unemployment, during which time we have repeatedly pointed out and attempted to correct, most of these weaknesses and shortcomings, have we not made greater progress on the road towards self-correction?

Without answering this question, any effort to solve either the organizational or political shortcomings enumerated becomes mere patch work. And the answer to this question raises basic problems for the Party. It raises problems which concern not only the work among the unemployed but also every other field of work. The same question could be put with regard to our trade union work, our Negro work, etc. Everywhere, in every field, we are face to face with the problem: *Why are we only to a very limited extent successful in the development of broad, organized mass struggles against the brutal and vicious bourgeois offensive?*

Some Progress Made

By putting the question so sharply one should not conclude that no progress has been made. Such conclusions could only be harmful to the Party and interfere with the serious job of self-correction now ahead of us. In the three major fields of Party work, unemployment, trade union, and Negro, definite progress has been made, especially since the arrival of the latest Comintern directives early in February. In textile (Lawrence) and mining (Pittsburgh, anthracite) very marked improvement is to be noted. The character of the demands raised, the preparatory organizational work, and the conduct of the strike struggles in each of these instances show that the lessons of past experiences are being learned.

In a number of cities, notably the smaller industrial towns, Unemployed Councils have been established which are carrying on a persistent and effective struggle against unemployment.

In Negro work only now is the Party really beginning to develop the broad mass struggle for Negro rights (Scottsboro case, Greenville, District 17, etc.), making this a part of the mass struggles against wage cuts and the speed-up and for unemployment insurance.

The most notable achievements, however, are still to be found within the Party—stabilization of the Party membership, increase in dues payments, improvement of the Party composition, beginning of planned work, more serious consideration to our defects in mass work, etc.

These achievements, while still extremely limited, are particularly characteristic of only the past three months, are not yet common to the entire Party, and do not as yet invalidate the following extremely sharp characterization of the Party's work contained in the *Pravda* editorial, "In the Footsteps of Lenin," of January 21st, this year:

"The day-to-day work of the Communist Party, U. S. A., still bears a purely propaganda character. The Party has as yet come out before the masses only with *general* slogans, failing to concentrate attention on the *immediate*, every-

day demands of the masses. The trade unions have, in fact, only *duplicated* the Party. The result of all this has been a considerable *weakening of the Party's contact with the masses, passivity, and lagging behind* the general mass movement, and a consequent *strengthening of opportunist tendencies, especially the Right Danger, in the various sections of the Party.*" (April Communist, page 296.)

To Build Mass Party Is Problem

This statement, "*The day-to-day work of the Communist Party U. S. A. still bears a purely propaganda character.*" brings us back to our basic problem. We are still a propaganda Party; we have not yet become a Bolshevik mass Party. The achievements which have been made have been chiefly of a routine character, *i. e.*, improvements in our work *as a propaganda Party*, but not yet the transformation of our Party into a *mass Party*.

Already in the Open Letter of the Communist International to our Party in May, 1929, and again in the C. I. Address of a few months later, the urgent need for rapidly transforming our Party from a propaganda Party to a mass Party was strongly emphasized. Since then, in one form or another, the burning need for such a transformation has been many times repeated. *But we are still a propaganda Party!*—and we proceed on the road toward becoming a mass Party only at a snail's pace.

The reason—the *basic reason*—why we have not made greater progress during the past 18 months (the crisis period) is overcoming our weaknesses and shortcomings and in progressing more rapidly on the road toward becoming a mass Party in the Leninist sense is because we did not fully grasp the significance of the change which we had to make. The membership was driven harder and harder; more work was done than ever before, but we did see the need of changing thoroughly *our methods of work* from top to bottom.

We accepted too much as a mere phrase the Comintern's directives without really considering in a concrete manner just what these directives meant. We proceeded with the best of intentions, but in a vague, groping, unplanned and confused manner. We tried first one method and then another without clearly asking ourselves what we wanted or how we were going to get it. Phrases too often became a substitute for a thorough examination of our problems.

Utilize Transmission Belts

What must we do?

In the first place we must break definitely with the conception that Communist work consists solely in direct efforts to build the Communist Party and in recruiting new members. *We must learn to set up and work through a whole series of mass organizations and in this way also develop our Party work.* Our chief error is our failure to understand the role of and to systematically utilize mass organizations (T. U. U. L., Unemployed Councils, I. L. D., W. I. R., L. S. N. R., etc.) *as transmission belts* to the broad masses of non-Party workers. The Communist Party is necessarily composed of the most conscious and self-sacrificing elements among the workers. These mass organizations, on the contrary, with a correct political line, can be made to reach many thousands of workers not yet prepared for Party membership. Through these organizations, led by well-functioning Party fractions, the Party must necessarily find its best training and recruiting ground. They are the medium through which the Party, on the one hand, guides and directs the workers in their struggles and, on the other hand, keeps itself informed on the mood of the masses, the correctness of Party slogans, etc.

Comrade Piatuitsky, speaking at the 10th Plenum of E. C. C. I. on the methods of organizationally consolidating the growing political influence of the various Parties of the Comintern, stated:

"How can the growing influence of the Parties be consolidated? By good work on the part of the Party organization, by close contact with the masses. What is the best way of establishing this contact? *By Communist work in the workers' and peasants' mass organizations* (factory committees, trade unions, workers cooperatives and sport organizations, I. R. A., Free Thinkers' organizations, W. I. R., provisional organizations, mainly strike committees, antilock-out committees), *by the work of Party nuclei in enterprises.*" (My emphasis—C. A. H.)

Comrade Kuusinen, speaking on the organization report at the 6th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., dealt even more fully with this method of developing our Communist work.

"The carrying out of the task of winning over the masses of the proletariat for the proletarian revolution," he said, "calls forth a *certain one-sidedness* among a section of our Party membership. According to the view of these comrades, Communist work consists solely of building up Communist Party organizations, and in recruiting new members. This is, of course, one of our fundamental tasks. *It would, however, be entirely wrong to suppose that it is the influence of our Party (not under mechanical leadership.)*" (My em—C. A. H.)

A Solar System of Organizations

Later on in the same speech, Comrade Kuusinen says:

"The *first part of our task* is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, *above all* mass organizations sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. . . . *We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our Party (not under mechanical leadership.)*" (My emphasis—C. A. H.)

Finally Comrade Kuusinen energetically opposed, as a serious deviation, the tendency to consider mass work as "not real Communist work."

"In any case," he declared, "we most energetically oppose that deviation which regards work among the masses, and the organization of this work, as being not real Communist work, and considers that Party work is only to be carried on in our own midst, while work among outsiders is of secondary importance. No.—*for the majority of the members of the Party the main sphere of Party work is the organization of the non-Party, syndicalist and even social democratic workers.*" (My emphasis—C. A. H.)

I have quoted at length to show, in the first place, that (to again use the words of Kuusinen) "the chief object of our attention should be the organization of the daily revolutionary detail work of every individual comrade *among the masses.*" *The work of our comrades and units must be conducted in such a way that everywhere (in the factories, among the unemployed, among the Negroes, etc.) we set up various organized groups under our influence and through which our comrades work. These groups, in turn, must be the instruments through which still greater masses of workers are organized for revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.* It is this principle of "transmission belts" (organized committees and groups—Unemployed Councils, T. U. U. L., L. S. N. R., etc.—under Party influence) which must be firmly established in our Party as the means for our transformation from a propaganda Party to a Bolshevik mass Party.

Comrade Stalin on "Transmission Belts"

Comrade Stalin, in his *Problems of Leninism*, puts this need for "transmission belts," and their relationship to the Party still more sharply. He says (pages 29 and 30):

"The proletariat needs these belts, these levers, (the mass organizations—C. A. H.) and this guiding force (the Party—C. A. H.), because without them it would, in its struggle for victory, be like a weaponless army in the face of organized and armed capital. . . .

"Lastly we come to the *Party of the proletariat, the proletarian vanguard. Its strength lies in the fact that it attracts to its ranks the best elements of all the mass organizations of the proletariat.* Its function is to *unify* the work of all the mass organizations of the proletariat, without exception, and to *guide* their activities toward a single end, that of the liberation of the proletariat."

Comrade Stalin also quotes Comrade Lenin as follows: "*The dictatorship (of the proletariat) cannot be effectively realized without "belts" to transmit power from the vanguard to the mass of the advanced class, and from this to the mass of those who labor.*"

From all this it is clear that the setting up, maintaining, and systematic utilization of such "transmission belts" are essential prerequisites for the transformation of our Party from a propaganda Party to a Bolshevik Party of action. Yet, due primarily to a gross underestimation of the need for such organizations and to lack of knowledge of how to carry on general *Party Work* through such organizations (mobilization for May Day, the Scottsboro case, etc.), our revolutionary trade unions today are but little larger than the Party,

the Unemployed Councils are still extremely feeble, and the L. S. N. R., except in a few cities, is almost non-existent.

Correct Theory; Wrong Practice

Many comrades may say that there is nothing new about this. Quite correct! This principle of organization is as old as the Bolshevik movement itself! Every leading comrade, at least, understands it in theory.

But what about our practice?

To again return to our work among the unemployed. Is this principle applied in practice? We will take our answer from the New York org-bulletin:

"We have no functioning fractions in the Councils," says the comrade. "The Party's guidance . . . consists of nothing but *our comrade* bringing down instructions (!) of the Communist Party to the unemployed workers."

Comrade Weiner, in his report to the Politburo on Party work in the Pittsburgh District, also had the following to say on the work of the Party there among the unemployed:

" . . . The splendid fight against evictions reduced considerably the great number of evictions in that section (Hill District, Pittsburgh—C. A. H.). This result, instead of stimulating the activities and the building of Unemployed Councils had the opposite effect. *The groups were not provided with leadership, the Party did not pay sufficient attention to the work of the Unemployed Councils and they gradually died out.*

These experiences from New York and Pittsburgh are common to the entire Party. During the past year, in every locality, Councils have been built and rebuilt. In preparation for March 6th, a year ago, Councils were set up. They lived for only a few weeks. Before July 4th they were again established only to die out again after the Chicago convention. The same was true of September 1st, August 1st, and February 25th. We have not learned to establish Councils and then conduct both their work and that of the Party in such a manner as to give continued leadership and thereby life to the Councils. The same can be said with regard to our work and other mass organizations. None of them are systematically used to broaden the Party's organizational influence and to extend the struggle against the bosses with all our forces.

Lack of Direction and Leadership

Of course the political and organizational factors cited at the beginning of the article are very major reasons for the weaknesses of the Unemployed Councils, but I am convinced that *the major reason* (which also is a direct cause for most of the other weaknesses enumerated) is the lack of real Party direction and leadership through Party fractions in the Councils. This, in turn, is due largely to the fact that our comrades and the lower Party units are not trained to make work in mass organizations such as the Unemployed Councils a task second only to the building of shop nuclei in the largest factories. One could go as far now as to say that there is an almost complete lack of contact between the Unemployed Councils and the Party, and even between the Party members and the unemployed workers. Certainly our Party work is not planned in such a way as to *regularly* and *continuously* bring our members into association with the unemployed workers. With this almost complete lack of contact with, or knowledge of the day-to-day problems of the unemployed, Party decisions are made and applied in the most bureaucratic and mechanical manner.

Comrade Bedacht in reporting on the work in the Detroit District had the following to say:

"The Unemployed Councils (in Detroit) lack a mass character and are not functioning bodies able to generate out of themselves through Communist initiative real mass action. There are one or two exceptions to this rule. One is the Council in Lincoln Park, the other is the Council in Port Huron. *It is instructive to know that both of these Councils are functioning in virgin territory and have a large percentage of native American workers in their ranks.* I am tempted to say that they function where there is no Party to choke them to death. I am fully aware of the sharpness of this formulation, and do not want to have its meaning interpreted in a general manner. *The fact is that our Party has not yet learned to function in a mass movement.* Our comrades are essentially afraid of the initiative of the masses. They do not allow an organization to function except on the basis of a preconceived plan brought down to them in the form of an order and usually drawn up in complete

ignorance of local conditions, issues and problems. Instead of inviting discussions and proposals out of the ranks of the worker, they stifle them." (My emphasis—C. A. H.)

Why is this so? Why do we have so little contact with the unemployed workers? Why do we have so little knowledge of their problems? Is it because of some personal traits in our Party members? Certainly not! Why, even our unemployed Party members are separated from the unemployed workers! *It is due to the method of functioning of our Party, to endless inner-Party meetings, to the practice of developing our Party activities almost entirely outside of and not through these mass organizations.* As Comrade Bedacht correctly states, "our Party has not yet learned to function in (and I would add, *through*) a mass movement."

Too Many Meetings

In fact, by our present methods, our comrades have little or no time for direct work among the masses. In New York, for example (and New York is no exception), practically *every active Party member* spends all his time in meetings where good plans for mass work are made to the exclusion of all possibility of carrying out these plans. There are about 3,000 members of the Party in New York. Of this number, according to the District Organization Secretary, there are 700 direct Party functionaries, District, Section, and unit, not counting auxiliary functionaries which probably number several hundred more. The following is their schedule: *Monday*, unit buro meetings; *Tuesday*, unit meetings; *Wednesday*, department meetings (Agit-prop, Negro, etc.); *Thursday*, school, union meetings, etc.; *Friday*, section committee meetings, street meetings; *Saturday*, free; and *Sunday*, week-end schools, "Red Sundays" (distribution of *Daily Worker*, and other purely agitational work). *The Section functionaries*, usually the ablest comrades (in New York numbering about 80) as well as the *District leaders*, have absolutely no time for mass work. The unit functionaries, as can be seen from the above schedule, have not more than two nights, assuming even that the comrades must give seven nights a week to Party work, which in itself is incorrect. So from this it is clear that the entire "Active" of the Party is now almost completely isolated from the masses. Yet it is this "Active" which must direct and carry forward the work of the Unemployed Councils, the T. U. U. L., L. S. N. R., and other mass organizations.

Purely Agitational Methods of Work

And then our methods of work are purely agitational in character. Speeches, pamphlets, leaflets, our press all call on the workers, for example, to join the Unemployed Councils. And as a result to quote again the New York org-bulletin, "thousands and thousands of workers join *and leave*." Why do they leave? Because, as our New York comrade says, "No membership meetings (of the Councils) are held . . . (they) do not have any elected leaders." And as Comrade Weiner from Pittsburgh says, "The groups were not provided with leadership!" Comrade Bedacht sharply declares that we "do not allow an organization to function. . . ." Obviously, then, it is chiefly criminal neglect of the most elementary organizational work that causes the workers to leave the Councils. Or better said, our comrades do not know how to work in these organizations in such a way that both the work of these organizations and that of the Party is carried forward. The result is neglect of the mass organizations.

Failure To Use All Forces

Our Party members see this situation, but they plead a complete lack of time for this work, not to speak of energy. It arises, in my opinion, chiefly because we do not know how to use these mass organizations as "*transmission belts*" in our mass work. They stand in the way of our "Party work"—but only because we have not shown an understanding of how to develop effectively *methods of Party work*, which permits a full utilization of all mass organizations and their members to strengthen the Party's mass work. For example, in preparation for February 25th, International Unemployment Day, all efforts were concentrated on work among the unemployed. Unemployed Councils were for a time made to function. After February 25th there was a noticeable falling off in unemployed activity and a tendency to neglect unemployed work in order to concentrate on the factories. Now, in preparation for May

First, instead of continued energetic work either among the unemployed or at the factories there appears to be a reversion back to simply leaflet distribution and general agitational work. Certainly the preparatory work does not show increased organizational activity among the unemployed.

Comrade Johnstone, writing in last month's COMMUNIST, cited another case of "united front" activity which reflects very clearly our continued failure to carry on systematic and continuous work in mass organizations as a means of broadening the workers' struggle. He says:

"In New York City, quite a broad united front conference was formed by the T. U. U. L. and the Unemployed Council in support of the Unemployed movement, *but it never really functioned, never was utilized to a fraction of the degree that it was for.* . . . Again the Party, instead of using Party experience, Party knowledge, Party organization to broaden the united front, *proceeded to substitute for it.*"

In the same way the Party "substitutes for" the T. U. U. L., the Unemployed Councils, and other mass organizations, with the result that we tend to liquidate these organization, *and thereby seriously weaken ourselves, weaken our own organized influence among the workers.*

Best Work in Small Towns

Comrade Bedacht's observations on Lincoln Park and Port Huron, the only successful Councils in Michigan, should be emphasized. He says:

"It is interesting to know that both these Councils are functioning in virgin territory."

Most of our most successful unemployed work in other parts of the country is *also in virgin territory.* In addition to Lincoln Park and Port Huron, one can cite the examples of Chester, Greenville, Ambridge, and Reading. All of these places are new territories for Party work.

The Reading Experience

Reading is an excellent example of how "transmission belts" can be used. On January 28th the Party there had 7 members, almost wholly isolated from the masses. There were no Unemployed Councils, no Y. C. L., and no trade unions. Now, three months later by really concentrating on unemployed work, the Unemployed Council has 1,000 members with 600 paying dues regularly. A large portion of these are Negroes. Approximately 100 attend meetings every day and participate actively in every phase of the struggle for immediate relief, for unemployment insurance, and against the socialist party administration of the city. They have many successful struggles to their credit. Now, with the energetic aid of the unemployed workers who are members of the Unemployed Councils, the Party fraction is developing the work among the employed workers in the factories. After only three weeks' work many contacts have been made and two workers from each of 6 shops have been organized into committees of the Metal Workers Industrial League—that is, a beginning has been made, with 12 members. This shows, how by working *through* one mass organization utilizing the forces there, who have been won for the Party line in struggle, it is possible to extend the work of building other mass organizations which still further broaden the organized influence of the Party. A unit of the Y. C. L. has also been organized with 4 members. And the Party membership has increased from 7, three months ago, to 32 now. (These figures are only up to April 1st; the number now is probably still greater.) And finally, the Party is now entering the election campaign there with the endorsement of Unemployed Councils which are energetically aiding in putting forward the Party candidates, securing the signatures, distributing literature, etc. From practically nothing three months ago, our Party has become a serious political factor in Reading.

Could the same results have been accomplished in Reading if our 7 Party members (the size of the unit three months ago) had carried on their work in the manner of a New York or Pittsburgh unit (leaflets, street meetings, etc.) without having drawn in the non-Party workers into the Unemployed Councils and secured their help in extending the work? Obviously not!

Why These Successes?

Why do we have successes in Reading, Chester, Lincoln Park, Greenville, and Ambridge, and much more meager successes in New York, Philadelphia, Pitts-

burgh, and other old established Party centers? Chiefly because the Party work was carried on *around* and *through* the Unemployed Councils and the other mass organizations. The comrades there realized that Party work was not merely agitation, but also serious and continuous organization work among the workers. The Party, in these places, organized the workers in the Councils; it gave constant attention to the Councils; it drew the workers into the discussion of demands and slogans based on local issues (Greenville is an excellent example of this!) and into the preparation and carrying through of demonstrations and struggles also organized around local issues. These organizations and their members in turn were persuaded to directly aid the Party, as for example, in the Reading and Lincoln Park election campaigns. Through these activities workers were organized, trained, and disciplined; they were taught to respect the Party for its work; they were drawn into the Party as members. And members secured in such a manner are better members for the Party. They are recruited in the struggle, and not merely because they have listened to an agitational speech or read an agitational leaflet. These are the workers who will most likely remain with the Party. In the old Party centers there has been a persistent clinging to the old agitational methods, with no systematic continuous organizational work, no building and using of mass organization, such as was done here.

This Is Road to Mass Party

From these examples, Comrade Piatnitsky's statement at the 10th Plenum should become clear. His reply to the question, "*How can the growing influence of the Parties be consolidated?*" with the answer, "*By Communist work in the workers' and peasants' mass organizations, by the work of the Party nuclei in the enterprises!*" is proven to be fully correct by the Reading experiences, as well as by those in the other cities mentioned. And it is in this way—by building and working through the Unemployed Councils, the T. U. U. L., the L. S. N. R., etc., by building these organizations in the struggle, by recruiting the best, the most reliable workers for our Party—that our Party is to be really transformed from a propaganda Party to a Bolshevik mass Party. This is the only way that we can consolidate organizationally the increased influence which the Party undoubtedly now has among the workers.

But as I stated earlier, the cases such as Reading are still the very rare exception. The weaknesses of our unemployed work are chiefly due to this fact. Such cases must now become the rule on a much higher and more extensive plane. The question is, how to accomplish this? How are we to quickly overcome the inertia of the past and rapidly develop these methods of work in order to progress with greater speed on the road toward becoming a Bolshevik mass Party, capable of *organizing* and *leading* the every-day struggles of the employed and unemployed workers against the bourgeoisie for their partial demands, and utilizing these struggles to *prepare* and *organize* the workers for the struggle for power? In short, how are we to overcome our isolation from the masses?

What It to Be Done?

Obviously this cannot be answered with a phrase or a formula. It will require much hard and persistent work to re-orientate our Party in this direction. Both the Central Committee and the District Committees have the task of driving home the necessity of abandoning purely propaganda methods of work as represented by our almost complete failure to organize the hundreds of sympathetic workers around the Party and of seriously taking up the rooting of our Party in the shops and mines by organizing factory nuclei and groups and committees of the T. U. U. L., and placing in the foreground, work in the mass organizations, especially the Unemployed Councils and the Trade Union Unity League.

Use The Mass Organizations!

The work of improving the functioning of our Party, which certainly must be pushed, and the developing of our mass campaigns must be carried through with the clear perspective of improving our mass *organizational* work, especially in the factories and among the unemployed, and by utilizing to the maximum extent the forces, resources, contacts and apparatus of the mass organizations (T. U. U. L., Unemployed Councils, I. W. O., other fraternal bodies, I. L. D., L. S. N. R., etc., as well as the local unions of the A. F. of L.) as the means of extending the Party's organizational mass influence.

Division of Work

A careful check-up on all inner-Party meetings must be made with the view of drastically reducing the number, this to be carried through in conjunction with the working out of a careful *division of work* and the *assignment of our forces* so that the overwhelming majority (at least 90 per cent) of our members are carrying forward the work of the Party through mass organizations.

Reorientate Sections and Nuclei!

The sections and nuclei must be made to realize that they are only successful in their work when they build around themselves basic mass organizations, much larger than the Party, and through which the Party fractions can work in rallying the masses for the struggle against unemployment, wage cuts, etc., and for the broader revolutionary struggles led by the Party.

Establish Well-functioning Fractions!

Party fractions must be set up in every such mass organization and systematically guide their work. The tendency for the fractions to become "outside bodies," giving instructions and orders to mass organizations must be overcome through the full participation of the members of the fraction, not only in making decisions, but especially in the day-to-day work of these organizations in carrying out these decisions.

Secure Regular Reports!

Higher Party committees must insist upon and secure full reports from the Districts, sections, units, and fractions on their activities, especially on work among the unemployed, the Negroes, and in the factories. And these reports must not merely be *plans* for work, but *weekly* statements of progress, the difficulties, the successes, the mistakes, and the experiences gained in carrying through the plans. Only by insistence on such regular reports can the leading committees really insure the carrying through of a line in practice that will insure our transformation to a Bolshevik mass Party. The political mistakes of the past period, and especially of our failure to correct these mistakes, are due primarily to the lack of functioning fractions and of regular reports from these fractions and from lower units on our actual experiences in mass work.

Leadership Chiefly Responsible

And finally it must be understood that the problems presented here are the problems primarily of the Party leadership in the center and the Districts. An army cannot effectively fight, regardless of the willingness of the soldiers, without a general staff which furnishes the various sections with a coordinated plan of advance. The same is true of our Party. It is chiefly the task of the leadership to plan the systematic and rapid re-orientation of the Party toward real mass work in which the factory work and the work among the unemployed will be the central link. The leadership must overcome in practice the "contradiction" between "Party work" and "mass work" by developing the plans for Party work in such a way that Party work will be carried on *chiefly* through the mass organizations of the workers.

EXHIBIT No. 72

[Source: "Comintern Documents," the Communist, May, 1931, Vol. X, No. 5; pages 402-408; Max Bedacht, editor]

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COMINTERN DOCUMENTS

Directives of the Politsecretariat of the ECCI to the Communist Party of the USA relative to the decisions of the Twelfth Plenum of the CPUSA

JANUARY 31, 1931.

To THE CC CPUSA.

DEAR COMRADES: The Political Secretariat of the ECCI recognizes that the CC at its 12th Plenum has with determination taken a course towards mass

work, and endorses the main line of the resolution adopted. The Political Secretariat emphasises that the resolutions today are only on paper, and having in mind the seriousness of the situation, regards as the most important task of the CC the mobilization of its energies to obtain concrete results in the nearest future in carrying the resolutions into life. It directs the CC to concentrate its attention particularly upon the following next tasks:

1. *The main task of the Party at the present time is the organization of the mass struggles against unemployment.* At the moment, the chief campaign against unemployment is the rallying of the masses for the struggle on International Unemployment Day—February 25th—(for which special directives have already been sent you), but following this day the work must be energetically followed up and systematically carried through.

(a) The Party must strive with full determination to build Unemployment Committees, elected by the workers at the unemployment agencies, mass breadlines, and other gathering points of the unemployed, and to unite these committees into Unemployment Councils, according to sections of the city. Recruiting of individual members into unemployed branches must likewise take place and committees of those branches must be represented in the Unemployed Councils. Councils must likewise include representatives of the workers in the factories, the revolutionary trade unions, and other mass organizations.

(b) The Unemployed Councils must fight for immediate relief from the state, at the expense of the military, police, and secret service budget, and by tax upon the employers, but must at the same time set up their own organs to secure housing for unemployed workers, as for instance, specified public schools, to develop mass struggles against the evictions of unemployed workers, and to fight for food for the children of the unemployed, etc.

(c) The Unemployed Councils must investigate and present concrete material in the press, before workers' meetings, through deputations to city bodies, etc., on the devastating situation among the unemployed families, and must continuously expose the miserable treatment of the unemployed workers, and propose concrete measures capable of rallying the unemployed for struggle for their relief. The Unemployed Councils must also collect funds together with the WIR, cooperative, and fraternal bodies, for the establishment of relief kitchens for their own members, as a means of consolidating and strengthening the Councils of the Unemployed.

(d) The slogans for the fight against unemployment are given by the Five-Party Conference of January. The main slogan must be: Unemployment insurance at the expense of the state and employers. While calling the masses of the employed and unemployed to fight for unemployment insurance *at full wages*, and while exposing all parties of the bourgeoisie and the A. F. of L., who oppose insurance and are for private charity, our Party shall not create the impression that it calls upon the distressed workers to refuse benefits even of charity relief. At the same time, the Party must, by means of concrete facts, actually expose the complete insufficiency, rotten food and methods of raising relief funds (virtual taxation of the workers).

The demand must be put forward that all unemployed relief funds should be distributed by unemployment organizations, and the harsh treatment, wastefulness, corruption, etc., of the present relief distributing agencies must be exposed.

(e) For the strengthening of the work among the unemployed, the Party must carefully instruct the District Committees in regard to the line and policy, and in turn the district leadership must instruct their functionaries on the carrying through of the struggle, and must see to it that capable forces are assigned to the work of the Unemployed Councils and that at least one organizer and one agitator are assigned to each unemployment agency and mass breadline. The revolutionary unions and other mass organizations must be drawn actively into the struggle against unemployment. Serious efforts must be made to draw the A. F. of L. local unions and especially the unemployed members of the A. F. of L. into the fight.

(f) The fight for unemployment insurance, as well as the struggle for social insurance as a whole, must be turned into a real mass struggle in accordance with the October resolution of the ECCI. The demands must be more clearly formulated and real efforts be made to draw the workers into the discussion and final formulation of the demands. The demands must be continually carried in our press, explained and popularized to the masses, and contrasted with the various proposals now being made by bourgeois parties and social reformists which must be subjected to a comprehensive and penetrating criticism and

exposure. The fight for unemployment insurance must be more prominently linked up with the day to day struggle, with mass demonstrations, strikes, etc., and with the fight for immediate relief. The signature campaign must be more widely developed, particularly by building committees for the collection of signatures in the factories and in the neighborhoods. In order to clarify the fight for unemployment insurance and to explain to the masses our program in a popular way, it would be useful to issue a pamphlet on unemployment insurance for mass circulation.

2. *The Central Committee must bend its energies to accomplish a turn towards mass work in the trade union field.* The Party from top to bottom must take up trade union questions and give directions and see to the carrying out of them *through its fractions* in the trade unions. The Party, which has to concern itself with every question of working class struggle, must not supplant the work of the trade unions and must not transgress upon the democracy of the trade union organizations.

(a) The decisions of the V Congress of the RIU and of the Plenum of the TUUL must be discussed in the revolutionary trade unions and the next tasks concretely worked out by these unions in the application of these decisions.

(b) The CC must as its *next immediate tasks* give its main attention to improving the leadership and day to day functioning of the Miners, Automobile, Metal, Textile, and Marine unions, and must strengthen the work of the Party organizations in the centers in which these industries are chiefly located, especially Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Cleveland districts. The New York district must give its main attention *at the present time* to improving the situation in the Marine, Needle Trades Union, and Textile unions.

(c) Through sending representatives of the CC and of leading functionaries, assistance must be given to the Party fractions in these unions, to the district organizations, and to the lower units in working out the methods and forms suitable to the local conditions and factories for organizing the workers into the revolutionary unions and for initiating mass struggles against the offensive of the bourgeoisie.

(d) Energetic steps must be taken to bring the membership of the Party into the revolutionary unions, to organize them into well functioning fractions, which must assign definite tasks to the Party members and which must improve their work in the unions.

3. *The Political Secretariat stresses the immediate importance of commencing work to organize the agrarian proletariat and poor farmers.* The severe economic crisis, which grows worse from month to month, and which has given rise to a number of strikes of the agricultural proletariat, and to local armed demonstrations of poor farmers for relief, and which has expressed itself in increased support of the farmers to the Communists in the elections, demands that the Party seize the present opportunity for establishing its influence among the farm workers and poor farmers. For this purpose it is necessary as the next tasks:

(a) To hasten the steps for the transformation of the *United Farmer* into a popular mass organ, published in Chicago.

(b) To organize groups around the paper.

(c) To strengthen the revolutionary union of the agricultural workers.

(d) To set up committees of poor farmers, also among the Negroes, where there are favorable opportunities, and carry through struggles for their immediate interests.

(e) To take measures to clarify the Party in regard to the tasks and slogans in our agrarian work, and to complete the working out of an agrarian program.

4. *For the carrying out of these immediate tasks, the CC must planfully and under strict control carry out a series of measures:*

(a) Strengthen the local leadership in the main industrial centers—Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland, to organize the unemployed, build up the revolutionary unions, and establish well-functioning factory nuclei and shop papers in the most important factories, develop the initiative of the local comrades, and to enliven the work of the lower units and to activate the membership. For this purpose the CC must send a majority of its capable forces (including from among the Politburo, Central Committee, Control Commission, co-workers of the CC, and other forces from the New York district) chiefly into these basic centers.

The Party leadership shall report in two months on what decisions and steps it has taken in the realization of this instruction.

(b) The CC must clarify by popular articles in the press, by discussion of district "actives," discussion in the units, the immediate tasks of the Party, and shall constantly teach in such clarification and discussion how the tasks are to be carried out. It must above all bring to the Party examples of good work in the respective fields of activity, shall criticize by *specific* examples the weaknesses, shortcomings, and deviations, concentrating in this task upon the unemployment and trade union work.

In accordance with the October resolution of the ECCI, the CC must carry through measures for improving the *Daily Worker*, particularly in making it an organizer and mobilizer in the struggle against unemployment, in building the revolutionary trade unions, in effecting a turn in the work toward the factories.

The *Daily Worker* must be more firmly controlled by the CC, which must insist upon more systematically, steadfastly, and perseveringly keeping in the foreground of its agitation the main tasks of the Party, concentrating at present upon the above stated tasks and presenting its agitation to the masses in a more popular way. At the same time, the Party must establish firmer control over the language press and must see to it that its agitation is in line with that of the *Daily Worker* so that the entire Party press may become a real force in the mobilization and organization of the workers particularly for economic struggle.

The Political Secretariat considers it necessary to correct the estimation of the present political situation in the United States given by the Plenum. The Plenum resolution contains confusing and incorrect formulation about "the development of the various elements of a political crisis." It would be wrong to draw a distinction between a political crisis and a revolutionary situation, and therefore, it is incorrect to speak of an approach of a revolutionary situation in the United States. Such an incorrect estimation of the situation is bound to slide over into tactical errors. The estimation of the situation in the United States as one of a severe economic crisis which is sharpening the contradictions of American capitalism, given in the October resolution of the ECCI, still remains in force, and has been borne out by subsequent events.

The Party must widen its mass agitation on the basis of the day to day events and the struggles for partial demands. Instead of putting forward such incorrect slogans as "Death to the bankers," which detract it from its mass agitation to expose the capitalist system, the Party must more comprehensively and popularly expose the nature of the capitalist system as a whole and the necessity for overthrowing it. It must make use of all current events (oppression in the factory, unemployment, police brutality, oppression of Negro workers and foreign born, corruption in government, war preparations) in order to expose the whole system and mobilize the masses in its struggle against capitalism. The Party must direct its fight more against the two main parties of the bourgeois, the Republican and Democratic parties, and show itself to the proletariat as the only anti-capitalist party, exposing the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party as aids of the bourgeoisie in carrying through the offensive of the capitalist class and in maintaining the capitalist system. At the same time the Party must unfold more its *propaganda* showing the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

POLIT SECRETARIAT OF THE ECCI.

Decision of the Polit-Commission of the ECCI on the Question of the Hour Slogan in the United States (January 31, 1931)

The Party must not alter the general slogan on hours which must be "Seven-hour day, six hours for dangerous trades and for youth." In some industries in which at present the eight-hour day, five-day week prevails, the slogan of the "Seven-hour day, five-day week" may be put forward.

In the industries and factories, as for example in the South where the 10- and 12-hour day are in force, the Party may in some places put forward the demand for the eight-hour day, at the same time avoiding a situation where for the white workers the seven-hour day is demanded and for Negro workers the demand is for the eight-hour day.

The A. F. of L. and the Socialists are raising the shorter workday slogan in accord with the stagger plan and other hours policy of the bourgeoisie, aimed chiefly at reducing the wages and living standards of the workers and avoiding social insurance, and the Party must expose them on this basis.

This does not mean that the Party must stand aside from the movement for the shorter workday and limit itself to mere exposures of the bureaucrats. The task of the Party must be on the basis of the united front tactic to take the leadership of the shorter workday movement from the hands of the bureaucrats, putting in the center of the campaign the questions of wage cuts and other slogans directed toward developing a real mass movement from below for struggle and showing to the workers that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats put forward the shorter workday slogans in order to agree to the corresponding wage cuts.

Resolution of the Polit-Committee of the ECCI Regarding the Putting into Effect of the Resolution of the ECCI on the Negro Question in the U. S. A.

The Party must take the leading role in the struggle for all rights of the Negroes, drawing into this struggle all organizations under its influence, and uniting in the struggle Negro and white workers. "It is advisable for the Communist Party in the North to abstain from the establishment of any special Negro organizations, and in place of this to bring the black and white workers together in common organizations of struggle and joint action. Effective steps must be taken for the organization of Negro workers in the TUUL and revolutionary unions." (ECCI resolution on Negro Question in U. S.)

The task of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights must be to aid in immediately establishing and building the *Liberator* as a popular mass organ, developing workers' correspondents, etc., and to act as an auxiliary of the Party in drawing Negro and white workers into the struggle for Negro rights. At no time must the League of Struggle for Negro Rights be considered as a substitute for the Party or revolutionary unions, and the Communist Party must strongly combat any tendencies to relegate the struggle for Negro rights to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, such as have already been manifested in certain articles appearing in the *Daily Worker*.

POLIT-COMMISSION OF THE ECCI.

EXHIBIT No. 73

[Source: Excerpt from the *Communist*, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America; Max Badacht, editor. August, 1931, Vol. X, No. 8, page 702. From an article entitled "Factors Governing Our Tactical Line," pages 693-702]

One of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is the organization of the working class and the toilers for the fight against the preparation of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Parties must expose the preparation of the bourgeoisie for a new imperialist war, for a war against the U. S. S. R., by pointing to concrete examples. It must expose systematically the social-democratic lackeys, helping their masters prepare a counter-revolutionary war against the U. S. S. R.

The Communists of all countries must increase their work in the capitalist armies. The Eleventh Plenum of the E. C. C. I., in its resolutions on the report of Comrade Cachin, emphasizes this and reminds all Communists of the instructions of the Second Congress of the Comintern, dictated by Lenin:

"The obligation to disseminate Communist ideas necessitates the carrying on of a steadfast systematic propaganda in the armies. Where where this agitation is prohibited by special laws, it must be carried on illegally. To reject such work would be equal to betraying revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Third International.

The increase of the work in capitalist armies, the systematic explanation of the significance of the preparation of a counter-revolutionary war against the U. S. S. R. to the working masses, the ruthless exposure of the treacherous role of the social-fascists, the organization of the proletariat and the toiling peasantry for the defense of the U. S. S. R.—such are the basic elements of the struggle of the Communist Parties with armed intervention against the country which is building socialism.

EXHIBIT No. 74

[Source: Excerpt from the Communist, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America: Max Bedacht, editor. July, 1931, Vol. X, No. 7, pages 612, 613. From the article entitled "Faith in the Masses—Organization of the Masses," by Earl Browder, pages 600-614]

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Struggle Against War

In spite of some partial advances in the anti-war work of our Party, this remains one of our weak points. An inner-political reason for this weakness lies in the remnants of a petty-bourgeois skeptical attitude regarding the war danger, the idea that the war danger is real only after the moment the guns begin to boom. This is capitulation before the pacifist barrage of the war-markers. There remains an underestimation of the role of American imperialism in the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union; this tendency sees the military enemies of the Soviet Union in every imperialist country except our own, it thinks we are "exaggerating" when we point out that Washington is step by step moving forward to the hegemony of the anti-Soviet war front. And above all, there is the almost complete neglect of the vitally necessary work of penetration of the armed forces with the message of working-class solidarity and directives for effective organizational measures to root the anti-militarist movement in the very heart of militarism.

In the anti-war campaign now beginning which culminates on the International Day of Struggle on August First, we must make decisive steps towards overcoming these weaknesses. August First must be a mass-mobilization against war, far surpassing anything we have hitherto done on this field. Our Central Committee Plenum must mercilessly examine this campaign to search out and expose all the weak spots in it, as the necessary step toward strengthening the future work.

Especially must we learn to make more effective use of the deepening contrast between the magnificent achievements of the workers in the Soviet Union, on the one hand, with the catastrophic misery of the workers in the capitalist countries, on the other hand. This is the mightiest weapon for winning the masses.

EXHIBIT No. 75

[Source: Daily Worker, November 7, 1932, page 6]

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THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY AND TWO ELECTIONS

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia falls in between the days the national elections in the United States and the national elections in Germany are taking place.

The contrast presented is a sign manual of the coming social revolution.

The elections in these two great capitalist nations, one "victorious" in the world war and the other defeated, occur in a period of acute crisis, with industry in a state of collapse, with 15-16,000,000 unemployed in the United States and with 7,000,000 unemployed in Germany. Berlin, the capital city and the greatest industrial center of Germany, is tied up by a strike of transport workers, led by Communists, as the elections proceed under military supervision practically amounting to martial law.

In these two nations, with total populations of 185,000,000 the two capitalist nations of greatest industrialization and capitalist civilization, the economic and social conditions of the masses have been forced steadily downwards in the three years of the crisis; there is not the slightest sign of an end of the crisis; the working class of these two nations, typical of victor and vanquished in the world imperialist slaughter of 1914-18, faces ever sharpening attacks from the capitalists and their governments, on all fronts.

Rationalization—new mechanical and chemical processes coupled with the speed-up of workers—"the Americanization of industry" "mass production and expanding mass consumption", "worker-management co-operation", "industrial peace"—all the panaceas of capitalism's experts, aided and abetted by the socialist parties the world over, have failed to solve the contradictions of capitalism in

either country. In no capitalist country have they been solved. Everywhere the crisis deepens.

The end of capitalist stabilization in countries on both sides of the imperialist conflict brings into bold relief the basic contradiction between social production embracing millions of workers and capitalist ownership of natural resources, machines and commodities, maintained by the suppressive force of capitalist government.

Capitalism itself, with its remnants of feudalism (special forms of robbery and oppression of the Negro masses in the United States, feudal and semi-feudal forms of land tenure and cultivation in Germany, etc.) has produced the forces for its overthrow, as it did in Russia.

More and more in the most advanced capitalist countries millions of hungry workers and ruined farmers see standing between them and the necessities of life the giant industrial mergers and huge combinations of finance capital united ever closer with the machinery of government. Fiercer and fiercer grow the attacks upon the living standards and elementary political rights of the masses.

In the Soviet Union the reverse is true. The power is in the hands of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry, led by the Communist Party.

There is no unemployment. The first part of the most tremendous program of industrialization—Socialist construction—ever conceived in the brain of man has just been completed—the Five-Year Program in four years, and the Second Five-Year Plan is already launched.

The land, the natural resources of the country, the great plants and their products belong to the Russian masses, not to any capitalist or capitalist class.

The marching feet of millions of workers and peasants with their Communist Party at the head of their fighting battalions have packed the earth like granite on the grave dug by the Revolution for czarism, capitalism and its supporters.

The national minorities oppressed under the czar, from the Jews in the cities to the Mongols on the steppes, have been liberated.

There is in the Soviet Union the widest democracy ever seen on this earth. In no country in the world and in no period of history have so many millions taken part in government.

The social and cultural conditions of the workers and peasants rise steadily. In no country in the world and in no historical period has there been such a rapid rise. The first stage of the classless society of Communism has been reached in a country of 163,000,000 people.

Everything which has to do with the well-being and improvement of the status of the masses is on the upgrade in the Soviet Union.

In the United States and Germany the conditions of the toiling population grows steadily worse.

In the United States and Germany, as in all other capitalist countries, the masses are being prepared for a new robber war, for slaughter in the interests and for the profits of the ruling class. The Soviet Union is the greatest force, backed by the world proletariat and the colonial peoples, for preventing imperialist war. Its Red Army and its armed working class are prepared to defend the revolution and the land of Socialism against imperialist invasion and counter-revolution and this alone is a powerful factor in halting the outbreak of imperialist war.

With all capitalism antagonisms brought to the surface by the three-year crisis, and sharpened by the election struggles, on the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution the magnificent achievements of the masses of the Soviet Union, headed by their Communist Party, break through the blockade of capitalist lies and distortions and give to the oppressed of the whole world a contrast from which they are learning rapidly the revolutionary lessons. Especially are they learning the lessons of the revolutionary contrast in their increasing militant mass battles against the capitalist offensive.

The breakdown of capitalist production and distribution, the bankruptcy of the capitalist system of production, not for use, but for sale and exchange—the profit system—the rise of socialist production for the betterment of the conditions of the toiling population, the decisive struggle between two world systems—these are the contrasts brought in the sharpest form before the eyes especially of the masses of city and countryside in the two most developed countries of capitalism—America and Germany—on the day of national elections.

Frantically the capitalist class and its political parties strive for a way out of the crisis. But this way lies over and through the millions of toilers disillusioned by the crisis and the bankruptcy of capitalism.

The Communist way out of the crisis of 1917 was taken by the Russian masses. The power they conquered then through the Soviets is held today, fifteen years afterward, and has increased a thousandfold.

Capitalism and its government, as the elections and the mass struggles of the employed and unemployed prove, encounters stronger and stronger mass opposition on its road out of the crisis over the lives and liberties of the working class. The Communist Parties of the United States and Germany—each in a different stage of the struggle—basing themselves on the Marxist-Leninist program of organization and revolutionary mass battles against every sector of the capitalist offensive, bring to the hungry and oppressed millions the lessons taught by the Proletarian Revolution of 1917.

On its Fifteenth Anniversary, coinciding with elections in which the capitalist crisis and the way out is the issue, the winning of the majority of the working class for the revolutionary way out of the crisis is the main and immediate task.

It is from this standpoint that the Communist Party will make its appraisal of the results of the election struggle.

Workers of the U. S.—Vote Communist tomorrow!

EXHIBIT No. 76

[Source: Daily Worker, November 7, 1932, page 6; excerpt from an article entitled "Why Thomas Is Being Boosted by Republican, Democrat Press," by Bill Dunne]

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No "Orderly Revolution"

There never has been and there never can be an orderly revolution. "Orderly revolution" means no revolution. The whole international experience of the working class, immeasurably enriched by the Russian Revolution, proves this beyond question.

EXHIBIT No. 77

[Source: A pamphlet published for the Communist Party National Campaign Committee by Workers Library Publishers, New York: 1932]

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THE FIGHT FOR BREAD

By Earl Browder

Keynote Speech Opening the National Nominating Convention of the Communist Party, Chicago, May 28, 1932.

Comrades and Fellow Workers!

Our Convention meets in the midst of the greatest economic crisis ever known.

The present ferocious attack against the toiling masses—that is the capitalist way out of the crisis.

While millions starve, Hoover, chief of the Republican Party, leads the fight to save capitalist profits at the expense of the lives of the workers, their wives, and children.

The Fight for Jobs, Bread and Peace

In this situation only the Communist Party raises and fights for the workers' demands for jobs, bread and peace. (Applause.)

For three years Hoover promised "prosperity in 60 days." This prosperity takes the form of cities of unemployed, homeless outcast millions living in packing-boxes, in cellars, under bridges, in sewers. Hundreds of these cities, all over the country, have very properly paid homage to the fame and glory of the great engineer in the White House by adopting the name "Hooverville." The very name of this man has become a symbol of degradation and misery for the masses.

Fifteen million workers are unemployed, other millions have only part-time jobs, wage rates for the employed have been cut by 25 to 60 per cent, millions of farmers are being evicted from their farms because they are unable to pay taxes and interest on their mortgages. Starvation and disease are sucking the blood of men, women, and children in every state, every city, every working class neighborhood.

The issue of the elections is the issue of work and bread—of life or death for the workers and the farmers. (Applause.)

All this occurs in the richest country in the world. Our warehouses are bursting with unused food and clothing. Our cities are full of empty houses. There is plenty to spare of all things needed for life for all people.

Millions are starving precisely because there is *too much of everything*. That is what all the wise men of Wall Street tell us. That is the fundamental law of our economic and social system. That is capitalism. That is the inevitable result of a system in which the machinery of production and distribution is the private property of a small parasite class—the capitalist class.

The communist Party is the only Party which organizes the workers and farmers, to create a revolutionary government which will confiscate the industries, banks, railroads, etc., from the parasite capitalists who have proved they do not know how to run them, and to put the industrial machinery to work for the benefit of the masses of workers and farmers. (Applause.)

Capitalists Responsible for Crisis

The question is not one of Hoover. It is of the system, of which way out of the crisis. Hoover's policies have been carried out by a coalition of Republican and Democratic parties. Between these parties there is a fight only about who shall get the graft of office, but complete agreement that the workers and farmers shall pay all the costs of the crisis, complete agreement that the government treasury shall be used primarily for the benefit of the banks, the railroads, the great corporations.

The "Reconstruction Corporation" that gave two billion dollars to the banks and corporations, was the joint work of Republicans and Democrats, and was endorsed by the leaders of the Socialist Party whose only complaint was that "it didn't go far enough."

The present projects before Congress supposedly for relief, from Hoover's billion, to Robinson's two billion, to Hearst's five billion, to the Socialist party's ten billion—all differ from one another only in the degree of their demagogy. They all agree that nothing can be done except through restoring capitalist profits and placing the burdens of the crisis upon the masses.

Even the shameful charity doles, which prolong the starvation of a portion of the unemployed, are not taken from the rich capitalists who own everything in rich America, but from the masses who have nothing except a remnant of a job at part-time.

A classical example of this is the New York "block-aid" system. Under this system each block is to take care of its own starving; down on the East Side where two thousand are starving together in one block, the few hundred with jobs in that block shall take care of others; up on Fifth Avenue, Morgan, Rockefeller and Company will take care of all the unemployed in their blocks.

In putting across this beautiful scheme, which includes a system of blacklisting all radical workers spotted by the "block-aid committees," all those who support the capitalist way out of the crisis were brought forward; J. Pierpont Morgan spoke over the radio for it, and said: "You give a dime and I give a dime, and we all share equally"; over the same radio Morgan was followed by Norman Thomas, leader of the so-called Socialist Party, who supported Morgan and attacked the Communist Party as "slanderers" of Morgan's pure motives.

Capitalist Solution of Crisis—Hunger and War

There are only two ways out of the crisis. One way is the capitalist way. That way is the attempt to restore capitalism, to restore profits. But to restore profits means to cut wages, to throw millions out of work, to refuse unemployment relief, to refuse social insurance, to pile heavy taxes upon the masses and reduce the taxes on wealth, to refuse the bonus to the ex-soldiers. It means "to balance the budget," in the words of the slogan that now unites all three capitalist parties, the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties. And it means WAR.

The capitalist way out of the crisis is the way of misery, suffering, starvation, war, death for the workers and farmers. It is a way out only for the little parasite class of capitalists and their servants.

The capitalists have two main weapons—demagogy and terror, to put across their attacks upon the workers. They use these weapons through their three parties—Republican, Democratic and Socialist. These are, first, to confuse the workers' mind with demagogy, with false promises of "prosperity in 60 days" and, later, with the hope that "Congress will do something before long." Thus they try to keep the workers quiet and patient under all miseries and attacks.

But when the demagogy fails to keep the workers from fighting for some relief, then the capitalists and all their parties use the most brutal police violence and terror, as well as illegal fascist attacks upon the workers.

The working class already has a long list of martyrs, of dead and wounded and imprisoned, in the fight to resist the capitalist attacks.

Melrose Park, in Chicago, where the underworld, the police, and the American Legion, opened machine-gun fire on an unemployed meeting, is only an outstanding example.

Democrats in Chicago and New York—Republicans in Detroit at the Ford massacre, and in Pennsylvania—"progressives" and reactionaries, it makes no difference for the workers. They all club, shoot, imprison, if they cannot keep the workers quiet with their lies.

In Kentucky they already have an openly fascist dictatorship, which differs from capitalist "democracy" in Chicago, Detroit and New York only by its discarding of all pretences and bragging about what the others try to conceal.

The Open and Hidden Agents of the Bosses

And not to be outdone by its elder brother parties, the Socialist Party in Milwaukee (the only city it controls) sent the unemployed leader, Fred Bassett, to prison for one year for leading the demonstration of March 6, 1930, at the same time that Democratic Jimmy Walker of Tammany Hall, New York, who received gifts of a million dollars while in office, was sending Foster, Minor, Amter, and Raymond to jail for six months for the same "crime."

The officialdom of the American Federation of Labor is openly supporting the Hoover program. It fights against the workers and for the capitalists on every essential point. It fights against unemployment insurance, against the bonus for the ex-soldiers, it prevents strikes and signs agreements for broad wage-cuts, it fights for huge grants of money to the corporations and taxation of the masses, it supports new laws to help build greater giant monopolies, it helps prepare imperialist wars, especially the war against the Soviet Union. Through its deceitful "non-partisan" policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," it delivers the workers gagged and bound to the Republicans and Democrats, "progressives" and reactionaries, in order to further confuse and divide the working class. It decks itself out in "victories" like the so-called anti-injunction law, which fastens injunctions and "yellow dog contracts" more firmly upon the workers than ever before.

The reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor is an agency of capitalism among the workers for putting over the capitalist way out of the crisis.

The Communist Party—the Only Party that Fights for Negro Equality and Their Right to Self-Determination

Oppression of the Negro masses in the United States takes on the most bestial forms, rivalled only by the rule of the British in India, and by the Japanese and Kuomintang generals in China. Negroes are burned alive on the public squares of our cities,—and their bodies mutilated in the most horrible manner by crazed and drunken agents of the landlords and capitalists. And it also takes on the most subtle forms, those of the "liberal" and "humanitarian" slave-owners, who with gentler means keep the black man "in his place" of servant — the ways of deceit and hypocrisy.

The Democratic Party is the party of the lynchers; the Republican Party is bidding for the support of the lynchers and has completely discarded its tradition as liberator of the chattel slaves; the Socialist Party at its convention last week rejected the Negro demand for social equality, and one of its chief leaders, Heywood Broun, has openly declared against enforcing the right to vote of Negroes in the South. The Socialist Party convention was even more "lily-white" than the Republican Party in its most degenerate days.

It is clear that only the Communist Party fights every day in the year for equality of the Negro masses, complete equality without any restrictions, economic, political, or social. (Applause.) Only the Communist Party comes forward with the demand for self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt where they constitute the majority of the population. Only the Communist Party fights every day for the unconditional freedom of the Scottsboro boys, and against each and every act of oppression of the Negro people. Only the Communist Party calls upon the white workers to defend their Negro brothers, and organizes the joint struggle of white and Negro toilers, side by side, in the closest fraternal unity. [Applause.]

For the Defense of the Chinese People, for the Defense of the Soviet Union

The climax of the monstrous brutalities of the capitalist way out of the crisis, is the preparation for a new imperialist war.

Hoover, at the head of American imperialism, is one of the chief organizers of the war against the Soviet Union. Secretly and openly instigating Japanese imperialism to begin this attack in the East, the Hoover government at the same time pushes on the French military system in Europe.

Hoping thus to destroy the Soviet Union, and at the same time weaken American imperialism's strongest rivals, Hoover and Company are dragging the American working class into a world slaughter for redivision of the world.

The new world war, which will claim millions of working-class lives, can only be postponed by the most energetic, fearless, self-sacrificing action of the workers, of all lands, especially of America, to fight against and halt the whole capitalist offensive.

The Communist Party calls upon the workers of America to fight for the defense of the Chinese people, for the liberation of the Philippines and other colonies and semi-colonies, for stopping the shipment of munitions to Japan. We call for fraternal solidarity with and support of the heroic Japanese workers who fight for the overthrow of their semi-feudal ruling regime, and support the demand for the expulsion from this country of the representatives of Japanese imperialism. We call upon the workers to fight and defeat the war plans of American imperialism, and build a living wall of defense of the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union. [Applause.]

Billions for the banks and corporations; hunger, starvation, oppression, and war for the workers and farmers—this is the capitalist way of the crisis.

Will American workers submit to this without a fight? No, they will not! [Applause.] This Convention, representing the most developed workers and farmers from coast to coast, is itself one of the most important signs that the workers will fight, that they are already beginning to fight.

Our Chief Election Demands

There is no way out of the crisis for the workers and farmers except the road of militant class struggle. Against the united forces of the capitalist class, which, in spite of all differences it swings into action against the toiling masses—against this the working class must build up a fighting front of its own class forces.

Class against class! That is the expression of the class alignment which the workers must fight for and secure in the elections.

The election struggle is not something separated from everyday life and problems. The election struggle grows out of, and must help conduct, the daily fight for bread, clothing, shelter for the worker and his family.

That is why the election platform of the Communist Party places in the very first place the fight for the most burning, the most immediate, needs of the toiling masses.

Our six main planks in the election platform, represent the most pressing needs of the million-masses of America. They are:

1. *Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers.*
2. *Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy.*
3. *Emergency relief for the impoverished farmers, without restrictions by the government and banks; exemption of impoverished farmers from taxes, and no forced collection of rents or debts.*
4. *Equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt.*
5. *Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers.*
6. *Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.*

Fight of Masses Can Win Our Demands

It is the task of the Communist Party to make of the election campaign merely a part of the whole struggle of the working class for these demands, which is conducted every day in demonstrations, strikes, struggles of every sort, in which the widest class forces of the workers will be registered. The mass fight for these demands alone can build up effective resistance to the capitalist way out of the crisis.

Only the fight of the masses can win these demands. (Applause.) Every Party that tells the workers to depend upon representatives in Congress to give these things to them, is fooling the workers, is trying to keep the workers quiet while the capitalists continue to rob them and oppress them.

Especially important is the fight for *unemployment insurance*. There can be no security of life, to the smallest degree, until the workers force the capitalist class, the ruling class, to give them unemployment insurance. (Applause.)

Now, at a time when even if capitalist industry increased its production, still fewer workers would be engaged, because of labor-saving machinery and rationalization and speed-up—now, it is a thousand times more important that the workers shall force the capitalists to give a minimum guarantee of the means of life under all conditions.

The only project for such unemployment and social insurance which gives any guarantee to the workers, is the *Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill* which was presented to Congress last December 7th by the National Hunger Marchers who came from all over the country.

The Communist Party election struggle will be, before all, the fight for the *Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill*. And the Communist Party is the *only* Party that fights for this Bill. (Applause.)

For a Revolutionary Workers' and Farmers' Government

The fight for these demands is the first step to find the working class way out of the crisis. The working class way is, and must be, the revolutionary way, that is, it must be the way of a fundamental change in the whole system, it must take power out of the hands of the capitalist class and put it into the hands of the working class.

The struggles of the working class must have as their aim the setting up of a *revolutionary workers' and farmers' government*. (Applause.)

Only such a government can finally free the masses from starvation and slavery. Only such a government can open up every idle factory, mill and mine, and give jobs again to every worker and provide a decent living. Only such a government can immediately seize and distribute to the hungry masses the enormous stores of food now kept locked up in warehouses. Only such a government can open up the millions of houses, kept locked and empty by greedy and private landlords, and fill them with the homeless unemployed.

This is the only working class way out of the crisis.

Of the three political parties of the capitalist class—the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist parties—the first two are open tools of Wall Street, while the third calls itself a “workers’ party.” But the Socialist Party is only the third party of the capitalist class. It is no more the party of Socialism than is the Democratic party the party of democracy. It is the party of the betrayal of Socialism. (Applause.)

A new Socialist system of society is actually being built in a great country, one-sixth of the entire world. That is in the Soviet Union. (Applause.) There the working class, allied with the farmers, took political power away from the capitalists, chased the capitalists away or put them to work, and set up a new kind of government, the Soviet Government.

Today, finishing the Five Year Plan of Socialist construction with the most magnificent success, building giant new industries where there were none at all before, growing at a rate five to ten times as fast as anything the world ever saw before, the Soviet Union is the living example of the workers’ way, the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the way to Socialism and Communism. (Applause.)

The Socialist Party—Champion of Capitalist Demagoguery—Paving the Way for Fascism

But the Socialist Party is the bitterest enemy of the Soviet Union. Its brother-party in Russia joined the capitalists in trying to overthrow the Soviet govern-

ment. The leader of the Socialist Party in the U. S. A., Morris Hillquit, was the attorney for those ex-capitalists of tsarist Russia who owned the Baku oil fields before the Revolution. Morris Hillquit signed the documents of these capitalists who asked the United States government to seize the oil shipped to the United States and turn it over to them because the Baku oil fields had been "unlawfully and wrongfully seized" by the Russian working class and really belonged by right to their former capitalist owners.

Can the Socialist Party bring Socialism in America, when its chief leader fights to restore capitalism in Russia?

The Socialist Party has the same program as its brother party in England, the Labor Party, which, when in office, was the most aggressive initiator of wage-cuts, reduction of unemployment relief, inflation, and the whole capitalist way out of the crisis. It has the same program as its German brother party, the Social-Democracy, which is in coalition with the monarchist Hindenburg, and is negotiating a coalition with the fascist Hitler, for the capitalist way out at the expense of the workers.

What is true of the Socialist Party is equally true of its self-styled left-wing, the "militants" and Musteites, as well as their Lovestone and Cannon winglets. These groups use radical phrases, and put on sham fights like that against Hillquit in Milwaukee, but they are all agreed on fundamentals. They are united in struggle against the Communist Party of the United States and against the Soviet Union.

The Socialist Party puts itself forward as the champion of American democracy, capitalist democracy. It is for the democracy which puts Jimmy Walker in charge of New York City, to secure a million dollars graft by farming out the rights to exploit the masses; it is against the dictatorship in the Soviet Union which shoots such grafters as Jimmy Walker.

For a Soviet Government in the United States

But the workers of the United States are learning a great deal about the real meaning of capitalist democracy. They can no longer be fooled, as of old, so easily. The workers know that in the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the working class means the first and only real democracy for the workers. (Applause.) That it is a dictatorship against the exploiters and their agents. They know that in the United States, the boasted democracy is a democracy of money, and a dictatorship against the workers. (Applause.)

Only the mass struggle for the demands of the workers contained in the platform of the Communist Party is an effective method of gaining concessions from the capitalist class here and now. (Applause.)

There is no other practical struggle for immediate demands except the class struggle led by the Communist Party. (Applause.)

A million votes for Foster and Ford and the Communist platform in the presidential elections will win many concessions for the workers from the capitalist class, who are filled with deep fear when the workers turn toward Communism.

A million votes for the Communist platform will be the first long step on the road of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. (Applause.)

Forward to the revolutionary election struggle of the working class for its immediate needs and its ultimate goal!

Organize a mighty mass movement of the workers and farmers, Negro and white, men, women, and youth, to vote Communist on November 8th, and to fight every day in the year against capitalism until it is destroyed and a Soviet government rules in the United States! (Loud applause—ovation.)

EXHIBIT No. 78

[Source: Daily Worker, New York, Saturday, January 2, 1932, page 4]

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LENIN AND THE DAILY WORKER

By Max Bedacht

The first issue of the Daily Worker came off the press Jan. 13, 1924. This date, however, is not the beginning of the history of the Daily Worker. The conception which finally led to the publication of the Daily Worker dates back to July, 1921.

Just before the Third Congress of the Communist International the two American Communist organizations which resulted from the split of the socialist party in 1919 had united into the Communist Party of America. The Third Congress of the Communist International, therefore, had one united delegation from the American section. This unity, however, was not yet well founded in a uniform conception of policy.

Our American Party suffered intensely from the infantile disease of leftism. Our Party had taken over from the left wing of the socialist party the inheritance of abstractness and of lack of direct connection with the working class and its struggles. The decisions and resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International contributed greatly to a better understanding of our revolutionary tasks, yet the poison of leftism was still virile enough to interfere with, if not almost hinder, the process of ideological bolshevization. The poison of bourgeois influences manifested itself then in a vicious form of American exceptionalism. This exceptionalism repeated again and again that the decisions and policies laid down by the Second Congress of the Communist International were absolutely correct in principle—but that because of peculiar American conditions they could not be applied in practice.

The delegation to the Third Congress of the Communist International was invited by Comrade Lenin to confer with him and talk over the problems of the American Party. This conference took place toward the end of the Congress. One day, after the Congress and after midnight, we met in the bureau of Comrade Lenin. The American delegation was there in full force. The discussion was carried on in the English language. Comrade Lenin spoke English very well.

It will be of historic and political value for our Party to reconstruct the discussions in this conference. It is this importance which keeps me now from a detailed reproduction of this conference. It will be necessary to check up carefully on everything by consulting the memory of all comrades who were at that meeting and who can still be reached. To my knowledge, only Comrade Minor and myself are now in our Party and in the United States who participated in the meeting. Until we succeed in producing a collective reconstruction of events and arguments in that conference I will confine myself here merely to some general questions.

In 1921 our Party operated underground. The mass attacks and deportations of 1919 and 1920 had resulted in a practical state of illegality. Lack of experience on the one hand, and lack of a broad mass movement around the Party on the other hand, prevented an immediate struggle for the right of the legal existence of the Party. The disease of infantile leftism also contributed to this lack of struggle for legality.

In the conference of the American Party delegation to the Third Congress with Comrade Lenin the building of a mass Party was the basic subject. The issue of struggle for legality was part of the problem of building a mass Party.

Comrade Lenin's theme in the conference from beginning to end was: How can we build a mass Party in America; what are the conditions for the building of such a Party; what are the conditions of the Party itself for the carrying out of this task?

There was a very serious objection on the delegation to any efforts of building a mass Party. The guardian of the infantile disease of leftism in the American Party, Comrade Hourwich, was at the conference himself to watch for the welfare of this disease. He objected most strongly to any proposal that might bring the Party in contact with the masses of workers. His fear of the Party's contamination with the backwardness of the American workers as a result of real contact with these workers was so great that he impatiently interrupted Comrade Lenin ever so often when the latter formulated possible methods of approach to these workers. Finally, Comrade Lenin rebuked Comrade Hourwich's impatience by saying that to reach the masses of workers is the indispensable prerequisite for the revolutionization of the working class. These masses of workers, Lenin said, are on the other side of the street. We are on this side. We must cross the street to reach the masses. We must cross the street by all means and under all conditions. Comrade Lenin declared that to argue that we should not cross the street because we might get our feet dirty is no proof of radicalism and revolutionary integrity, but might be opportunism, which tries to escape doing anything and find a good excuse for this inactivity.

After this the discussion ran a little smoother. The problem of the formation of the mass Party was discussed. In this connection Comrade Lenin declared that the formation of a mass Party necessitates under all conditions

the establishment of a daily mass paper. He pointed out that without a daily paper the Party could not maintain the necessary contact with the masses; the Party could not speak to the masses rally on every important question; the Party could not utilize the mass response which a realistic revolutionary activity would produce among the workers; it could not crystalize organizational gains out of this mass response. The delegation was convinced by Comrade Lenin that the formation of a mass Party also necessitated the establishment of a mass paper.

Thus, the conference with Comrade Lenin resulted in a firm determination on the part of the delegates of our Party after its return to America to help mobilize every ounce of energy of the Party for the formation of an open mass Party and for the publication of a daily mass organ of this Party. Thus this conference with Lenin of the delegation of the American Party to the Third Congress of the Communist International became the starting point of the campaign for the formation of the Workers' Party and also for the establishment of a daily organ in the English language. Although this daily organ, our Daily Worker, was actually only published in January, 1924, yet it really originated in that conference with Comrade Lenin in July, 1921.

EXHIBIT No. 79

[Source: Daily Worker, January 24, 1933, page 4]

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"A ROUND OF NEW WARS AND REVOLUTIONS"

(Concluding Remarks of Ercoli at 12th Plenum of E. C. C. I.)

(Conclusion)

Comrades! the definition of the differing character of the general objectives, which we have given, implies a differentiation in the development of the capitalist crisis in various countries.

In Germany, we have a situation where reactionary and revolutionary forces are gathering and opposing each other in an extremely rapid manner.

Our task is to raise the ideological capacity of our Party, so as to be able to analyze with continuous attention and exactly understand, at every moment, the nature of the situation which we have before us and adapt our political line, our tactics, to this situation. Now, more than at any other time, our ideological capacity must be allied with the capacity to do practical work, with the spirit of struggle, with the greatest development of the initiative of each Party and each Party organization.

We speak of war, of revolutionary upsurge, of revolution. We do not know what the situation will be when the next session of the Communist International assembles. We do not know, in case of war, what connections we shall be able to maintain between the Parties of the Communist International and the centre of the Communist International. We do not know, during the development of the revolutionary struggle in each country, where strikes are going to develop and assume the character of mass political strikes; we do not know what connections we shall be able to have between the centre of our Party and the basic organizations.

In these circumstances we cannot advance unless we succeed in developing, to the widest extent, the initiative of our Party and of all the organizations of our Party, from the highest leading organizations down to the factory cell.

We see a movement of the masses in our direction, coming partly from the unorganized masses, partly from the workers organized in the reformist trade unions. That mass is seeking for a revolutionary direction; part of that mass wishes to join our ranks. Our task consists in succeeding in directing it, and, in order to achieve this task, it is absolutely necessary for all Social-Democratic traditions to be overcome in our ranks. It is absolutely necessary, in order to achieve this task, for each Party to work with the greatest ideological and political steadiness.

We are advancing towards a period of great struggles. What will be the reaction in our ranks, in the ranks of the various parties in capitalist countries

with regard to these struggles? Will there be elements which will weaken just when it is necessary, on the contrary, to show the greatest amount of strength? Can we put aside such a prospect? No! We must have that prospect here before us and we must learn to understand the importance for all the Parties of the Communist International, under the present conditions of struggle, of a Leninist ideology of revolutionary Marxism, against right opportunism, which is the main danger, and against deviations of the left wing.

All our Parties have not yet become real Bolshevik Parties. They will become Bolshevik Parties in the course of struggle, but, beside the great ideological and political confusion of the Parties of the Second International, we are an International unified on the basis of a program which is a banner to the workers, to the oppressed peoples of the whole world.

We are a world Party which draws its strength from an ideology and tactics which we have been taught by our great leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, which has been taught us by the experience of three revolutions. All our Parties are not yet Bolshevik Parties, they will become so in the course of the struggle, but we have at our head, at the head of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R., Lenin's Party, the Party directed by Comrade Stalin, the leader of the world proletariat, which shows the whole International an example of ideological steadfastness, of irreconcilable struggle against opportunism, against Social-Democratic and petty-bourgeois opportunist deviations to the right and to the left, the way of close alliance with the masses, obtained by daily work in contact with the masses.

The victories of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the victories of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union are a guarantee of victory for the whole world proletariat, for the whole Communist International.

Strengthened by the experience of the Bolshevik Party, let us go back to our work, let us try to bring into our work the same spirit of struggle, the same practical spirit which we have tried to put in our resolutions. No mere words. Work! Let us try to overcome the gap which exists between our decisions and our resolutions. Let us take root in the factories, let us work thoroughly in the reformist trade unions, let us work among the mass of unemployed, let us penetrate into Fascist trade union organizations, into the army, into the navy. Let us practice revolutionary class struggle throughout the world, the struggle for bread, for the workers' freedom, against war, against the regime of capitalist exploitation, for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Bolshevik Party and its leader—Stalin!

Long live the world revolution!

EXHIBIT No. 80

[Source: a pamphlet published by the Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A., New York: 1933]

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AN OPEN LETTER TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Adopted by the Extraordinary National Conference of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., held in New York City, July 7-10, 1933. Central Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. P. O. Box 87, Sta. D (50 East 13th St.), New York City.

"This Extraordinary Conference and the Open Letter are designed to rouse all of our resources, all of the forces of the Party to change this situation, and to give us guarantees that the essential change in our work will be made. The letter represents the most serious judgment of the situation and tasks of our Party and our leadership."—(From Comrade Browder's report at the Extraordinary Party Conference).

What to do With the Open Letter

The Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference is addressed to *you*—the Party membership. It outlines in the clearest manner the situation existing in our Party today. It points out the necessary steps that must be taken by the entire Party, by the entire membership, by every leading committee.

if we are to become the mass Party of the American working class. It is a letter which should arouse the whole membership to a realization that only the most determined, persistent and organized activity will enable us to carry through the tasks outlined in the immediate period before us.

The present unsatisfactory work of our Party requires the most self-critical examination of the work of our entire Party membership, of every unit of the Party, of every fraction in the mass organizations, of every leading committee, on the basis of which immediate steps should be taken to guarantee the rallying of every member for the carrying out of the tasks laid down.

You should read this letter carefully—study every line. Apply the critical examination it makes of the work of the entire Party to *your own work*, to the work of *your unit*, to the work of *your fraction*, to the work of *your section or district committee*. Use this letter as a real weapon to overcome all obstacles that stand in the way of improving our Communist work *in the factories*, among the unemployed, in the mass organizations.

Discuss this letter in your unit, in your fraction, in your section and district committee. But discussion is not enough. Discussion will establish that political clarity necessary to transform this letter into the weapon with which to lead out the road to the most decisive sections of the American proletariat—in the first place to those in the big factories. What is needed now is work—*carrying out in deeds* the words of the letter. The Central Committee and the comrades gathered at the Extraordinary Party Conference know that the membership is ready for work; we know they will carry out the letter.

Adopt resolutions in your unit, in your fraction, in your section and district committee on the tasks that you must carry through if the entire Party is to move ahead at a faster tempo. Check up regularly on this resolution, see that every member is involved in the work, see that every member carries out his Communist task. Forward your resolution to the *Daily Worker* as soon as the membership of your unit, or fraction, section or leading committee has adopted it. Make the resolution a means of controlling all decisions, guaranteeing that every decision of the leading committee, of your fraction, and unit is carried out. Forward to rooting the Party among the basic sections of the American proletariat, among the Negro and white masses.

Open Letter to All Party Members

PARTY COMRADES: The tremendous sharpening of the economic crisis, and the new severe attacks of the bourgeoisie on the workers and toiling masses, as well as the feverish preparations of the imperialists for wars among themselves and for intervention against the Soviet Union, make a *rapid turn* of the Party to revolutionary mass work among the decisive sections of the American industrial proletariat an imperative task.

The rise of the strike movement, the mass action of the unemployed, the increasing opposition within the A. F. of L. against the bureaucracy, the various movements which are growing at a tempestuous pace among the poor farmers and ruined middle farmers, the movements among the masses of petty bourgeoisie in the cities and the toiling intelligentsia, especially among the teachers, students and intellectuals—all these factors indicate that the revolutionary upsurge is gaining momentum. But in spite of the spread of the mass movements, and, above all, in spite of the radicalization of the masses of workers, the Party has not developed into a revolutionary *mass Party* of the proletariat, even though it can point to a number of achievements in its work, such as in the Detroit strike, in the Hunger Marches, in the veterans' movement and in the Farmers' Conference.

Developing the Party Into a Mass Proletarian Party

In many resolutions we already set ourselves the task of developing our Party into a proletarian mass Party. We did this with the greatest thoroughness over a year ago at the XIV Plenum of the Central Committee. But all these resolutions have for the most part remained on paper. The leading organs of our Party have not succeeded in mobilizing the masses of members for a systematic and determined application of these resolutions or in giving the Party membership practical assistance in putting these resolutions into force. At the XV and XVI Plenums, the leading organs of the Party did not call themselves ruthlessly to account for the failure of the Party to make any headway in the carrying out of this turn.

What did we decide at the XIV Plenum? At this Plenum we declared that we are still isolated from the main masses of the American industrial workers; that we still have no firm contacts with these sections of workers, and that we

are not keeping pace with the general revolutionary advance. In order to overcome this situation we set ourselves the following tasks:

1. The organization of a firm basis for our Party and the revolutionary trade union movement among the decisive strata of the American workers in the most important industrial centers;

2. The consolidation and strengthening of the revolutionary trade unions, especially revolutionary unions of the miners, steel and metal, textile and marine workers, and systematic work in the reformist trade unions, above all among the reformist unions of miners and railroad workers, with a view to organizing a broad revolutionary trade union opposition;

3. The organization and mobilization of the millions of unemployed, together with the factory workers, for their most urgent needs and the organization of the struggle for unemployment insurance as the central immediate struggle of the Party;

4. The transformation of the *Daily Worker* into a really revolutionary mass paper, into an agitator and organizer of our work;

5. The wide development of new cadres of workers; the establishment of really collectively-working leading bodies of our movement and the improvement of the work of these leading bodies by the drawing in of new capable working class elements.

In order to carry out these tasks, we worked out a concentration plan and pledged ourselves to transfer the center of our work to a number of selected most important large factories, sub-districts and districts. The entire work of the Party and the best forces of the Party were to be directed first of all to building up and consolidating the Party and revolutionary trade union movement in the most important industrial centers of the country, to effectively and systematically win the decisive sections of the American workers, free them from the influence of the reformist and bourgeois parties, mobilize for the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and get our influence solidly established in these centers.

But these tasks have not been carried out. Only 4% of the membership are organized in factory nuclei, and only a small portion of these are organized in nuclei in big factories. The Communists have neglected and worked badly in the revolutionary trade unions, and consequently the chief red trade unions, such as the unions of the coal miners, the steel and metal workers, the textile and marine workers, have not gone forward, but have stagnated. The work in the reformist trade unions has in general been neglected by the Communists, which particularly led to the fact that the "left" reformists (Muste) were able to bring many radicalized workers, especially American workers, under their influence (Southern Illinois), and that the influence of the reformists has extended also to some elements of unorganized workers. The circulation of the *Daily Worker* has fallen off.

In spite of the fact that there have been widespread movements among the workers and many workers have come forward in the struggles, the cadres of functionaries of the Party have not been rejuvenated and strengthened from the ranks of these workers, and sectarian elements, who are beyond hope of improvement and have lost touch with the masses, have not been replaced by new worker cadres who have distinguished themselves in struggle.

The clearest expression of the failure to carry out this concentration is the fact that during the past year the majority of strikes were led by reformists, while we made no serious attempt to get the leadership of these struggles away from them, thus abandoning militant workers to the disorganizing and disrupting activities of the reformists. More than that even. In fact the reformists in Eastern Ohio, a concentration district of the Party, succeeded in taking over the leadership of miners who had previously carried on a heroic strike under the leadership of the National Miners Union. This was possible only because the Central Committee and local leading bodies of the Party failed in an inexcusable manner to devote sufficient attention to this movement of one of the most important sections of workers, and consequently did not realize the militancy existing among the miners.

The success of the Party and of the Automobile Workers Union in Detroit shows what can be accomplished by the Party and the revolutionary trade unions in other districts when they vigorously defend the interests of the workers and carry out the principles of concentration in the proper way. We did not devote our full energy to the campaign for unemployment and social insurance—a campaign offering the possibilities of welding the employed, part-time and unemployed workers together in the struggle against the bourgeoisie

and in a number of localities allowed the initiative to be snatched from our hands (Cleveland, etc.). We underestimated and neglected the struggle against social-fascism, and did not link it up with the daily revolutionary work in the factories and trade unions, as well as among the unemployed. We did not take the trouble to answer carefully all the arguments of the social-fascists. All of which constitute one of the chief reasons for a growth of the influence of the reformists, especially "left" reformists among the workers.

Party Leadership Bears Full Responsibility

This situation in our work, for which the *whole Party leadership bears full responsibility*, makes it the iron revolutionary duty of the Party to carry out a decisive turn in our work in a most speedy way, in view of the tremendously rapid development of the crisis and the growing revolutionary advance.

Owing to the changes in the administration, the American bourgeoisie was in a position to spread among broad masses of workers temporary illusions of an approaching improvement in their situation. But the depth and tempo of the economic crisis have established favorable conditions for a speedy unmasking of the policy of the parties of the bourgeoisie. Roosevelt is continuing Hoover's policy against the working class and other laboring masses in an intensified form, ushering in his term with bitter attacks (inflation, reduction of salaries of government employees, reduction in veterans' allowances, the Allotment Plan, forced labor and militarization of unemployed workers, the sales tax, etc.).

The radicalized workers who had their bitter experience with the Republicans, are now well on the way to meeting with the same experience from the second traditional party of finance capital, namely, the Democrats, and the movements among the workers against robber measures are bound to increase. The poor farmers and the ruined middle farmers who only yesterday voted for the bourgeois parties are, in fact, already taking the path of struggle against the policy carried on by these parties, and are constantly intensifying their efforts to attain an "independent" policy. Thus, as a result of the development of the crisis, which is characterized not only by a rapid extension of the labor movement, but also by a widespread movement among the petty bourgeoisie, we find a far-reaching mass movement of workers, farmers and other middle elements which is directed against the old bourgeois parties, and against the government, and which is growing continually stronger.

The American bourgeoisie, which fears a development of great class struggles and clashes, is already making attempts to block this development. It is no mere chance that the Socialist Party, with the calling of the so-called Continental Congress, is developing the greatest activity they have shown for years, that the Musteites are intensifying to a very marked degree their activity especially among the American sections of the working class, and that at the same time efforts and tendencies are coming to light in the direction of organizing a Farmer Labor Party, and that various reformist, fascist and semi-fascist organizations among the unemployed farmers, etc. are springing up all over the country. On the one hand the bourgeoisie is attempting with the help of the reformists to establish all kinds of rallying centers for intercepting the disillusioned masses, and to set up barriers against Communism. On the other hand, and at the same time the bourgeoisie is intensifying direct terrorism and provocation against the masses and coming more and more to adopt fascist methods of violence and demagogy and to establish fascist organizations.

The reformists and especially the Musteites are attempting in the most active manner to paralyze the influence of the Communists by their own activity, which is directed also toward the organization of a Farmer Labor Party. As opposed to our policy, namely: alliance of the proletariat with the poor farmers and ruined middle farmers under the hegemony of the proletariat and struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis,—they are putting forward their policy, namely: a policy which goes in the direction of establishing a Farmer-Labor Party, in which the workers become an appendage to the petty bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie become an appendage to the bourgeoisie, and for "democratic" methods of struggle.

Main link in execution of correct policy

Every Party member must now understand that it depends on correct policy and above all, the *execution* of the correct policy whether we will be able to

mobilize the masses of workers for struggle and whether our Party, in this historically favorable situation will become the decisive mass Party of the American proletariat, or whether the bourgeoisie with the help of its social-fascist and fascist agents will succeed in disorganizing the mass movement and keeping it down. Never before was the situation in the country so favorable for the development of the Communist Party into a real revolutionary mass Party. But from this it follows also that failure of the Party to understand its chief task—namely, to become rooted in the decisive industrial centers, in the important big factories—never before represented such great danger for the fulfilment of our revolutionary tasks as a whole.

Why is it that the Party adopts resolutions such as were adopted at the XIV Plenum of the Central Committee, and does not carry them out? Why is it that we do not learn from our experiences and mistakes in strikes, trade union and factory work, and from our work among the part-time workers and unemployed? Why is it that the leading bodies of the Party do not concentrate the full forces of the Party to help the comrades in a practical way in their difficult but most important Party work, namely, work in big factories, enabling them to overcome all the difficulties in this work? Why is it that the entire Party, from top to bottom, is not working to determine the best ways and means for establishing contacts with the most important sections of the workers, learning to overcome their prejudices, speak a language they understand and persistently and patiently help them to organize the struggle against hunger? Why is it that the Communist fractions in the revolutionary unions do not make a concrete investigation of the weaknesses in the work of the revolutionary trade unions in order to overcome these weaknesses?

Establish solid base amongst decisive elements of American Proletariat

Because in the Party, and particularly among the leading cadres, there is a *deep-going lack of political understanding* of the necessity for strengthening our basis among the decisive sections of the American workers. From this follows the fact that the leadership of the Party has not adhered to a fixed course for overcoming the main weaknesses of the Party, allows itself to be driven by events, and does not work out carefully with the comrades of the lower organizations ways and means for the carrying through of resolutions and checking up on their execution. The result is that we talk about factory and trade union work in countless resolutions, without carrying this work out.

It is time that the entire Party should understand that without a solid basis among the decisive elements of the American workers, the Party cannot lead the revolutionary struggles of the working class and free them from the influence of the social democrats and the bourgeoisie, which still prevails among the decisive elements of the working class, however favorable the conditions for our influence may be. It is idle chatter to talk about the revolutionizing of the working class by the Party unless the Party conquers a firm basis for itself among the miners, metal and steel workers, railroad workers, auto, marine and textile workers. It is idle chatter to speak about the leading role of the Party without establishing contacts with the decisive strata of the workers, mobilizing these workers and winning them over to our side. Talk about the defense of the Soviet Union and struggle against imperialist war is nothing but empty phrases unless systematic work is carried out in the war industry plants and in the ports; talk of struggle against social fascism is nothing but empty phrases unless the struggle is carried on from day to day in the big factories, in the reformist unions and among the unemployed. It is nothing but phrase-mongering to speak about building up the Party and the revolutionary trade unions without doing this among the important bodies of workers, in the big factories, in the important industrial sections. It is idle to talk about the necessity of new cadres without developing them from among these very sections of workers.

The working class will be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital, as the leader of all toiling masses, only if it is headed by a Communist Party which is closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers. But a Communist Party, with a very weak and inadequately functioning organization in the big factories and among the decisive sections of the American industrial workers, a Communist Party whose entire policy, whose entire agitation and propaganda, whose entire daily work is not concentrated on winning over and mobilizing these workers and winning of the factories, a Communist Party which, through its revolutionary trade union

work, does not build highways to the broadest masses of workers, cannot lay claim to a policy capable of making it the leader of the working class within the shortest possible time.

The necessary concentration of our work on the most important factories does not, of course, in any way mean that we should allow our work among the unemployed to slacken. In carrying out this main task we should not for an instant lose sight of the fact that we represent the interests of the entire class, and that, especially under the present conditions the unemployed constitute a factor of greatest revolutionary importance. One of the chief tasks of the Party is the organizing and mobilizing of the millions of unemployed for immediate relief and unemployment insurance and the linking up of their struggles with the struggles of the workers in the big factories—full-time, as well as part-time workers—especially now, in view of the introduction of militarized forced labor for the unemployed and the increased attempts to bring them under reformist and fascist influence. But the Party cannot carry out this task successfully unless at the same time it establishes its base in the decisive big factories. Hunger marches and other activities of the unemployed must be accompanied by sympathetic actions on the part of the workers in the factories, while the actions of the workers in the factories must receive the most active support from the unemployed.

Allies of the American Working Class—the Hegemony of the Proletariat

The fact that great masses of the petty bourgeoisie and particularly poor and ruined farmers are getting into action, the right sectarian failure to understand such movements, as expressed in the stand of leading comrades against participation in the veterans' movement, and the opportunist tendencies to succumb to the influence of petty bourgeois views (the report of a C. C. member about the activity of a Party organization in the Pittsburgh coal district in connection with the preparation of the struggle of the miners for April 1st: "They forgot 10,000 miners who are ready to struggle. In order not to offend the feelings of the business people, they forgot about the militancy of the miners")—all these factors make it urgently necessary for the Party to take a clear stand with regard to the allies of the proletariat in order to win these allies and to protect itself against errors and deviations.

The most important allies of the American working class are the poor and small farmers. These farmers, as well as broad sections of the middle farmers, are hardest hit by the whole development of post-war capitalism and especially by the economic crisis and are most brutally exploited by the government, by the banks, by the trusts and the insurance companies. Their interests are consequently directed objectively against finance capital.

In this situation the main task of the Party in its work among these toilers consists above all in the organization of the agricultural workers independently of the farmer, in organizing them into the Party and trade unions, in organizing and leading strikes of the agricultural workers, which in many places already played an important role in the development of the farmers' movement. At the same time the Party has the possibility of mobilizing not only the poor and small farmers, but also broad sections of ruined middle farmers, for the struggle against capitalism on the side of the proletariat, while at the same time it can neutralize other sections of middle farmers. The winning over of broad masses of farmers as allies of the working class is an important prerequisite for a successful struggle against the offensive of capitalism, against fascism and for the defense of the Soviet Union, and finally for the victory of the proletariat.

The other important ally of the American proletariat is to be found in the masses of Negroes in the struggle against national oppression. The *Communist Party*, as the revolutionary party of the proletariat, as the only party which is courageously and resolutely carrying on a struggle against the national oppression of the Negroes, which is becoming particularly intense with the developing crisis, as shown by the recent death sentence against the Scottsboro Negroes—can win over the great masses of Negroes as allies of the proletariat against the American bourgeoisie.

The Party can stand at the head of the national revolutionary struggle of the Negro masses against American imperialism only if it energetically carries through the decisions of the XIV plenum of the Central Committee on work among Negroes. The Party must mobilize the masses for the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes and for the right of self-determination for the

Negroes in the Black Belt. It must ruthlessly combat any form of white chauvinism and Jim-Crow practices. It must not only in words, but in deeds overcome all obstacles to the drawing in of the best elements of the Negro proletariat, who in the recent years have shown themselves to be self-sacrificing fighters in the struggle against capital. In view of this, special attention must be given to the promotion of Negro proletariats to leading work in the Party organizations. In all mass actions, strikes and unemployed struggles the Party must pay particular attention that in formulating practical demands, it takes into consideration and gives expression to the special forms of exploitation, oppression and denial of the rights of the employed and unemployed Negro masses. At the same time the Party and in the first place the Negro comrades must genuinely improve the methods of patient, systematic but persistent struggle against the ideology and influence of petty bourgeois nationalists among the Negro workers and toiling Negro masses.

It is possible also to win over to the side of the workers, or at least to neutralize broad sections of the lower petty bourgeoisie and intellectual workers in the cities who have been brought into action as a result of the tremendous pressure of the crisis (employees, lower officials, teachers, intellectuals, students, petty bourgeois war invalids), if only the Party will come out resolutely in defense of their interests (teachers' strikes, students' demonstrations, resistance to reduction of salaries of employees, to robbery through inflation and bank crashes, etc.).

But the one way for the proletariat to secure and maintain its hegemony is for it to prove in all struggles that it is the vanguard, the leader, that strikes most courageously against the common enemy, namely finance capital. There is no other way to win hegemony. An absolutely necessary but *auxiliary* means toward this end is the winning of the influence of the proletariat on the non-proletarian sections through *revolutionary* work of the Party among these strata. It is the task of the Party to organize all toiling masses who have been brought into action against finance capital and its government, into a broad revolutionary political army, in which the proletariat is the leading class, and the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns and in the rural districts are its allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. To ignore this task means objectively to impede the proletariat in the winning of reserves and thus make it easier for the bourgeoisie to recruit fascist gangs from among the petty bourgeois elements and to isolate the proletariat.

But the more widespread the movement among the nonproletarian masses becomes and more acute the task of winning allies of the proletariat becomes, the more intensely must the Party work to extend and organize its proletarian basis. This very extension of the movements of the nonproletarian masses makes it incumbent on the Party not to allow itself to be *sidetracked* from its main task, namely, the winning of the influence in the factories, above all in the big factories, and the systematic building up of factory nuclei and trade union organizations.

If the Party intensifies its activity among the petty-bourgeois masses without at the same time and above all strengthening its basis in the big factories and among the most important sections of the American working class, but this base even having become weaker—as expressed in such facts as the leaving of the majority of the strikes to the leadership of the reformists, the decline of the factory nuclei, the unfavorable development of the revolutionary trade unions, and the decline of circulation of the *Daily Worker*—then *the danger arises* that the Party, having only weak contacts with the decisive section of American workers, will be driven away from its proletarian base, and instead of leading the petty bourgeois masses will succumb to the influence of petty bourgeois sentiments, illusions and petty bourgeois methods of work. The root of this danger lies in the sum total of objective conditions created by the crisis, and in the relationship of class forces.

In spite of the rapid revolutionary advance, the work of the revolutionary party, as well as the class consciousness of the American proletariat, is still weak, while at the same time the movement among the farmers and the movement among the petty bourgeois elements are rapidly spreading. If the Party does not further make a turn to the work in the large factories, and does not organize strike movements and movements of the unemployed, if it does not strengthen its proletarian base and build up the revolutionary trade union movement, then the danger exists that the Party, under the elemental pressure of the petty bourgeois masses, especially the masses of farmers, will be switched

to the wrong track, in the direction of a Farmer-Labor Party. The Farmers' Conference in Washington was, in spite of its mistakes, a great success, and marked the beginning of serious work among the farmers, which must be carried out most energetically, but in a more correct and improved way. But the Party must now bend all its efforts to carry out the work among the industrial workers in such a way that the Party will make decisive *headway* among the industrial workers, and thus make impossible *all danger of the Party going off its proletarian base*.

The Immediate Tasks of the Party

The Party is now faced with the task of organizing the united struggle of the American workers and all toiling masses for their vital immediate demands. This includes:

1. The organizing of struggles against direct wage cuts and the reduction of real wages through inflation, for increase of wages, against every form of the stagger plan, for a reduction of working hours with no reduction in pay.

2. Closely linked up with the mobilization against the wage cut offensive is the campaign for the organizing of the struggle of the unemployed and part-time workers for immediate relief, and the organization of the struggle for *Unemployment and Social Insurance* at the expense of the government and the employers. Of the greatest importance at the present time is the task of developing a broad struggle against forced labor and the militarization of the unemployed, in the press, through meetings, demonstrations, strikes, raising the slogans: "For the abolition of all forms of forced labor"; "Against the militarization of the unemployed"; demanding "trade union rates upon all public works" and organizing especially within the labor camps and among the workers on public works, the struggle for these demands and for their grievances.

3. For the cancellation of debts on mortgages, taxes and rents of the great masses of farmers; for the abolition of the slavish exploitation of the share croppers.

4. The organization of the struggle against the reduction of veterans' disability allowances and for the payment of the bonus.

5. For equal rights and resistance to all forms of oppression of the Negroes and for the right of self-determination for the Black Belt.

6. Struggle against all forms of terrorism, denial of freedom to strike, speech, press, and against all forms of persecution and deportation of foreign born workers.

7. Against German fascism and for the release of all proletarian political prisoners.

8. Struggle against a new imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union and against financial and military support of Japanese imperialism.

The campaign and the mobilization of the workers for the struggle on behalf of these demands must be carried out by all Party organizations, above all by the factory nuclei. The factory must form the center of our Party and trade union work in carrying on this struggle. All leading Party bodies must first of all set themselves the task of concretizing these demands in accordance with the conditions in the particular factories, sections and districts.

The organizing of the struggles of the working class for these demands must be carried out on the basis of the united front in which the Party must always have the initiative. The united front tactic consists in organizing and mobilizing the workers, regardless of Party or trade union affiliation, religion or color, for common struggle in behalf of their most immediate and urgent demands. In the factories and trade unions and among the unemployed we must help the workers formulate their demands concretely and effectively, really adapting them to the immediate demands of the workers. These demands must serve to develop their solidarity and class-consciousness, and bring the broadest masses of workers into action.

The systematic application of the united front in the big factories is of decisive significance in the question of leading strikes, the establishment of a united fighting front, and in tearing down of the barriers between the revolutionary workers and the masses of other workers. The decisive factor in carrying out this united front is tireless revolutionary everyday work among the workers, in order to prove in every question the correctness of our slogans and our proposals for action.

Such systematic day to day work in the factories is the necessary condition for all serious preparation of strikes and for the launching of strikes at the

proper moment. The workers will have confidence in us as strike leaders only if they see that we take every necessary step for the careful preparation of strikes, selecting the proper moment for the declaration of the strike, firmly welding the united front of all workers before and during the struggle through fighting organs based on proletarian democracy, and if they see that we mobilize all moral and material assistance for the strikers, and know enough to call a strike off at the proper moment if the mass of strikers are not able to carry the struggle further. There must be no repetition of such cases as those in Warren, Kentucky and Allentown, when after the strike was lost the Party and the revolutionary trade unions left the workers to themselves and failed to carry on any work whatsoever. It is only by adhering to all these conditions in the preparation and leading of strikes that strikes will serve to strengthen our position among the masses of workers, that the confidence of the workers in us will be firmly established, and the readiness of the masses for further struggles will be increased.

The united front tactic must not be limited to special campaigns or activities which we abandon because we have not succeeded at once in winning over the workers for struggle, in convincing them, and because they do not at once want to separate themselves from the reformist leaders. The united front must also not lead to the subordination of the revolutionary policy to that of the reformist leaders in the name of a so-called "united front." The united front demands uninterrupted patient convincing work to destroy the influence of the reformists and the bourgeoisie. The rejection of the united front proposals of our Party for the immediate urgent demands of the workers by the reformist leaders must impel us to make even stronger efforts to organize a common fighting front in the factories, mines and among the unemployed masses, with the workers who are under the influence of the reformists. The Party must in the everyday work clarify the workers, in a popular and concrete way, on the principle difference between us and the reformists. The Party must prove to the workers by its practical work that we are the vanguard fighters for a united struggle and that the reformists are the splitters and disrupters of the struggle.

Persistent Struggle Against Sectarianism

In order to get the Party now firmly rooted among the decisive elements of the American workers, it must in all seriousness carry out the concentration on special factories, districts and sections. The center of gravity of Party work must be shifted to the development of the *lower organizations*, the factory nuclei, local organizations and street nuclei. It goes without saying that it is our task to place ourselves at the head of every movement which breaks out spontaneously in the country, and to lead such movements, or where the reformist leaders stand at the head of a movement, to work for the building of fighting organs of the masses, independent of the bureaucrats, in order to aid the masses in the exposure and replacement of the reformist leaders. But unless we tenaciously concentrate our work on the most important industrial centers, we cannot build up a stable Party and revolutionary trade union movement, capable of resisting all blows and persecutions by the bourgeoisie. The German Communists offer us the best example of this. It is only because the Communist Party of Germany is closely linked up with the decisive sections of the German proletariat that it is able to carry on its struggle against German fascism uninterruptedly, in spite of brutal fascist terror.

The party is confronted with the task of drawing in the young workers in the class struggle. This demands that an end be made to the underestimation of youth work, and of the necessity of putting up special youth demands. All Party organizations, especially the factory nuclei as well as the fractions in all trade unions and mass organizations must organize youth sections and give active support to the Young Communist League. Every Party factory nucleus must help to organize a nucleus of the Y. C. L.

In order to effectively carry out this turn to the decisive sections of the American workers, it is necessary to carry on a persistent struggle against the sectarianism which expresses itself in all Party and trade union work, which continues to be one of the chief obstacles to the establishment of firm and live contacts with the decisive masses of workers. This sectarianism expressed itself above all in the lack of understanding of the necessity of the Party and its leading organs for carrying through the turn to mass revolutionary work, to develop broad revolutionary unions and unemployed organizations and to build the basis of the Party in the most decisive industries. This sectarianism

can be overcome only if the Party carries on a continuous struggle against the main danger, namely Right opportunism as well as opportunism clothed in "left" phrases.

In the present situation, when the American working class stands before great tasks, any attempt at factionalism would be the greatest crime before the Party and revolutionary movement, and would only help our enemies in their struggle to destroy the Party. The Party must watch closely that, firstly, no factional opposition is developed against the leading organs of the Party, and secondly, that not a single Party functionary, whether he be in the leading organs or in the lower organizations, misuses his position to carry on factional methods of work. If such manifestations appear, the leading organs of the Party and all organizations must decisively combat and liquidate every such factional attempt, not shrinking before the removal of incurable factionalists from the Party. It is only by vigorously preventing all forms of unprincipled factional struggle, and by energetically liquidating all factional methods of work, *above all by really developing collective leadership from top to bottom*, that the Party will be able to make the necessary turn to the decisive strata of the working class and develop the proletarian mass struggle. But it must be absolutely clear that positive criticism and *practical* proposals, and *comradely, material exchange of political opinions*, for improving the work of the Party are a vital necessity for the Party and that all bureaucratic tendencies to interfere with such criticism and proposals, all bureaucratic intolerance of criticism, must be decisively fought.

At the same time the Party must carry on a systematic struggle against the bureaucratic isolation of the apparatus from the Party masses, against the suppression of inner Party democracy, for the development of political life in the lower organizations, particularly in the factory nuclei, for the development of thorough-going self-criticism, for the development of initiative in the lower organizations and for the improvement of its functioning cadres. Every Party member, and especially every Party functionary, must be a real organizer of mass struggles in his particular sphere of work. From this standpoint, the Party must judge the activity of its functionaries and must choose its leading bodies. All leading bodies, especially those in the sections, must reorganize their work on the basis of the carrying out of revolutionary mass work. Revolutionary work is the task of the entire membership. The secretaries of the leading bodies in their work must not replace the work of the membership. It is their task to plan and organize the work together with the members, to give the members practical assistance in carrying out their tasks and to check up on the carrying out of these tasks. As delegates to all Party conferences, section and district conferences and above all to the Party congress, there must be elected comrades who carry on active mass work and who have distinguished themselves in mass struggles.

Comrades: The Party has approved the estimation of the international situation given by the XII Plenum of the Comintern, stating that we are approaching a new round of wars and revolutions. It is time that we should draw from this declaration the practical conclusions for our activity. The development of mass struggles depends to a great extent upon the speed with which we succeed in drawing the industrial proletariat in to the struggle and in becoming the revolutionary mass Party of the American working class.

Is it possible to carry out such a turn in our work? Of course, it is possible. The members of the Party have shown in countless activities, in strikes, in hunger marches, demonstrations and in painstaking day-to-day work, that they are loyal and self-sacrificing revolutionists. Now all members and all Party organizations must at once proceed to determine how the work of the Party can be improved and what practical measures must be adopted in order to guarantee and carry out the turn in the Party.

The discussion of this letter must not take place merely in a general way. Every nucleus, every organization, every Party fraction *must link this discussion up with concrete tasks*, working out ways and means how to bring about immediately a real turn in the entire work of each individual organization, for the carrying out of this turn. The leading organs of the Party are responsible to the membership, the membership is responsible to the leading bodies and the Party is responsible to the American working class and the international working class.

EXHIBIT No. 81

[Source: A pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York; undated, but approximately 1933]

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Indispensable to Organizers

THE BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES BY ERADICATING THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS

O. Piatnitsky

2nd Reprint from the "Communist International" Revised.—Note: Only correct rendering. Five cents.

This pamphlet comprises the amended text of the stenographic report of a lecture on Party organization delivered at a Conference of International Communist Party School Teachers.

Giving a detailed comparison of the organizational development and methods of the Bolshevik Party with the post-war Communist Parties of advanced capitalist countries.

The Bolshevization of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries by Eradicating Social-Democratic Traditions, O. Piatnitsky

The XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. recorded the fact that the sections of the Comintern in the capitalist countries lag behind the rise of the revolutionary labour and peasant movement.

Since the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. a year has passed, a period sufficient for drawing some conclusions. Has this backwardness been liquidated?

The last three quarters of 1931 and the first quarter of 1932 brought a sharp deterioration of the conditions of the toiling masses, of the workers and of the poor and middle peasant masses. The Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and the reformist trade union bureaucracy which still have a large following among the workers and employees, have long completely deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie and have been daily betraying the interests of the working class. During this period the revolutionary labour and peasant movement did not subside while in some countries (Spain, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, China, Japan, India, America, France) it even continued on the up-grade, yet in the principal imperialist countries (England, America, Germany, France) the Communist Parties are just as backward as they were before the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Each country has its objective causes to explain this backwardness. This does not mean, however, that the backwardness is not due in a very large measure to the subjective factor—the failure to utilise the discontent of the great masses of the toilers with the lowering of the living standards, with unemployment, starvation, the burden of taxation, the actions of the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

How are we to explain this failure to capture the working masses from the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and the reformists, and to consolidate, organise and keep those workers who joined the Communist Parties and revolutionary trade union movements of the capitalist countries?

It is due mainly to the Social-Democratic and reformist traditions, prevailing in every field of party and trade union work, which are deeply-rooted in the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union oppositions.

By contrasting the Bolshevik and the Social-Democratic methods of mass work, organisational forms, estimations of the current situation and tactics, we shall show that the sections of the Comintern in the capitalist countries took over and preserved a good deal of the practices of the Social-Democratic Parties.

Czarist Russia was dominated by an autocracy, by a feudal-landlord clique. Not only the position of the workers, but also that of the peasants was unbearable. The entire petty bourgeoisie (and even the liberal bourgeoisie) were discontented with the autocracy. (This, by the way, explains the extensive participation of the intelligentsia and students in the revolutionary movement against the autocracy in 1905.) Russia, as the events of 1905 proved, was heading for a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Comrade Lenin wrote in March, 1905, on this question as follows: "The objective course of events has confronted the

Russian proletariat precisely with the task of a democratic-bourgeois revolution . . . The same task confronts the whole nation, i. e., the entire mass of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry; without such a revolution any more or less extensive development of an independent class organisation aiming at a Socialist revolution is unthinkable." ("The Revolutionary Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry," Volume VI, Page 136, First Edition.)

This period of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions had already been passed in the 90's by the principal countries abroad. The bourgeois-democratic revolutions there were made, under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, by the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie with no revolutionary labour parties in existence.

The Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties which already existed as mass parties in the principal countries abroad in the 90's, adapted themselves to the existing régimes and legislations. Before the world war, the political struggle conducted by the Social-Democratic Parties was a struggle for reforms in the field of social legislation and for universal suffrage, the struggle itself being carried on chiefly by means of the ballot.

While in words they did not reject the ultimate goal of the struggle of the proletariat, Socialism, in reality they did nothing of a serious and practical character to prepare for and wage the revolutionary battles, to train for this purpose the necessary cadres, to give the party organisations a revolutionary policy, to break through bourgeois legality in the process of the struggle. The entire policy of the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties resolved itself into securing through universal, equal suffrage, etc., a parliamentary majority, in order then to "inaugurate Socialism." Attempts at such adaptation, which met with resolute resistance on the part of the illegal Bolshevik Party, found an expression in Russia as well among the Menshevik liquidators (and Trotsky) who proclaimed the Stolypin régime a bourgeois one, and sought to adjust themselves to it by taking up legal activities, and fighting for reforms after the model of the West-European Socialist Parties. The Mensheviks ignored the fact that the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution remained unsolved after the 1905 revolution as well.

The rôle of the trade unions in the West was deliberately restricted to that of a subsidiary organisation of the great working masses protecting nothing but the daily, even if important, economic interests of the working class without pursuing the aim of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. They left the entire field of "pure" politics to the political party. They had no other aims except to negotiate collective agreements and conduct economic strikes. Even more reformist was the rôle of the workers' co-operatives. The trade unions sometimes found themselves in conflict even with the Social-Democratic Parties on the question of the calling of political strikes and revolutionary holidays, while the co-operatives clashed with the trade unions seeking aid from the workers' co-operatives during economic strikes. It was for this reason that the foreign Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties regarded Bernstein's revision of the fundamental principles of Marxism so tolerantly, without even thinking of a split, despite the fact that certain Social-Democratic Parties passed resolutions against the opportunists, revisionists, and reformists, for the whole work of the Social-Democratic Parties and the Labour organisations led by them, was permeated in practice with Bernsteinism.

The situation in Czarist Russia was quite different. During the 90's there existed in every city, particularly in the industrial centres of the former Russian Empire, not only groups of populists but also groups and organisations of Social-Democrats. From their very inception there existed among them two opposing tendencies: "Economists,"* Bundists, with their demand for cultural-national autonomy, who adhered to the "Economists," Revolutionary Social-Democrats, ordinary Social-Democrats—a swamp which swung both ways. The Social-Democratic newspaper, "Iskra," which was published by the revolutionary Social-democrats headed by Comrade Lenin, opened from the very outset a struggle against all deviations from Marxism in general, and against "Economism" in particular.

Lenin and the revolutionary "Iskrists" who gained a majority at the second congress of the Party (the Bolsheviks) continued in their subsequent activities to follow the revolutionary Social-Democratic line of the old "Iskra." In a tireless struggle against Menshevism, liquidationism, Trotskism, the right deviation, opportunism in practice, sectarianism, conciliationism within the Party, and all deviations from the Party line, in the name of the capture, maintenance and

*See "What is to be done." N. Lenin.

consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a heroic revolutionary struggle against the Czarist autocracy, in a relentless struggle against the liberal bourgeoisie which was prepared to compromise with the Czarist autocracy and sought to deflect the Russian revolution on to the "Prussian road," in a struggle against the entire capitalist system, at all the stages of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Bolshevist Party, headed by Lenin, forged the Bolshevist strategy and tactics, the methods of mass work, the organisational principles and the Bolshevist Party structure. The Bolsheviks in Russian, unlike the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, did not have to overcome the old, deep-rooted opportunist and reformist traditions in the policy, organisation and methods of their work. Besides, the Bolsheviks carefully studied and learned the lessons of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, the rôle of the liberal bourgeoisie in them, rejected the weak points of the theory, programme and practice of the Western Social-Democratic Parties and mass labour organisations and absorbed the good elements.

The conditions prevailing in Czarist Russia and abroad when the Bolshevist Party was organised in Russian and Social-Democratic Parties in the West.—

Up to 1905 there were no legal parties in Czarist Russia. Even the liberal bourgeoisie were forced to publish their printed party organ, "Emancipation," abroad (in Stuttgart, Germany). In other countries, on the contrary, there existed practically throughout the history of the mass labour movement (with some rare and temporary exceptions such as the anti-Socialist law in Germany), freedom for the Social-Democratic Parties not only before, but even during the war. In the decisive capitalist countries (France, Germany, England, America, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries) the Communist Parties exist more or less legally. It is these parties that we shall deal with. It is these parties that I will contrast and compare with the Bolshevist Party of former Czarist Russia.

Up to 1905 Russia had no legal mass trade unions, and after 1905 when they were created by the R. S. D. L. P.* (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) they eked out a miserable existence until 1912. The Mensheviks endeavoured to give the T.U's a miserable existence until 1912. The Mensheviks endeavoured to give the T.U's they had created functions and a character analogous to that of T.U's in Western Europe. If they did not succeed in this, it was only thanks to the tireless struggle of the Bolsheviks against these efforts inside the workers' mass organisations. During the period of reaction the Menshevik liquidators tried to use the T.U's as a substitute for the Party. From the outbreak of the war until the February Revolution the T.U's were either closed or placed in such police conditions as to be unable to function normally. Abroad, in the principal countries (England, America, Italy) trade unions were created before the organisation of the Social-Democratic Parties, while the trade union movement of France was permeated by syndicalism which ignored the political parties. At the same time, in some countries (England, Belgium, Sweden, etc.) the trade unions were collectively affiliated to the Labour Parties so that it may be said that in a certain measure these Parties were formed out of the trade unions. Even in Germany it may be said that the trade union movement is older than the independent political Labour Parties. In the 60's the trade unions in various Labour centres (such as the unions of compositors, cigar makers in Berlin, etc.) originated and functioned before the workers' educational societies which gave rise to the two Labour Parties of Germany, the Lassalians and the Eisenachers (which subsequently constituted the German Social-Democrat Party), arose and broke away from the bourgeois progressive party. The workers' strikes took place without the leadership of political parties, especially during the latter half of the 60's.

To illustrate the attitude of one of the most politically active workers' parties of that time towards strikes we will quote the decision of the Congress of the German General Workers' League (a political party led by Lasalle and after his death by Schweitzer) held in Hamburg in August, 1868. The Congress, by a vote of 3,417 to 2,583, declared not in favour of leading strikes but only of maintaining a friendly attitude towards strikes whereas the minority was even opposed to this rather indefinite formula. The Congress rejected a proposal to convene a national Workers' Congress for the purpose of establishing general workers' unions.

It goes without saying that individual Socialists and, particularly, the First International as a whole, led by Marx and Engels, exercised a very great influence over the existing trade unions and the strikes of that time. But the fact is that even in Germany of that epoch the political parties did not organise strike

*Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

or lead the trade unions. Later, with the passing of the anti-Socialist law, the German trade unions suffered less than the political Social-Democratic Party. The powerful development of capitalism strengthened the trade union movement despite the persecutions. Under the conditions of the time the trade unions could not but strengthen their independence. The Parliamentary Social-Democratic fraction which assumed the functions of the Central Committee did not direct the economic struggle of the proletariat, restricting itself to Parliamentary-political problems. Thus, from the very beginning of the existence of the Social-Democratic Party, and of the trade union organisations, the latter displayed tendencies towards independence. In Czarist Russia, on the contrary, the Party organisations of the *Bolsheviks led the entire struggle, both economic and political.* Abroad the functions of the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Parties were divided, the Parties engaging in pure politics while the trade unions conducted the economic struggle. It must be emphasised that certain Communist Parties in capitalist countries do not even now consider it their duty to lead the economic struggle, but entrust it completely to the trade union opposition or the red trade unions. Thus, *the Communist Parties have taken over these Social-Democratic traditions.* In those countries where the Communist Parties organise strikes and attend to the trade union movement we sometimes observe cases of a sectarian attitude towards it. It is only with great difficulty that the Communist Parties succeed in ridding themselves of this attitude.

The Bolshevik and the Social-Democratic Forms of Party Organisation.—In Czarist Russia there were no elections or election campaigns up to 1905. Although the municipal and county councils (the *Zemstvos*) and City Duma were elected bodies, neither the peasants nor the workers participated in the elections. After 1905 when the State Duma was created the workers were given special voting conditions, labour "curias" * being created and the workers voting in the factories and mills.

All the parties in Czarist Russia up to 1905 were illegal, and the absence of elections and (and this is of chief importance) the correct attitude of the *Bolsheviks* towards the structure of the Party—they recruited into the Party the workers of the factories, created political and self-education circles for the factory workers—gave rise to these special forms of the *Bolshevik Party* in Czarist Russia. The illegal condition of the *Bolshevik Party* prompted it to establish Party groups in the factories, where it was easier and more convenient to work. The Party structure of the *Bolsheviks* thus began with the factories, and this yielded excellent results both during the years of the reaction, after the February revolution, and particularly during the October Revolution of 1917, the civil war and the great construction of Socialism. During the reaction following upon 1908, when in places the local party committees and the party leadership (the C. C.) were broken up, there still remained in the factories and mills a certain base, small party cells which continued the work. After the February Revolution, when the elections to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were held, the factories and mills also served as the basis for the elections. It is noteworthy that the elections to the municipal and district councils and the Constituent Assembly, which were based not upon occupational but upon territorial principles, were also carried out by the *Bolshevik Party* very successfully after the February and October Revolutions, despite the fact that the party had no territorial organisations, and its agitation was concentrated in the factories and barracks. The cells and the district and city committees conducted the election campaign without creating special territorial organisations for the purpose. During all periods the lower party organisations of the *Bolsheviks* existed at the place of work rather than at the place of residence.

Abroad the situation was entirely different. There elections were not held in the factories but in the election districts, in the places where the voters lived. The main task pursued by the Socialist Parties was to gain electoral victories, to fight by means of the ballot, and the Party organization was therefore built along residential lines, which made it easier to organise the Party members for the election campaign in the respective election districts.

It cannot be said, however, that the Social-Democratic Parties were not connected with the factories and mills. They kept in contact with them through the trade unions which they headed through their members. Although the trade unions were not built along factory lines, they still had their representatives and

*An electoral body on a class basis. The workers' "curia" could not elect the same number of representatives as those of the bourgeoisie and landlords.

financial secretaries in the factories, and since these financial secretaries and trade union delegates were mostly Social-Democrats, the Social-Democratic Parties through these trade union delegates and through the trade unions, were connected with the factories. When the Communist Parties appeared (and they appeared in some countries as a result of secessions and withdrawals from the Social-Democratic Party, while in others, such as Czecho-Slovakia and France, the majority of the Social-Democratic Party decided to join the Communist International, the remaining minorities constituting themselves into Social-Democratic Parties), they built their organisations exactly after the model of the Social-Democrats. And this, despite the fact that the Communist Parties, from the very moment of their inception, aimed at an entirely different objective to that of the Social-Democratic Parties. They made it their object to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the power of the proletariat, while the international Social-Democracy during the war, supported its bourgeoisie, and after the war, developed into the chief social support of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the Communist Parties constructed their organisations along the same lines as the Social-Democrats, on the basis of election constituencies, along residential lines. In addition it must be said that they did not have their trade union organisations, and where they created their own trade unions, the latter did not, and do not, to this day, have firm organisational connections with the factories. Thus, the organisations of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries were built without permanent organisational connections with the factories. Such is the principal defect in the structure of the Communist Parties which must be clearly and sharply stressed by the teacher in the Party schools. The Communist Parties have different tasks, yet they built their organisations along the same lines as the Social-Democratic Parties. While the Social-Democrats are connected with the factories through the trade unions, the Communist Parties do not have even such connections with the factories; this is true of even those Communist Parties which strongly influence the red trade unions (the Communist Parties of Czecho-Slovakia and France). The Communist Parties, immediately after their formation, took over the organisational forms of the Social-Democratic Parties, because they did not know of, they were not familiar with, the peculiar Bolshevik forms and methods of Party structure. However, during the war, and immediately after it, the factory workers in many countries appointed revolutionary representatives (in Germany these representatives played an important part in the big strikes conducted during the war) elected factory committees (such as the shop stewards in England) and even sent representatives to local and National Councils. In this way they were able to realise the advantages of organising at their place of work compared with organisation along territorial lines. But after the revolutionary storm subsided, the Social-Democratic traditions gained the upper hand over the forms of organisation approaching the Bolshevik forms of work in the factories. This is the main reason why the Communist Parties, especially the middle and lower Party and revolutionary trade union organisations and cadres which are actually carrying out most of the Party and revolutionary work, rejected at that time the nearly-Bolshevik methods of work in the factories, and are now resisting the adoption of these methods, despite the fact that their superiority to the Social-Democratic methods has already been proven. In this, however, they do not meet with sufficient opposition on the part of the Party leadership.

That the absence of Party organisations in the factories strongly affects the work of the Communist Parties is shown by such an example, for instance, as that of Germany, in 1923, when the Party failed to utilise the revolutionary situation for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, this being due not only to the absence of a truly revolutionary leadership, but also to the absence of extensive and firm connections with the workers in the factories. In 1923, German Social-Democracy was seriously weakened by mass desertions. The reformist trade unions in 1922 had nine million members (7,895,065 in the all-German Federation of Trade Unions and the rest in the clerical workers' unions) of whom only three million remained in 1923. The apparatus of the reformist trade unions was demoralised, it had no money to pay its officials. The German Communist Party could then have captured power had it been headed by a revolutionary leadership, had it conducted a real struggle against the Social-Democratic Party and the reformists, had it been strongly connected with the factories, had it been familiar with the interests of the factory workers, had it mobilised them, applying the revolutionary united front policy in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat instead of the Brandlerist united front with the "left" Saxon Social-democrats and with Zeigner's Government. The meeting called by the Brandlerist

opportunist leadership in 1923 to decide the question of whether they were to take action or not consisted mainly of Party officials, co-operative workers and trade union officials, among whom there were a good many right opportunists of the type of Brandler, Thalheimer and Waleher, who were not connected with the masses, who did not know what the working masses were thinking and interested in, and it was this meeting which decided not to act.

Factory Cells and Street Cells.—In Czarist Russia the cells (or the individual Bolsheviks in the factories and mills in which no Party cells existed) utilised all the grievances in the factories; the gruffness of the foremen, deductions from wages, fines, the failure to provide medical aid in accidents, etc., for oral agitation at the bench, through leaflets, meetings at the factory gates or in the factory yards, and separate meetings of the more class conscious and revolutionary workers. The Bolsheviks always showed the connection between the maltreatment in the factories, and the rule of the autocracy, for the workers felt the effects of the Czarist whips on their own backs and jail and exile for their protests and strikes against the employers. At the same time the autocracy was connected up in the agitation of the Party cells with the capitalist system, so that at the very beginning of the development of the Labour Movement the Bolsheviks established a connection between the economic struggle and the political. When the sentiments of the workers in the factories became favourable towards a strike, the Bolshevik cells immediately placed themselves in the leadership. The strikes in single shops spread to all departments, a strike in a single factory spread to all the other factories, and the strikes of the factory workers, under the influence and leadership of the Bolshevik Party organisations, frequently assumed the forms of street demonstrations, and in this way the economic strikes developed into a political struggle.

In the history of the Labour Movement of Czarist Russia there were many cases when strikes at individual factories developed into strikes of all the factories of the entire city, and affected other cities as well. All such strikes, despite the underground work of the Bolsheviks, demanded great sacrifices on their part as well as the revolutionary workers. But these sacrifices, this struggle and daily activity gave rise to new cadres who continued the struggle. In this way the Bolshevik cells became organisers of the struggle of the masses, and conducted the economic and political struggles.

The third congress of the Comintern held in 1921 adopted the first theses on the question of the structure of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Up to 1924 the Communist Parties completely failed to respond to these decisions of the third congress. Now many of the Communist Parties already have factory cells, but in most cases, especially in the legal Communist Parties, they do hardly any work in the factories. The Social-Democratic traditions of Party structure have been so strongly rooted in some of the Communist Parties that they press upon the Party members even when Bolshevik forms of organisation are already applied. Factory Party cells already exist in many of the factories, but they are still very far from changing the method of their work. They discuss the Party questions, participate in the campaigns for the election of factory committees, sometimes even publish factory newspapers, but they do not attend to the questions of their own factory, they do not conduct oral individual agitation in the factories, at the factory gates, in the tram-car, sub-way and train, while travelling to and from work, they rarely speak at the meetings held by the factory committees, which are addressed by Social-Democrats and reformists and where it is easier to prove and reveal their treachery. The factory cells do not direct or control the work of the Communists in the factory committees led by the reformists. They leave the red factory committees without leadership; that is why the work of the red factory committees is frequently in no way superior to that of the reformist committees. The most important Party and trade union campaigns are not conducted by the Party Committees through the factory cells. Even the municipal, District Council and Parliamentary elections which are held quite frequently are still carried out, not through the factory cells, but through the street cells. All this leads to the factory cells learning of strikes in the shops and even in the factories in which the members of the cells are employed, *only after they are already begun*. Even in those cases when the factory cells and the groups of the trade union opposition and red trade unions do prepare for a strike, as soon as the strike committees are elected, they withdraw from the leadership and cease to exist as organisations, of which the reformists are naturally quick to take advantage.

This may be said of the majority of the cells existing in the factories and mills of the capitalist countries. This does not mean that there are no cells there which

are working excellently, which have proved that the factory cell system is superior to the Social-Democratic system of building the Party organisation. Unfortunately, however, such cells constitute a minority, while the enormous majority of the cells in the factories do not work at all, or work poorly. In very many cases not all the members of the party employed in the factories join the factory cells to this day.

The Bolshevik Party knew only one form of lower organisation, the cell in the factory, office, army barracks, etc. Taking into consideration the conditions aboard, the Comintern was forced to introduce an additional form of organisation, the street cells. They were introduced for such members of the Party as housewives, small artisans, etc. The street cells were to be used for the Party work in the places of residence. The street cells are to embrace also the unemployed members of the Party until they find work; it is impossible to force an unemployed member of the Party to go to the factory where he was formerly employed in order to attend a cell meeting (if a cell exists there) when these unemployed simply have not the means of paying for their fare to the factories. The street cells have definite tasks: to canvass the homes of the workers, to distribute handbills, to help in the election campaigns, to give outside help to the factory cells.

In the big cities abroad, it happens that a worker is employed in the city itself, but lives far away from the city, sometimes even in a town located several miles from the city. But in the evening, as well as week-ends, the Party members living far from these places of work must be utilised by the local Party committees and street cells for Party work in their place of residence. The basic work of these Party members still remains that in their factory cell.

But instead of making it into a merely subsidiary organisation, the Communist Parties made the street cell the predominant organisation. They began to create street cells on such a scale that they embraced 80 per cent. and sometimes even more of the Party members.

In other words, in the street cells they found a loophole through which they sought to drag in the old form of organisation to leave intact the old territorial form of organisation of the Party members. And the entire struggle of the organisational department of the E. C. C. I. for the past five years to get the Communist Parties to check up the membership of the street cells and remove those employed in the factories from them, produced practically no result. If we take the figures of the German Communist Party we will see that at the end of December, 1931, they had 1,983 factory cells and 6,196 street cells. In membership they are large, but their activity is weak. In other cases they began to create so-called concentration groups, so as to avoid organising factory cells. They take a few from different factories and create a group to serve one factory. Such concentration groups, existing especially in England, could not produce the same results as factory cells. In France cells were created consisting of 1-2 workers of the factory, and 12-16 members from outside the factory. And these were also called factory cells! To these 12-16 members of the Party, the events in the factory appear trifling, so that the cell naturally attends to anything, but what takes place in the factory.

Difficulties in the work of the Communist Cells in Capitalist Countries and the methods for Overcoming these Difficulties.—There are, of course, serious difficulties in the work in the factories which the teachers must not ignore. In Czarist Russia the Bolshevik Party was illegal and the Party cells were naturally also illegal. When the Party became legal the cells also became entirely legal. Abroad the situation is quite different. The Parties in the principal capitalist countries are legal, but the cells must be illegal. Unfortunately, they cannot work unnoticed. The employers and their spies detect the revolutionary workers and throw them out of the factory without meeting with any protest on the part of the reformist trade unions; on the contrary, the latter frequently act themselves as the initiator in the expulsion of the Communists from the factories. But inasmuch as the work of the Communists in the factories is weak, as a rule the workers do not defend the discharged Communists (though there have been opposite cases, as well, of course). Under these conditions the factory cells do nothing in most cases, or if they display the least activity, their members are thrown out of the factories, owing to failure to conceal even their insignificant work. There are frequently also cases when the Communists are thrown out of the factories even when they do nothing there, simply because of their membership in the Communist Party. The teachers of the International Communist Universities must remember this difficulty. They must explain to the students in the discussion of the work in the legal Communist Parties how

such cells can and must organise their work, and it is here that the Bolshevik experience of illegal work in the factories under the Czar which produced such excellent results, can be utilised. Let this not appear a trifle. The Communist Parties suffer very much from their inability to conduct conspirative work in the factories, losing members and revolutionary workers, through their expulsion from the factories. To some Communists it may appear a shame that the Social-Democrats, the nationalists and the members of the other Parties are able openly to proclaim their Party affiliation while they, despite the fact that the Communist Party is legal, must hide their membership in it. Is not such secrecy cowardice? Or right opportunism? Not in the least. This would be cowardice and opportunism if the members of the cells, or the individual Communists, feared and evaded addressing the factory workers' meetings against the reformists and Social-Democrats, when they proposed to agree to a lowering of the living standards of the workers, to approve the dismissal of the workers, or when they vote for the proposals of the Social-Democrats and reformists, etc. Such cases, unfortunately, have occurred. But there is no need at all to shout in the factories and mills that we are Communists and while shouting thus, not always conducting Communist work. It is possible and necessary to carry on real Party work connecting the Party slogans with the everyday struggle in the factories, without calling oneself a member of the Party or cell. It is always possible to find appropriate forms for this. Is it not possible to say: "to-day I read such and such a report, this or that," or "a chap from our factory (or from the neighbouring factory) told me . . .," etc.? In short, everything in the spirit of the decisions of the cell and Party, though in form there is no shouting about it; it may even appear "innocent." Even in those cases when anyone addresses the workers' meeting in the factory on instructions from the cell, it is not always necessary to declare that he speaks in the name of the cell. The main point is that the speeches should always be in the spirit of the decision of the cell, while the motions should be prepared or approved by the cell bureau. The other members of the cell and their sympathisers must not only vote for the motion made by the comrade sent by the cell, but also conduct agitation among the workers for this motion. In the illegal Parties the situation is different. There both the Party and the cells are illegal, but unfortunately even the illegal Parties have not yet learned properly to disguise their work.

There is one more important difficulty which the teachers must remember and sharply emphasise.

In Czarist Russia the rules and régime in the factories were lenient compared with those in the factories of the big capitalist countries, especially compared with what we have now after the introduction of capitalist rationalisation which sweats the workers to death, after the introduction of the conveyer system. Before the fall of Czarism the workers were so miserably paid by their employers, and conducted such a vigorous struggle against the deterioration of the conditions in the factories that the manufacturers were forced, on the whole, to give up the idea of introducing Taylorism in the exploitation of the workers. This facilitated the Party work in the factories. Besides, the workers in the factories and mills, no matter what so-called Socialist Parties they may have belonged to,* joined the Bolshevik workers in the economic and political struggles (strikes, demonstrations, and even uprisings). But this does not at all mean that the Bolshevik Party, the factory cells, or the individual Bolsheviks drifted with the current, that they hid their Bolshevik principles in the factory. On the contrary, in the factories and mills, as well as in the illegal newspapers and appeals, the Bolsheviks conducted a vigorous campaign against the Mensheviks, liquidators, Trotskists, Socialist-revolutionists, National Socialists, etc. The Bolsheviks, by their convincing agitation, by their arguments in the debates with the members of other Parties, by their reasoned and timely proposals, by their knowledge of the situation of the workers in the factories, by their methods of work, by drawing the workers into the solution of the questions, by patient preparation of the struggle, by their methods of organisation, proved their correctness and superiority to the other Parties; that is why the Bolshevik Party succeeded in establishing in the factories and mills the united front from below, with the workers of all tendencies throughout the history of the Labour Movement in Russia, even when the Mensheviks shouted about the

* After 1905 there were formed "Black Hundred Gangs" led by Czarism, which wormed themselves into the railway service, especially among the clerks. In the factories and mills they completely failed to gain an influence among the workers.

Bolshevik "strike fever" in 1912-1914 and when under Kerensky, the Moscow Bolsheviks in August, 1917, called a general strike against the Moscow State Conference in which the Mensheviks and the Socialist-revolutionists played the first fiddle, and later, during the October days of 1917, when the Bolsheviks organised the uprising against the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-revolutionists.

Some of the favourable conditions mentioned above are not enjoyed by the present-day Communist Parties. Thus, they are forced to conduct the economic struggle—and not only the economic—both against the Social-Democrats, the reformist trade unions, the Fascists, the yellows and everybody else.

All of them go hand in hand with the employers. The least carelessness in the work and the Communists, whether as members of the trade union opposition or the red trade unions, are thrown out of the factories. This makes it necessary to resort to such methods of work as will produce, in the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, the highest effect with the least losses.

Such methods are the tried Bolshevik methods alone. The Communists must and should overcome all the difficulties. The greater the difficulties, the more patient and determined must be the work of the Communists inside the factory, near its gates and everywhere where the workers and the unemployed are found.

The contents and methods of the work must be Bolshevik. It is necessary to systematically convince, and prove by convincing arguments instead of denouncing the opponents, especially the Social-Democratic and reformist workers. It is necessary to systematically expose the Social-Democracy and the reformists in a popular manner, with the aid of facts, without, however, forgetting the national Socialists and all other enemy Parties still followed by the workers. But agitation alone is insufficient. It is necessary to organise the struggle, it is necessary to prove to the workers that the Communists are able to organise the struggle and paralyse the manoeuvres of the Social-Democrats and reformists. This can be achieved by the application of Bolshevik methods of work and organisation, not a mechanical application, but one depending upon the concrete conditions. At the present moment when the situation of the workers in every capitalist country has been incredibly worsened, when the number of unemployed has mounted into the millions, when all the burdens of the economic and financial crisis coupled with the expenses of the preparation for imperialist wars and the attacks upon the U. S. S. R. are being thrown on the backs of the toilers, it becomes possible and absolutely necessary for the Communist Party to overcome all the difficulties and improve its work.

Enrollment of Communist Party Members and the Membership Fluctuation.—How are new members enrolled by the Communist Parties? The Bolsheviks enroll and have enrolled revolutionary workers in the factories. Only after the capture of the power did the Bolsheviks begin to organise Party weeks, that is, campaigns for the enrolment of members, these campaigns also being conducted in the factories. Prior to the October Revolution the Bolsheviks enrolled members on the basis of the every-day work. Those admitted to the Party were drawn into the party work and included in political study circles.

How is the enrolment of members by the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries organized to this day? Members are enrolled at meetings, at great mass meetings. Sometimes even in the streets (in England). A speaker makes a fiery speech, carries away the worker, and the latter submits an application for admission to the Party. Let us assume that in doing this he gives his address. However, our Party organizations have not been in a hurry to establish contact with such comrades, to bring them into the Party organizations, to find them in their homes, to ascertain where they work in order to get in touch with their factory cell or street. While they take their time a large number of applicants disappears in an unknown direction: some changing their addresses, some leave for other cities, some lose their ardour about joining the Communist organization. Precisely because the admission to the Party takes place not in the factories, not on the basis of the work of the Party in the factories, through the creation of a body of active non-party workers who make themselves conspicuous in the everyday work, particularly during strikes and demonstrations, and from among whom the cells recruit new Party members, even those whom we have already enrolled leave us. I could cite perfectly amazing figures to characterise the fluctuation in the Communist Parties.

In January, 1930, the German Communist Party, according to its data, had 133,000 dues paying members; during 1930 another 143,000 members were

admitted, so that in 1931 the total membership ought to have amounted to 276,000. But at the end of December, 1930, the C.P. of Germany had only 180,000, which means that in 1930, 96,000 members dropped their membership in the C.P. of Germany. In 1931, the situation, according to the figures of the Organisational Department of the E.C.C.I., based upon the statistics of the C.P. of Germany, was as follows: the number of newly-admitted members was 210,000, but at the same time as many members left the Party as in 1930. Would all of these Party members have left the Party had the organisations worked well, had they given attention to the new members, had they drawn the new members into Party work, had they supplied them with proper literature, had they formed circles and included these members within them so that they would study there? Would under such conditions all those who left the party have left it? I think they would not.

Although the workers and employees are being thrown out of the factories in masses, the enrolment of Party members must be carried out mainly among the employed workers, especially in the big factories of the key industries. The Party organisations are obliged particularly to pay attention to the members of the Party in these factories and industries; they should be drawn into the discussion of all the questions of the current policy of the Party. They should be given assistance in the preparation of speeches at the factory meetings, in the oral agitation among the workers of the factory, they should be supplied with materials against the social-democrats, reformists, national Socialists, the Government, &c. Similar work should be carried out among the Party activists who conduct the Party and trade union work among the unemployed, and within the reformist trade unions. If such work is carried out, the number of Party members, new and old, leaving the Party, will decline. For the fact that thousands and hundreds of thousands are joining the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union organisations, proves that the workers agree with the slogans, tactics and programme of the Communist Parties and with the programmes of the mass-organisations. But the internal life of the local organisations and their activity does not satisfy the revolutionary workers, so that a large section of the newly-admitted members leaves them. To the teachers of the international universities, as well as to the activists and cadres who are to engage in the Party work, these questions of enrolment and maintenance of new members are far from different. Special attention must be given to these questions. The question must be carefully studied. Perhaps the teachers are already giving attention to the fact which I have pointed out, but what I say is based on practice and practical results. And in this field we find that the Communist Parties have not yet received the cadres which are necessary for the correct building of the Party organisation.

The Party Committees, Inner-Party Democracy, Party Discipline, Methods of Leadership, Self-Criticism, Democratic Centralism, the Question of Cadres.—Take the Party committees. When the Bolsheviks built their party during and after the Czarist régime the Party committees were collective organs, all of whose members participated in the decision of questions, and had distinct functions of their own.

The district and city Party committees considered and decided all questions connected with the economic and political struggle of the proletariat within the framework of the decisions of the congresses and plenums of the Party C. C., of the C. C. directions, of the Central Organ and of Comrade Lenin's instructions. They not only discussed and issued instructions as to how these decisions and directives should be applied in the given province and city, but took upon themselves the organisation of the operation of these decisions, explaining and popularising them. They gave special attention to the local committees which were directly connected with the factories. They saw to it that the Party decisions and the directions of the Party committees were discussed in all the Party organisations, especially in factories, especially that they passed resolutions on them and adopted methods for their realisation. They saw to it that the Party organisations should not violate the inner-party democracy, but at the same time they also saw to it that the strictest discipline should prevail in the Party organisations. The questions were discussed before a decision was adopted. But as soon as a decision was adopted it had to be carried out without question by all the Party members, including those who opposed it and voted against it. This did not of course interfere with any criticism of the Party committees after the decisions had been carried out, as well as with self-criticism on the part of the Party committees, &c. But the criticism and self criticism only led to an improvement of the methods of work

of the leadership, to the strategy and tactics being worked out more carefully and the mistakes being corrected. The leadership of the Party, the leadership of the district and city committees did not restrict themselves to "pure" politics only. They engaged in questions of programme, policy and organisation. They did not separate policy from organisation, the adoption of decisions from their realisation. This was, in the tremendous majority of cases correct, vital, revolutionary Bolshevik leadership. This is why the divergency between the ideological influence over the masses and its organisational consolidation was not large.

An entirely different position prevails in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. There very frequently no local Party committees exist, and where they do exist the only one doing any work, at best, is the secretary, who is sometimes paid and sometimes unpaid, while the Party committees exist only in the form of attachments to the secretaries, and do not function regularly as collective organs.

Where the Party committees exist, very frequently all reports at the full meetings are made by the secretaries and whatever they propose is adopted because the Party committees (that is their individual members) are not in touch with the Party affairs. These local and city committees are unable, of course, either to organise the work of the cells or to give them proper leadership. To the local party organs, especially the lower ones, special attention must be given.

In many cases the decisions of the congresses and C. C. of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are not discussed in the factory or street cells or residential party groups which still exist in large numbers. These decisions are discussed at meetings of the city or district activists and that is where the matter ends.

The directives of the C. C. and regional committees rarely reach the cells, are marooned in the district committees, yet directives applying, say, to the conduct of mass campaigns are meant mainly for the cells, since it is precisely the cells which come into direct contact with the masses. The cells and residential groups are on the whole passive. They do not throb with life as is dictated by the conditions of the present period; this too is a social-democratic tradition. These Party organisations come to life only before election campaigns. That is why there are many cases of inner-Party democracy and Bolshevik discipline being absent from these Party organisations. In this situation it is not surprising that the decisions of the congresses, the directives of the Comintern and C. C. remain unfulfilled. Take for instance the decisions of the C. I. congresses, of the congresses of the different Parties, of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. C.'s calling for the shifting of the centre of gravity of the Party and trade union work into the factories, for the improvement of the work of the lower units of the Party and trade union organisations, especially in the factories, &c.

Obviously the cause for the absence of Bolshevik methods of Party work should be sought in the incorrect policy of the leading (central, district, sub-district and partly local) Party cadres.

But there is "self-criticism" galore. They criticise themselves openly during strikes, when it is necessary to reorganise the work in the course of the struggle, during campaigns, when it is necessary to change the methods and content of the work to improve the organisation of the Party forces for the purpose of extending and deepening the campaign. They criticise themselves upon the conclusion of the strikes and campaigns, which is all right, but they repeat the same old mistakes during the next strikes and campaigns. We have plenty of such cases.

In the Bolshevik Party, even under the Czar, when the Party was illegal, we had democratic centralism. The Party organisations did not wait for instructions from the C. C., the regional committees, the provincial committees and the city committees; without waiting for them, they acted, depending upon the local conditions, upon the events, within the framework of the general Party decisions and directives. The initiative of the local Party organisations, of the cells, was encouraged. Were the Bolsheviks of Odessa or Moscow, of Baku, or Tiflis, always to have waited for directives from the C. C., the provincial committees, &c., which during the years of the reaction and of the war frequently did not exist at all owing to arrests, what would have been the result? The Bolsheviks would not have captured the working masses and exercised any influence over them. The provincial and city committees themselves published appeals and leaflets on all occasions when this was necessary.

Unfortunately, in many Communist Parties there is *supercentralism*, especially in the legal parties. The C. C. must supply leaflets to the local organisations, the C. C. must first state its opinion on the events in order that the locals should wake up. The responsibility does not exist which the Party organisation must have to act at any moment, regardless of whether directives exist or not, on the basis of the decisions of the Party and Comintern. And even in those cases when corresponding directives of the centre do exist, they frequently do not reach the mass of the membership, and at the same time there is not sufficient control over the execution of the directions on the part of the higher organs. All this must be combated and the teachers must remember this side of the question in the work. In the Bolshevik Party the buttress of Party work was cells in the factories and works. The connection with the masses, who were led through the cells and Communist fractions in the mass organisations was a living one. The Party press literature, the written, spoken agitation, was based on the level of understanding of the masses.

Since the Bolshevik Party under the Czar was illegal up to the February revolution, no big apparatus existed either at the centre (in the C. C.) or locally (in the district, local and provincial committees); they did not and could not have permanent headquarters necessary for any more or less reasonable apparatus. The financial resources would also not allow a large staff. For this reason the centre of gravity of the Party work (and not only of the Party work, but even of the work of the legal and illegal trade unions) was naturally shifted into the factories and mills. This situation of the Party work continued during the period of February to October, 1917, as well, when the Bolshevik Party became legal and carried out enormous mass work while the apparatus of the C. C., of the regional and provincial committees was quite small. As before the principal attention was given to the work of the local committees, sub-local committees and factory cells.

In the legal parties of the capitalist countries the order in the Party apparatus is the reverse: these Communist Parties, being legal, have quite a number of convenient premises at their disposal to house their apparatus.

The main forces of the apparatus (the agitation, organization, trade union, women's, parliamentary, village and other departments) are concentrated in the C. C., regional and provincial committees, while the local committees and the cells are empty. In many local committees in the industrial centres—not to speak of the cells—there are even no paid secretaries. The local committees must receive "everything" from the centre: that is why the initiative of the local Party organisations is deadened. The E. C. C. I. is waging a determined struggle against this phenomenon.

The struggle is all the more necessary because here again the question is not one of simply organisational condition of legality or illegality. The question consists in taking a course to the masses, to a close permanent connection with them. The forms of organisation must be subjected to these aims and serve them, not the reverse.

In the legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries the connection with and leadership of the masses is in most cases of a paper character—through circulars; the press, literature, written and oral agitation are abstract and not concrete: they do not, as a rule, correspond to the concrete situation. This is due to the fact that under the conditions described above there are not suitable cadres capable of acting locally and directly in contact with the masses. This leads us therefore to the question of proper Party cadres. In the Bolshevik Party the Party cadres were forged in the mass practical work. They learned through this work to react to all the events in the life of the worker. They not only knew what the worker thinks and how he lives, but they also responded to it; they organized the struggle, they pointed the way out to the worker; that is why the Bolshevik Party even during the days of the Czar exercised such a great influence over the masses, enjoyed such a great prestige among the working class.

The higher and middle Party cadres in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are in most cases revolutionary ex-members of the Social-Democratic Parties. Their methods of work remained in most cases the same as in the Social Democracy. Many of them have not yet freed themselves from the Social-Democratic traditions. And even a large section of the young cadres who have been brought to the fore during the last few years in some of the Communist Parties, are inexperienced, are also unable to work concretely and independently, and, in view of the excessive centralisation of

the leadership ("everything" from the centre!), they are poorly learning the art of independent initiative and concrete leadership in the local work.

The Communist Fractions and their Relations with the Party Committees.—Of course, it was easier for the Bolsheviks than for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries to establish the mutual relations between the Communist fractions and Party committees since the Party organisations actually conducted a great variety of activities, they led the economic struggle, organised trade unions and co-operative societies and created all sorts of labour organisations, such as were allowed to exist under the Czarist régime, from 1905 until the war. That is why the Party organisations were recognised authorities in the eyes of the workers in all these organisations, especially of the Party members and sympathisers. This situation appeared to all to be quite natural and no one raised any question about it. When we came into power there were some tendencies among certain Soviet Communist fractions to supplant the Party organs, but this was a passing phenomenon. The relations between the Party organisations and the Communist fractions (or individual Communists) in the non-Party mass labour organisations prior to and, especially, since the capture of power, have been such that the Party organisations decide the important questions while the Communist fractions and the individual Communists, no matter what non-Party organisations may be affected, carry the decisions into effect. The Communist fractions themselves decide upon the methods for carrying out the decisions. In their everyday work they are entirely independent. They can and must display initiative in their work within the non-Party organisations and bodies. The Communist fractions in the leading bodies of the non-Party organisations must not only report to the conferences and congresses which elected them, but also to the Party committees. Prior to the October Revolution, and even immediately after it, when there were still Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in some of the non-Party mass organisations, the Bolsheviks converted each newly-gained position into a stronghold for the capture of the organisation in the district, city, region and nationally. They demonstrated their ability to work better than the others, prepare the questions, lead, and weld together and organise the masses of the workers. That is why they succeeded in driving the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and the other "Socialist" and populist parties out of the mass labour organisations.

In the Communist Parties in capitalist countries things are different because in them Social-Democratic traditions are still preserved, which are frequently interwoven with sectarianism. The trade unions, and the other proletarian mass organisations, as has been pointed out above, arose before the Social-Democratic Parties in the principal capitalist countries and made a strong position for themselves in the working class as independent organisations which led the economic struggle.

The members of the Social-Democratic Parties who led the mass proletarian organisations, therefore, had a definite amount of independence. Moreover, the Social-Democratic Party not only did not oppose this independence but on the contrary, they themselves developed the theory that the trade unions were equal in value to, and therefore should have equal rights with, the Party, that the trade unions were neutral organisations. As has been said already, the only exception in this respect was the Bolshevik Party. A number of cases could be quoted in the history of German Social-Democracy for instance, when the decisions of the trade union congresses differed from those of the Social-Democratic Party Congresses—for instance on the question of the general strike in 1905. And this was so despite the fact that the delegates to the trade union congresses were Social-Democrats who knew the standpoint of the Party. The same thing occurred in connection with the celebration of the First of May. Before the war the Social-Democratic Parties in Central Europe celebrated May Day on the first of May, while the Social-Democratic "free" trade unions sabotaged the First of May celebration, in order to avoid paying victimisation benefit to workers who might lose their jobs for taking part in May Day celebration on the First of May. The trade unions urged that May Day should be celebrated on the first Sunday in May. These relations which existed between the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions before the war, and which the Bolsheviks regarded as abnormal (since the war surprising unanimity has been displayed between the Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions and there has been complete co-operation between them in betraying the interests of the working class in their respective countries) cannot be

tolerated in a Bolshevik Party since they prevent uniform leadership being exercised over all forms of the revolutionary labour movement. But they have been inherited from the Social-Democratic Parties by the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

The abnormal relations between the Communist Parties and the Communist fractions in the trade unions and in all the other mass proletarian organisations are due to two fundamental causes: the Party committees sometimes supplant the mass organisations, they remove the elected secretaries and appoint others, they openly publish in the press such things as: We propose to the red trade unions that they do this or that; that is, they act in a way as is very rarely done even by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Usually the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or of the local Party committees are carried out through the Communist fractions or through individual Party members working in this or that non-Party organisation. Another cause of the abnormal relations is that the individual members of the Communist Party work on their own accord, disregard the directions of the Party organs or disobey them. There have been cases in France, for instance, when the Party organs thought that they must do absolutely everything, that they must take the place of the International Red Aid, the trade unions, the co-operative and sport organisations, where they alone can perform the functions of these organisations. This is absolutely wrong. Even had the leadership of many of the Communist Parties been a hundred times superior to what it is, in reality, they could not do the work of these organisations. This, in fact, is unnecessary because both the Central Committee and the local Party organisations should only determine the line, see that the line is carried out, lead the Communist fractions and the individual Communists working in the mass organisations. The Central Committee and the Party committees must get their directives carried out in the mass labour organisations through the Communist fractions or the individual Party members where there are no fractions, but they must not do their work for them.

However, I think it is hardly necessary to go into further details to prove that these incorrect relations between the Party, the trade unions and the mass organisations generally interfere with the extension of the Party connections among the masses, with the real consolidation of the Party among the masses.

In the countries in which there are red trade unions there exist side by side with them, in the same industries, trade unions of other tendencies. However, the red trade unions have very rarely succeeded in capturing whole organisations, or more or less considerable groups of members, from the trade unions of other tendencies.

The trade union oppositions in the reformist trade unions frequently succeed in gaining a majority in the local branches of the different reformist trade unions. But the Communist Parties and the trade union oppositions do not convert these into strongholds from which to extend their influence over the other branches of the same union or over branches of other trade unions which are affiliated to the same local trades council. This can only be explained by the fact that the opposition branches not infrequently take up the same position as reformist trade unions. The same applies to the red factory committees. They do not receive proper leadership and the necessary aid in their work.

The Press

The Bolshevik Party Press, expressing as it does the Party line, has always carried out the decisions of the Party both during the illegal period and at the present time. It mobilises, organises and educates the masses of the workers.

The Party press must not be separated from the Party committees. Abroad the Social-Democrat Parties used to elect the editors of the Party newspapers at their congresses. There were cases when the Central Committee could do nothing with such a newspaper: the paper had its own line while the Central Committee followed its line. Such was the case in Germany with the *Vorwärts*, the same occurred in Italy with *Avanti*. The Communist Parties naturally discarded these "excellent" traditions. But the "independent" press which the Social-Democrats had before the war nevertheless left a deep impress upon the Communist Parties as well. Not that the editors are ap-

pointed by the congresses and remain independent of the Central Committee and Party committees, this does not happen in the Communist Parties, but in many cases the Central Committee and the Party committees give very little attention to the Party press, and so the press in these cases goes its own way while Central Committees and the Party committees go their own way. The line of the Central Committee and of the Party committees often differs from that of the Party newspapers—but this is not because the Central Committee, the Party committees and the editors want this to be so.

In Germany we have 38 Party dailies. If all of these 38 daily newspapers had good and proper leadership they could exercise much greater influence upon the masses of the workers than they do at present. Remember that from 1912 to 1914 the Bolshevik Party had only one legal daily, *Pravda*. And what miracles *Pravda* performed in Russia in those days! What an inestimable help to *Pravda* was to the workers locally, though owing to the censorship it could not say everything it desired. *Pravda* wrote on all the most important and serious questions in popular language that could be understood even by the uneducated workers. *Pravda* devoted much space to events in the factories and mills. In those countries to which I have referred the newspapers are legal, they are able, more or less, to say whatever they think to express and carry out the Party line. Like the mass labour organisations, newspapers are channels through which the Communist Parties can and must influence the workers, through which they can and must win the workers. One must know how to utilise the newspapers, how to run them properly.

The legal daily Communist press in many countries is not distinguished for popularity of style, the topical character of subjects discussed, or brevity of articles. The newspapers are filled with thesis-like articles instead of popular and brief expositions of the most important vital tasks. If the active members of the Party, the members of the Party generally, and the revolutionary workers do not get material for the fight against the Social-Democratic Parties, the reformists, the National-Socialists and other Parties, which still have a working class following, the responsibility for this must rest upon the press. The Party press must not only indicate the line and give facts proving the treachery of the Social-Democrats and reformists and exposing the demagogy of the National-Fascists, but it must also explain how these facts should be utilised. Most of the Party newspapers contain no news from the factories. The Party press has no room for such things.

Not all the Communist Parties have yet learned to appreciate the importance of the Party press. Teachers at International Communist Party schools must give the Party press special attention in their work with the students. Many of the students graduating from the International Party schools become editors.

We have not observed that they are bringing fresh blood into and helping to revive the Party press; that they are breaking down the Social-Democratic traditions in this field.

Agitation

The capitalist world is at present experiencing a profound industrial crisis, an agrarian crisis, financial upheavals, an imperialist war in the Far East, which threatens to spread to the other countries. All this not only affects the workers and poor peasants, but also the urban petty bourgeoisie (office employees, Government officials, &c.).

These masses are much more open to Communist agitation under present conditions, when capitalist stabilisation has come to an end, than was the case during the period of capitalist "prosperity." Unfortunately, the agitation the Communist Parties carry on in their newspapers, leaflets and oral agitation is too abstract. It seems to be based on the assumption that all the workers know as much as those who write in the papers, who write the leaflets and speak at meetings. When an emergency decree is published in Germany which stings every worker to the quick, which cuts the wages or increases taxes, &c., instead of examining the decree point by point, instead of showing how much the workers will have to pay in taxes, to what extent wages are to be cut, so that the masses can understand it all, instead of this, they simply write: We are opposed to the emergency decree! We demand a strike against this decree!

How did the Bolsheviks carry on agitation in the past and how do they do so at the present time? Did they do it in the way some of our Parties are

doing it now? The strength of the Bolsheviks was due to the fact that they took up every question; be it a matter of a wage cut of even a kopek, of absence of lavatories, broken windows in the factories, hot water, fines, the quality of the provisions sold in the factory store, &c. &c., and argued about them this way and that until the workers themselves drew logical political conclusions from them.

Take the strikes which occurred in 1903 in the South of Russia. The Bolsheviks succeeded in developing this economic strike movement which was initiated in Odessa by Shayevich and Co., the agents of Zubatov, Chief of the Moscow Secret Police, into a colossal political movement which affected the entire South. Many of the Communist Parties have not yet learned to agitate effectively, while the leading comrades acting as editors, agitators, &c., think that since they understand what is taking place it must be more or less clear to the workers as well. And this is the way they approach the Social-Democratic workers. Instead of taking every little fact of treachery—where it happened, when it happened, naming the witnesses, citing the exact records, relating just how and when the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders negotiated with the government and the employers and betrayed the interests of the working class, instead of painstakingly explaining this to the Social-Democratic, reformist and non-Party workers, our comrades keep repeating: "Social-Fascists and trade union bureaucrats," and that is all. And they think that having said "Social-Fascists" and "trade union bureaucrats," all the workers must understand just what is meant by these terms of abuse and believe that the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders deserved them. This only has the effect of repelling the honest workers who belong to the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions, since they do not regard themselves either as Social-Fascists or trade union bureaucrats.

It should be quite clear, therefore, that methods of carrying on agitation must occupy a prominent place in the curriculum of International Communist Party Schools. Read Lenin's articles written in 1917. At that time the Bolshevik Party was accused of being in the pay of the German imperialists. One would have thought that the only way to reply to such a charge, to such an insinuation, would be to say to the accusers: "You are scoundrels, rascals, we do not want to talk to you! We do not think it necessary to justify ourselves before you; you may think what you like, but we shall continue our work." This is probably how many Communist Parties would have replied under the circumstances; they would have said that it was below their dignity to refute such mean accusations! But how did Lenin react to this charge? In the first place he began to explain who Alexinsky* was, and listed all the foul acts by which Alexinsky had distinguished himself in France, that at such and such a meeting in France, this man had been thrown out because he was such a liar and skunk. He then returned to Russia. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, in which the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries predominated would not receive him until he rehabilitated himself. Alexinsky began to attack the Bolsheviks in the press and accused them of working for the Germans, for money, in July, 1917. Lenin exposed this Alexinsky in his true colours, showed what a creature he really was. Having thus exposed the moral character of Alexinsky and destroyed him, Lenin then proceeded to reveal the part the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries played in this dirty campaign. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries knew that the Bolsheviks were being falsely accused of espionage. Tseretelli, the Menshevik leader, even telephoned to all the newspapers informing them that Alexinsky's document was a forgery and asking them not to publish it. Lenin then quoted a third fact. The slanderous document was known to the Provisional Government as early as June, yet it did not arrest any of those who were accused of being in the pay of the Germans. Hence, it was evident that the Provisional Government did not believe in this calumny against the Bolsheviks. Lenin analysed all these facts, dissected them in a popular style and then put the question: Who was at the head of the Government? Kerensky? No. The Central Executive Committee? No. It is the military. It was the military

*"Zhivoe Slovo" (Living Word) a yellow sheet published in Petrograd, in its issue of July 18, 1917, No. 51, published a declaration signed by Alexinsky, a renegade Social-Democrat, and Pankratov, a Socialist-Revolutionary, in which they, on the evidence given by a certain Lieut. Yermalenko, under examination at the General Staff Headquarters and the Military Intelligence Service on April 28, 1917, accused the Bolsheviks of receiving money from German General Staff Headquarters for the purpose of carrying on anti-war propaganda.

who wrecked our printing office! Who ordered it to be wrecked? Was it the Provisional Government? No. Was it the C. E. C.? No. There is another power, that power is the military, and it was they who wrecked our printing shop. And do you know who stands behind the military? The Cadets.* A day later, in another article, quoting the speech of the National-Socialist, Tchaikovsky, at the C. E. C., Lenin showed that the Cadets and the Western imperialists had common aims, that the imperialists were willing to provide money only if the Cadets came into power. Lenin began with Alexinsky but ended with the question of who was to be in power, with the question of the class character of the State. He did not merely hurl abuse, he did not say that it was beneath our dignity to refute the mean charges, but he proved that they were insinuations and lies which were first circulated by a yellow sheet and then taken up and trumpeted through the country by the entire bourgeois, Menshevik, Narodniki and Socialist-Revolutionary press.

By carrying on agitation in this simple manner, intelligible to the masses of the workers, the Bolsheviks succeeded not only in repelling the attack of the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionists and Cadets at a time when the situation was very acute for the Bolsheviks, but they succeeded in developing wide agitation during the next three months against all the Parties of that time, particularly against the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists who still exercised some influence over the workers, peasants and soldiers. In this campaign the Bolsheviks utilised against these Parties, all their acts and deception on all questions that came to the front at that time. You must remember that in the period before the October Revolution, in 1917, millions of workers, soldiers and peasants had been drawn into the movement. Just before the October Days the Bolsheviks had already won the support of the entire working class and the majority of the soldiers, while the peasantry also supported the Bolshevik slogans for land and peace.

Is this the way the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are carrying on their agitation? The Social-Democrats have committed so many acts of treachery against the working class that one easily understands the perplexity of the workers of the Soviet Union who frequently ask: what stuff are the foreign workers made of? The Social-Democrats betray their interests daily, we can see from here that they are being betrayed, yet these foreign workers continue to vote for the Social-Democrats and remain in their Party. The reason why the Social-Democrats are still able to get the support of the workers is that many Communist Parties do not know how to carry on agitation even in the extremely favourable situation which has been created by the present world industrial and agrarian crisis. The Communist Parties must present their criticisms in a detailed and painstaking manner particularly because the Social-Democratic leaders, despite their innumerable acts of treachery, still manage to find new forms for their demagogic manoeuvres. The German Social-Democrats have helped to carry out the emergency decrees with all their might and rob the unemployed as well as the workers who are still employed. Now, they are introducing a series of demagogic bills in the Reichstag—to reduce unemployment, to increase unemployment benefits, to reduce rents, &c.—and at the same time, by voting against the Communists with whom after the withdrawal of the National-Socialists, they have a majority in Reichstag, get the Reichstag dissolved indefinitely, without any date being fixed for its reassembly, without any discussion of their bills and, of course, without a discussion of the proposals of the Communist fraction. Under these conditions it is the duty of the Communist Parties to catch the Social-Democratic swindlers "red handed" as it were, to expose every one of their manoeuvres, every step in their treachery with facts and proof.

Both before and after the capture of the power, the Bolshevik Party managed to educate its members, to give them such instructions, such directives, as enabled all the members of the Party to work towards one aim; no matter where they were, no matter what functions they performed, all aimed at one point. And yet, often the local Party bodies received their directives only through the press. The Bolshevik Party achieved all this by applying those methods of work which I have described above. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the majority of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. There we have frequent cases of Party members aiming at different points.

*Abbreviation for: Constitutional Democratic Party. The Party of the bourgeoisie.

The Present Situation, Tactics, Slogans, the Theory of "Lesser Evil" and the United Front

Before the October Revolution the Mensheviks ridiculed the Bolsheviks for frequently placing on the agenda of their meetings the question: "The Present Situation." Yet, without making a precise analysis of a given situation and defining its character it is very difficult to determine the tactics to be pursued. The adoption of correct tactics in each given situation, and still more, the correct application of these tactics is a great art. To master this art means to advance the struggle and the task of winning the masses. It is no small art to advance appropriate and timely slogans corresponding to the situation and needs of the moment. At present hardly anyone will deny the ability of the Bolsheviks to determine the character of the situation, prevailing at any given moment, in masterly fashion, to adopt correct tactics and apt slogans to which the great masses would and do respond and rally. Comrade Lenin mocked at those Bolsheviks who clung to the tactics of yesterday and failed to see that they no longer suited the new stage, or changed situation (for instance, the proposal made by Kameney and Bogdanov to boycott the elections to the Third State Duma in the same way as the Bolsheviks boycotted the First Duma).

It is this ability to define the "present situation (and to adopt correct tactics corresponding to the given situation) that the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries often lack (and this despite the fact that the Comintern, unlike the Second International, decides and frequently lays down the tasks and tactical line of its section).

While some Communist Parties regard the fall of this or that Cabinet as a "political crisis," others have regarded the temporary elimination of Parliament from the discussion of current questions as the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship and have deduced from it the necessity of proclaiming as the main slogan the struggle against Fascism, and therefore, of diminishing the struggle against the Social-Democratic Parties. When the mistake is rectified the struggle begins to be conducted against Social-Democracy alone and the Fascists are lost sight of. Very frequently the slogans advanced are absurd: sometimes they apply to domestic questions alone, sometimes they are directed against war, without, however, being organically connected with the questions of domestic policy. Unfortunately we have had absurd slogans not only in the field of "high" politics but also in the economic struggle where they are no less harmful. It is necessary to study the peculiarities of the developing situation very carefully and attentively, to watch its changes and tendencies, to study how the workers react to events, how the enemies, the Social-Democrats, the Fascists, &c., are preparing, what they are about to do, what tactics they are adopting.

Only such an analysis and study of the current situation can enable us to adopt correct tactics, correct and timely slogans and to carry on our agitation on proper lines. Questions arising out of the current situation should be frequently and widely discussed in the Party press so that the analysis of the situation, the refutation of the arguments and agitation of the opponents, and the exposure of their plans and deceitful tricks serve to arm, educate and prepare the Party members for the struggle. For the same purpose it is necessary to have frequent discussions on the current situation and the tasks of the Party at Party meetings, meetings of the Party groups, &c.

Such discussions will not only enable the Party members to understand the Party line and tactics, to get their bearings on the burning problems of the day and arm themselves with arguments for discussion and agitation in the factories, among the unemployed, in the trade union branch and street, but will also put more life into the groups and local Party organisations.

In recent years the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade union bureaucrats have been making special use of the theory of the "lesser evil." The reformists persuade the workers to agree to a wage cut of 8 per cent instead of the 12 per cent, "demanded" (not without a preliminary agreement with the reformist leaders) by the employers. Then they proclaim this "gain" of 4 per cent. as a victory for the workers. The Social-Democratic Parties support the most despicable laws, which place a heavy burden of taxation upon the toilers and cut down wages, on the pretext that the Government and the bourgeoisie had intended to tax the workers even more heavily. This too they represent as a victory for the workers. They propose to vote for Hindenburg whom they attacked in the 1925 elections as a reactionary and a monarchist, by representing Hindenburg to be the "lesser evil" compared with Hitler. The

Russian Mensheviks also resorted to the theory of the "lesser evil." Thus during the elections to the Second State Duma the Mensheviks, on the pretext that Russia was menaced by the Black Hundreds, urged the workers to vote for the Cadet Party. The Bolsheviks then struck the Mensheviks a crushing blow. They convinced the revolutionary electors that they must vote for the revolutionary candidates by showing that both prior to, during and after the 1905 revolution the Mensheviks supported the liberal bourgeoisie—just as the Social-Democratic Parties are now supporting the bourgeoisie in their respective countries on every question.

The Mensheviks opposed the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Hence, their cries about the Black Hundred danger was only a ruse designed to divert the working class from the correct revolutionary path. The Communist Parties have not yet succeeded in exposing the manoeuvre of the Social-Democratic Parties on the "lesser evil," by the methods with which the Bolsheviks exposed the Menshevik manoeuvre on the Black Hundred danger. And as long as this false manoeuvre of the Social-Democratic Parties remains unexposed to the masses, it will be difficult to free the workers from their influence.

Among the vast masses of the workers there is a desire for unity. There have been many cases in different countries when the crafty agents of the bourgeoisie resorted to the unity slogan to dupe the workers.

The Social-Democrats too sometimes put forward the slogan of unity. And in this the renegade Trotsky hastens to their aid with his proposal for a "bloc" between the Communists and Social-Democrats. In support of his proposal he argues that the Bolsheviks and Comrade Lenin adopted the same tactics.

I have tried to show above how the Bolsheviks established the united front from below in the factories and mills.

Cases have occurred in the history of Bolshevism when the united front policy was applied simultaneously from below and above; but these cases occurred only in the midst of *actual struggle*. Such cases occurred in 1905 during the strikes, demonstrations, pogroms, uprisings (Moscow) for the duration of the action. So-called contact and federative committees were set up for the duration of the joint action. The united front which sprung up from below in the course of the practical, united struggle, compelled the Menshevik leaders to join the struggle which the Bolsheviks led. Joint manifestos were issued. What was the situation during the Kornilov days in 1917, by reference to which the renegade Trotsky attempts to mislead the Communists?

At the end of August, 1917, Kerensky, not without the knowledge of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, invited Kornilov to march loyal troops on Petrograd to strangle Bolshevik Petrograd. Kornilov came. But before reaching Petrograd he demanded that practically all power be transferred to him. The workers and soldiers who followed the lead of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries realised that if Kornilov came into power he would not only hang the Bolsheviks but them also. Under pressure of the masses the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were compelled to join the struggle which was already proceeding under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. They were obliged to distribute arms to the workers of Petrograd for this struggle. This was a "bloc" only for the duration of the struggle against Kornilov. But even during the struggle against Kornilov the Bolsheviks did not discontinue the campaign against the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Provisional Government, who, by their betrayal of the interests of the workers, soldiers and peasants, reduced the country to the Kornilov affair and wavered between supporting Kornilov and fighting against him. Can there be any comparison between this and the situation in Germany? How is it possible to deduce from the Kornilov events the necessity of establishing a "bloc" with the German Social-Democrats, say, for the struggle against Fascism when the Social-Democrats are doing nothing but helping the Fascists and the bourgeoisie: the Social-Democratic Minister of the Police in Prussia dissolved the Red Front League because the latter fought against the Fascists, but at the same time he not only tolerated but protected the Fascist Shock Troops, while the Social-Democratic police always side with the Fascists and attack the workers whenever they resist the Fascists.

The Communists will not be deceived by the fact that Hindenburg, on the eve of the Prussian elections "dissolved" the Fascist Shock Troops. Officially these Fascist Shock Troops were declared dissolved, but their organisation was not destroyed, in fact no real damage was done them. The object of this manoeuvre was to provide the Social-Democrats with the pretext for claiming that a fight

was being waged against the Fascists and thus dupe the workers and win them over to their side.

Practically every Communist Party has made numerous mistakes in the application of the united front tactics. It must be said, however, that there have already been cases of a correct application of the united front tactics. One example of this is provided by the miners' struggle in Northern Bohemia which was led by the Communist Party and red trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia. It is necessary to avoid mistakes and secure the correct and energetic establishment of a Bolshevik united fighting front in the factories and mills from below at all costs.

Legal and Illegal Work. The Utilisation of Legal Possibilities

The Bolshevik Party in Czarist Russia, although a completely illegal Party, yet managed to utilise legal possibilities to the utmost extent.

Beginning with 1905 legal weeklies and magazines of a more solid nature were published in various parts of vast Russia even in the years of blackest reaction. These were in addition to *Pravda*, the daily organ of the Bolshevik Party, which played such a tremendous rôle in the consolidation of the Bolshevik Party for the struggle against Czarism, the bourgeoisie, and the Mensheviks, the Liquidators, the Trotskists, the Conciliators, &c.

In addition to the legal press, illegal Party newspapers and leaflets were of course published.

The illegal Bolshevik Party utilised all legal congresses of public organisations: of doctors, co-operators, teachers, &c., in order to speak on the lines of the Bolshevik programme of demands. It worked in all the legal workers' societies, trade unions, co-operatives, recreation societies and other organisations. Moreover, the Bolshevik Party utilised the labour organisations formed by the Chief of Police, Zubatov and the priest, Father Gapon, during the period preceding 1905, to free the workers from the influence of the police agents and these police traps. It succeeded in exposing the machinations of the police at the meetings of these very organisations.

How successful the work of the Bolsheviks was may be seen in the fact that the police priest, Gapon, was compelled to include the most important demands of the minimum programme of the Bolshevik Party, by the pressure of the masses, in his programme, to avoid being exposed as an agent of the police.

It must be said that not only have the illegal Communist Parties failed to utilise the legal possibilities, but, what is more surprising, even the legal Communist Parties have not succeeded in successfully employing the underground methods of work, though they have far greater opportunities for doing so than the illegal Communist Parties.

When the legal Communist Press is temporarily suspended or when the authorities forbid them to write about the emergency decrees which are aimed against the working class (and have been coming thick and fast lately) or the shooting of demonstrators, &c., the legal Parties have failed to pour a stream of illegal newspapers and leaflets into the factories on the topics which the legal papers are prohibited from dealing with.

The same may be observed with regard to the prohibition of meetings and demonstrations. To call meetings ostensibly for other purposes, sudden demonstrations, in the working-class districts, despite the injunctions, is not only possible but necessary after careful preparations have been made.

The authorities and the police close down newspapers for various periods, prohibit labour meetings and demonstrations at the most critical moments. The Communist Party is therefore not only vitally interested in telling the workers what the authorities seek to hide from them, but in getting the workers to protest under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Only in this way can the Communist Parties win the masses and become their leaders. In the absence of good cells in the factories it will be much more difficult to work and maintain connections with the masses when the legal Communist Parties are driven underground.

Urgent Tasks.

1. *Communist and Trade Union Work in the Factories.*—What is the main point that should be emphasised in the course of studies at the Communist Party Schools? *Work in the factories at all costs.* Unless work is carried on in the factories it will be impossible to win the majority of the working class, and that means impossible to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat suc-

cessfully. That is the first point. But work in the factories assumes exceptional importance in view of the approaching imperialist war, which will mean, in the first place, the break-up of the legal revolutionary labour movement, of the legal Communist organisations and red trade unions. Under such conditions work in the factories becomes more important than ever, and almost the only means of maintaining contacts with the masses of the factory workers, of influencing them and guiding their actions. Moreover, in time of war, nearly all factories are transferred to the production of munitions and the manufacture of supplies for the imperialist armies of the home country or of other countries; consequently, the fight against war must, more than ever, be carried on in the factory.

Work in the factories is a difficult matter. At the present time, when unemployment is rife, all the revolutionary workers are being discharged. Our task is to penetrate the factories and mills at all costs, by all means, if necessary, under another flag, it makes no difference how, but we must penetrate the factories to carry on Communist work in them. Wide and popular agitation must be carried on of the kind that the Bolsheviks carried on in the old days, and from February to October, 1917. The Communist Parties in the principal capitalist countries are still legal. They have their own Press, they can call meetings. But the work of agitation must assume a different character; it must be developed in the factories, at the factory gates, at the tram stops, near the subway stations, wherever the workers and office employees work and congregate. You must train a body of active people who know how to speak briefly and clearly, supply them with information and instructions, and send them into the street, into the factories and mills as agitators. Is this possible? It certainly is possible. The students who return to work should know this, should know how to do this themselves and how to organise this work.

2. *Strikes*.—How should strikes be prepared? How should they be conducted, what demands should be advanced? These are not easy questions. They present very many difficulties to the majority of the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union oppositions. Up to very recently many of the Communist Parties advanced maximum programme* demands only and did not trouble to issue every-day demands.

Now they seem to be saying: Let us advance only every-day demands without any connection with the high politics and the maximum programme, for when we advanced political points the workers did not listen to us, did not follow us, and the work was done badly. We know from experience that the Bolsheviks always connected politics with economics and economics with politics. I know of cases in 1905 when in starting a political strike the Bolsheviks advanced economic demands and *vice versa*.

To prepare strikes well is a difficult task. There was an enormous difference between the Social-Democratic reformists and the Bolsheviks both in the aims they pursued in strikes as well as in the organisation and conduct of strikes. The Bolsheviks collected information on the conditions of the workers in the factories; they conducted activities among the individual workers in order to explain the situation to them. When the preparatory work was finished (after the cell had discussed all the details of the strike with the revolutionary non-party activists)** the strike would be declared, the demands issued, a strike committee would be elected which called the workers together and put the questions connected with the strike to them. If the strike committee and the revolutionary activists were arrested a new committee would be formed in the same way. There were no collective agreements then. If strikes broke out unexpectedly—owing to a worsening of labour conditions, accidents, the absence of safety screens around the machines, &c.—the Bolsheviks of the given factory placed themselves in the leadership of the movement, formulated demands, &c. Thus, strikes were prepared from below, in the factories, and in those cases when strikes spread from factory to factory, or from city to city, this did not always occur spontaneously. The party organisations in the city, district and the factory cells discussed methods for broadening the movement, &c. The Bolsheviks, in conducting strikes, pursued two objectives: firstly, an improvement of the material and cultural standards of the workers, and, secondly, the broader objective of drawing the largest possible number of work-

*Maximum programme: the Party's final programme for the overthrow of capitalism as distinct from everyday immediate demands on wages, hours, etc.

**Active workers.

ers into the general proletarian struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As soon as trade unions were formed, the Social-Democrats and the reformists introduced such centralisation in the matter of strikes that the trade union members in the factories could not go on strike without the sanction of their trade union. Whenever they went on strike without such sanction and the Union Executive (or chairman) refused to approve the strike, it would be declared to be "unofficial" and the strikers refused material assistance. When they did sanction a strike they took the leadership into their own hands and the strikers had nothing to do except perhaps send pickets to the place of the strike if this was required. When the reformist trade unions grew strong they began to conclude long-term collective agreements with the employers' associations and strikes rarely occurred during the period the collective agreement remained in force. Strikes, sometimes big strikes, took place whenever a new collective agreement had to be negotiated. In such cases the strikes were led by the Central Committee of the unions. At best the strikers acted as pickets. The reformist trade unions were guided in the conduct of the economic struggle (before the war they conducted strikes) only by the desire to improve the material and cultural standards of the working class, completely neglecting the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. The Communist Parties, in leading relatively small red trade unions which are almost invariably dual unions,* or trade union oppositions within the reformist trade unions, in most cases adopted not the Bolshevik but the Social-Democratic, reformist method of preparing strikes, the method of preparing them in their offices, without always knowing the sentiments of the workers. For that reason, to this day the workers frequently fail to respond to the strikes called by the red trade unions and trade union oppositions, sometimes workers come out on strike from factories that were not expected to come out on strike.

In the International Party Schools the students must also learn how to prepare, conduct and lead strikes.

3. *The Struggle Against the Reformists and Social-Democratic Parties.*—The Social-Democrats and the reformists must be exposed, they should be shown up for what they say and actually do. This must be done day in and day out, in every article of the party press, in leaflets and in oral agitation.

It is necessary to watch the Social-Democratic and reformist press and react immediately to their agitation and leaflets in reply to them. It is necessary to react in a popular and intelligible manner. Every article, every speech written and uttered by the Social-Democrats and reformists can furnish the Communist agitators and propagandists with material for their speeches against the Social-Democrats and Reformists. Only in this way can we expose Social-Democracy; without this it will be hardly possible to expose them. In exposing the Social-Democrats and the reformists you must not overlook the other parties and organisations which exercise or seek to gain influence over the working class (the Catholics, National-Socialists, &c.).

The Social-Democratic Parties in the different countries apply various methods in performing their role as the chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie. In England, until the last elections, the Labour Party openly played its part while in the Government. As soon as it saw that the masses of the workers were turning away in disgust from its policy, that it was endangered from this side, it sacrificed its leaders and went into "opposition." In France, the Socialist Party has not participated in the Government since the war. Sometimes, on the eve of an election, it even votes against this or that Bill in Parliament when it is certain that the Government is assured of a majority without the Socialist votes. In reality the French Socialist Party is a most devoted servant and pillar of bellicose French imperialism. It is hardly necessary to speak about the German Social-Democrats at all. They are past masters in the art of deceiving the masses and the most cunning Party in the Second International in manœuvring.

The Communist Parties, like the Bolsheviks in Czarist Russia, must anticipate the manœuvres of the Social-Democrats and warn the masses against them. They must expose them whenever they succeed in their manœuvres, deceiving the workers and toilers. The Communist Parties, the red trade unions and all the mass revolutionary organisations, must tirelessly expose the Social-

*Dual Unions: Unions in industries where more than one exists.

Democrats and the reformists, for unless the workers are freed from their influence the Communist Parties cannot win the majority of the working class, without which it will be impossible to fight successfully against the bourgeoisie. The Communist Parties must also carry on a vigorous and unrelenting struggle against the National-Socialists, who take advantage of the treachery of the Social-Democrats and reformists as well as of the mistakes and weaknesses of the Communist Parties to extend their influence over the petty bourgeoisie and permeate the unemployed with the aid of their demagogic slogans, frequently even with the aid of Communist slogans.

4. *Unemployment.*—Unemployment is rife. None but the Communist Party pays any attention to the unemployed. Nevertheless, even when it was possible to organise the unemployed, when it was easy to do this by championing the every-day interests of the unemployed, the Communist Parties failed to take advantage of the situation. They failed to achieve such organization. There are not many Communists in the factories since most of them have been discharged. It is not easy to work in the factory. But why has the work not been organised among the unemployed, at the labour exchanges, in the lodging houses, in the bread and soup lines? There is an enormous number of members of the Party and of revolutionary trade union organisations among the unemployed; is it difficult to organize the work among these comrades? In Czecho-Slovakia and Poland the unemployed organisations succeeded in places in mobilising large masses and brought pressure to bear upon the municipalities, as a result of which, the latter were forced to issue grants to the unemployed. In America the unemployed receive no aid either from the State, or from the employers, and are forced to depend upon charity. Large numbers of them are being evicted from their homes. During 1930 and 1931, 352,469 families were evicted in New York alone. There is a vast field of activity for the revolutionary and Communist organisations, but they only take advantage of these conditions to a very slight degree. At one moment they set up an exclusive unemployed organisation, at another they spend all their time organising demonstrations and overlook the need for establishing kitchens for the unemployed, for organising a movement capable of preventing the eviction of the unemployed, demanding and securing benefits for the unemployed, &c., &c.

Why the Communist Parties and Revolutionary Trade Unions Lag Behind the Revolutionary Labour and Peasant Movements

I have tried to show the difference between the tactics, organisation, methods and content of work, and ultimate aims of the Bolsheviks and Social-Democrats, and I have also tried to show the causes of this difference. We, the workers on the E. C. C. I., sometimes hear arguments to the effect that the old Bolshevik experience does not apply to the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, especially in regard to methods of work in the factories. The experience of the past few years, however, has refuted this view. Where the Bolshevik methods of work have been applied, and flexible tactics in the factories, they have yielded excellent results. Does not the intensity of the struggle, the mass character of the labour and peasant movement in Poland and the leading role of the Communist Party plays in this struggle, in this movement, reveal the superiority of Bolshevik methods over Social-Democratic ones? You must remember that the Polish revolutionary proletariat, the former S. D. P. of Poland and Lithuania, now the Communist Party of Poland, in spite of the mistakes it committed, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Bolshevik Party of Russia. They adopted the Bolshevik methods of work; that is why they have not become isolated from the Polish proletariat despite the ruthless fascist terror in the country. But the Communist Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition in the capitalist countries which have not yet freed themselves from Social-Democratic traditions, have not adopted, are not carrying out, or are carrying out poorly, the Bolshevik methods of work and forms of organization, are not giving the work a Bolshevik content, are lagging behind the revolutionary labour movement, behind the revolutionary events and are unable to consolidate their growing political influence organisationally (for instance, we get four to five million votes and at the same time we fail to organise resistance to the employers' attack on wages). This backwardness will be inevitable until the Communist Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition discard the Social-Democratic traditions and assimilate and apply the truly Bolshevik experience in every field of their political work and every-day activities.

Training Cadres and the Methods of Teaching in the Communist Party Schools

The question of cadres is assuming tremendous importance for the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union opposition, in the present conditions. The International Communist Party Schools therefore play an important part in training revolutionary cadres.

The question of instruction in these Party Schools is of vital importance because the need for theoretically-trained cadres who combine theoretical knowledge with practical experience is very acute in the sections of the Communist International. This need has not diminished in recent years, but, on the contrary it has increased. We have not trained such cadres in sufficient numbers. The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries can obtain these cadres from the International Communist Party Schools. Some of these Party Schools have been in existence for some time now, but the Comintern has not yet received the cadres necessary for Communist work. To be sure, when the students of the International Communist Party Schools return to their Parties upon graduating, they know, perhaps, the most important works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, quite well, and in some countries they even become Party leaders.

But what the Communist Parties have not yet received from the International Communist Party Schools are comrades capable of applying Marxism and Leninism to the local conditions, capable of organising and conducting mass work, and this is precisely what the Communist Parties are mainly in need of at the present time.

They have not been getting workers really capable of helping them to rebuild the Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union oppositions on a factory basis.

What are the causes of this? The causes are as follow: the students study Party structure in the Soviet Union; that is those forms of Party structure which cannot be fully applied in their countries at the present time, but only after the capture of power by the proletariat. But they even learn the Party structure of the C. P. S. U. superficially: they do not study the methods of mass work, the mobilisation of the masses, the different approach to the different sections of the toilers, mass agitation, forms of organisation of mass agitation, the relations between the Communist fractions (especially in the lower mass non-Party organisations) and the respective cells and Party committees, the work of the factory Party cells and of the factory trade union committees, &c., with sufficient attention. This is the chief point. They do not study and assimilate the experience of the period preceding the capture of the power by the working class, that is the experience of the Bolsheviks in the Tsarist days and in the Kerensky days from February to October.

It is this experience which our Communist Parties need most.

It is this experience which contains elements of similarity with the situation in the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries at the present time. Of course there are also points of difference.

That is why I dealt with the difference between the position of the Bolshevik Party under the Czar, and that of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries at the present time.

The fact that the Communist Parties do not get the kind of graduates they need from the International Party Schools proves that the instruction given is apparently not conducted with a view to the peculiarities of each individual Party, to its development, traditions and former customs.

The task of the International Communist Party Schools is to assist our Communist Parties to assimilate the experience of the Bolsheviks, both in Party organisation as well as in Party work as a whole, in such a way as to enable them to apply this experience to the conditions prevailing in their respective countries. The conditions in the various countries differ. Conditions in Germany differ very much from those in France, they differ very much from those in England and not less from those in the United States. In every country the labour movement has its own peculiar features, history and traditions, its peculiar forms of Party organisation and of labour organisations. When you are giving instruction according to groups of countries you must bear this in mind. It should be stated that teachers can obtain the necessary material and facts concerning each country, and the conditions prevailing there, from the students who have taken part in the practical work of their Parties.

The International Communist Party Schools must help the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement to train genuinely Bolshevik cadres.

EXHIBIT No. 82

[Source: Daily Worker, January 6, 1933, page 4]

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EVERY SHOP AND FACTORY OUR FORTRESS!

The Central Committee called two important regional shop conferences, one Eastern and one of the concentration districts. These conferences were held in order to mobilize the Party for the carrying out of the historically significant tactical line given up by the 12th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which is based upon the analysis that relative capitalist stabilization has ended.

What is the chief task of our Party at the present moment? The 12th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. gives us a clear guide. It says: "The greatest possible development and strengthening of the struggle of the proletariat against wage cuts and worsening of the conditions of labor, the exertion of all the efforts of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organizations to insure the independent leadership of strike struggles and the unemployed movement, the raising of the fighting capacity of the masses, leading them on the basis of their own experiences from the struggle for every day partial demands to the struggle for the general class tasks of the proletariat represents the chief tasks for all sections of the Communist International under the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization."

What is the main base for the development of the struggle against the capitalist offensive at the present moment? It is the shop, the center of the attack of the capitalist class. Isn't it a fact that our Party is still isolated from the main sections of the American working class precisely because we lack solid contacts with the workers in the shops, particularly in the basic industries? The steel workers, the automobile workers, the railroad workers, have received numerous wage cuts. Certainly these workers are dissatisfied and are ready to struggle. The steel magnates have announced new wage cuts. The workers in each industry are facing new wage cuts and most vicious working conditions. We must say that the absence of large scale struggles in these industries is primarily due to our isolation from these workers, and lack of contacts and organization in the shops.

The important experiences and valuable lessons from these two shop conferences will be made available to the entire Party. Within a few days the Daily Worker will carry the reports of these conferences on the work in the shops and discuss the problems and lessons which arose at these conferences. The entire Party should, with the closest attention, follow the discussion in the Daily. The discussion in the Daily should help in concentrating the attention of the Party on shop work. It should help in basically improving our methods of shop work.

The discussions at these two conferences have shown that the Resolution of our 14th Plenum of the Party and the struggle for the carrying out of the 14th Plenum Resolution is beginning to take root amongst large sections of the Party membership. At the same time it also showed that the Section, District and Central Committee functionaries have not sufficiently participated in the attempts of the lower organizations and our comrades in the shops in developing shop work and shop struggles. This only once more emphasizes the need of struggle against our bureaucratic methods of work and leadership. Indeed one of the main complaints of the comrades active in shop work was the fact that they do not receive immediate, intimate guidance from the higher bodies.

Both conferences have disclosed that our greatest weakness in the development of shop work is the inability of raising partial demands. And even still more, our inability to apply the policy of the united front in setting in motion the most backward sections of the workers in the shop for struggles against immediate grievances. At the same time comrades active in the shop have brought forward excellent examples how a Communist, by correctly raising partial demands and applying the policy of the united front, gains the confidence of the workers in the shop and develops shop struggles.

The discussion also emphasized the fact that our weaknesses in developing a correct policy of the united front was due to an under-estimation and inability of fighting social fascism. It must be remembered that the shop is the very basis of building the revolutionary trade unions and opposition groups within the reformist unions. The struggle for the shop is the key point in the development of a correct revolutionary strike strategy.

More progress in shop work could be reported at our Eastern Regional Conference. The positive lessons brought forward at the Eastern Conference are

of great value and immediate use to the entire Party in the development of shop work. But this progress reported at the Eastern Conference was mainly confined to the lighter industries. The Regional Conference of the concentration districts has brought forward the difficulties and main problems of shop work in the basic industries from the concentration districts. The concentration districts have made very little progress. We must remember that our policy of concentrating in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago is based on the struggle of our Party to "firmly root itself in the decisive industries . . . and to overcome the isolation of the Party from the decisive masses of the American proletariat."

The need of winning the native born workers was stressed at the shop conferences. At the same time the comrades refuted the ideas that foreign born workers cannot organize the native born workers in the shops. A living illustration of the important role which foreign born workers can play in organizing the native born workers was given by a comrade from a Patterson shop.

At the shop conferences all of the important political problems of shop work—the question of the unemployed in shop work, the question of shop agitation, the question of the Party and union work in the shop—all of these problems were raised and discussed by the comrades active in shop work. The successful development of our shop work depends on the solution of all of these problems. The exchange of experiences at the shop conferences and the further discussion in the entire Party will help in the solution of these problems.

An outstanding weakness of both shop conferences was the very small number of Negro comrades present. Even in the discussion when the comrades were describing the composition of shops in basic industries they merely mentioned Negro workers. But this was only done statistically. No reports whatsoever were made with regard to our special methods of work and activities in winning the Negro workers in the industries. The 14th Plenum Resolution already spoke of the need of "making the red unions the real channels of Negro work." The entire Party must immediately realize this great weakness and take energetic steps in winning the Negro workers in the shops for struggle.

At the Eastern Conference we had some women comrades from the lighter industries, but this number was very limited. Shop work is unthinkable without the winning of the women workers in the industries.

At the Eastern regional conference a most instructive report was given by the Y.C.L. comrade on the leadership in the Trenton doll strike. This strike has resulted in material gains for the young workers. The experiences in Trenton emphasized both the importance of the youth in shop and strike struggles and the possibility of winning strikes when a correct strike strategy is applied.

A necessary condition for the development of struggles in the shop is the fight against opportunism. At both conferences right and left opportunism manifested itself. Opinions that the social fascists can better formulate immediate demands than we, that the appearance of the Party in the shop is a hindrance in developing shop organization emphasize once more that we must carry on a decisive struggle against the right danger as the chief danger and against the "left" deviation.

From the viewpoint of mobilizing the Party for shop work and important exchange of experiences, we may say that both conferences, in spite of the mentioned weaknesses, were successful.

The best indication of the earnestness with which the Party is beginning to take up shop work is the spirit of real self-criticism which prevailed at these conferences. Self-criticism not based merely on confessing sins, and pledges to be good, but based on actual contact with the workers and experiences of struggles in the shops. Only a self-criticism which leads to self-correction is Bolshevik self-criticism.

The tempo in our shop work is improving, the general life of the Party is beginning to improve, the valuable guide of the C.I. in aiding our Party in the struggle against sectarianism is beginning to bear fruit. The beginnings of contacts and organization in the shops have helped to create a healthy and refreshing atmosphere at the shop conferences. This spirit must permeate the entire Party from top to bottom.

Let us not allow the tempo to slacken. Deeper into the ranks of the Party. More intimate and permanent contacts with the large masses of workers!

EXHIBIT No. 83

[Source: Daily Worker, New York, April 17, 1933, page 4]

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COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL DENOUNCES SURRENDER OF GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO HITLER; APPROVES POLICY OF GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY LED BY THAELMANN

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International several days ago adopted a comprehensive resolution on the German situation. Reports about it, some of them misleading and garbled, appeared in the capitalist press. The full text of the resolution, sent by mail, is printed below.—Editor Daily Worker.

Having heard the report of Comrade Heckert on the situation in Germany, the Presidium of the ECCI declares that the political line and the organizational policy pursued by the CC of the Communist Party of Germany, led by Comrade Thaelmann, before and at the time of the Hitler coup was quite correct.

It was in the conditions of the tremendous sharpening of the economic and political situation in Germany, when, on the one hand, the Communist Party had already become a tremendous force in the working class and a revolutionary crisis was rapidly maturing; when on the other hand, the deep contradictions among the ruling classes themselves had become clear and the fascist dictatorship in the shape of the Papen and Schleicher Government was not in a position to stop the growth of Communism and find any way out of the ever intensifying economic crisis, that the German bourgeoisie delegated the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship to the fascist Hitler and his "National-Socialist" Party.

Socialist Leaders Restore Capitalism

The victory of Hitler and the establishment of the power of the "National-Socialists" was possible owing to the following circumstances:

German Social-Democracy, which had the support of the majority of the proletariat in the November revolution of 1918, split the working class, and instead of carrying the revolution forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism, which was the duty of a proletarian party, it, in alliance with the bourgeoisie and the generals of the Kaiser, suppressed the uprising of the revolutionary masses and laid the basis for a profound split in the working class of Germany.

Under the flag of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the tactic of the "lesser evil," in alliance with the bourgeoisie and with the approval of the whole of the Second International, it continued this policy of severe repression of the revolutionary movement and the line of splitting the working class right up to the most recent date. It disbanded the Red Front Fighters League, suppressed revolutionary workers' organizations, prohibited and fired into workers' demonstrations, broke economic and political strikes against the capitalist offensive and fascism, and supported the power of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Social democracy concentrated the leadership of the mass workers' organization into the hands of its corrupt bureaucratic leaders. It expelled revolutionary workers from these organizations, and by means of a network of centralized workers' organizations subordinated to it, it fettered the initiative of the working masses, undermined their fighting powers for the struggle against capital and fascism, and hindered them from decisively repelling the advance of the fascist dictatorship and the terrorist fascist gangs.

This policy of struggle against the revolutionary masses, collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and help for reaction, under the pretense of pursuing the tactics of the "lesser evil" has been the policy of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals as a whole, from 1914 up to the present time.

In the conditions of imperialism, and still more so in a country which had been defeated in the imperialist war and whose capitalism had been deeply undermined by the general crisis of the capitalist system, the Weimar "democratic" bourgeois republic could only be a reactionary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The labor legislation, insurance and democratic rights which the bourgeoisie had been compelled to give to the workers in the years of the revolution, were gradually taken away by the Weimar coalition that was in power, consisting of Social Democrats, the Center Party and the "democrats." Continual and gradual concessions to reaction, a gradual repeal of one point of the constitution

after another, of one gain of the workers after another; the gradual fascisation of the whole apparatus of the state, so greatly discredited the Weimar coalition and the Weimar republic that it lost all serious significance in the eyes of the broad masses.

Social Basis of Fascism

The Versailles system plundered Germany, and put the German toiling masses under the oppression of the unbearable exploitation, not only of their own capitalists, but also of foreign capital, to whom the German government had to transfer reparation payments. The oppression of Versailles, multiplied by the oppression of their "own" German bourgeoisie led to an unprecedented fall in the standard of living of the proletariat and to such an impoverishment of the peasants and of the urban petty-bourgeoisie that a section of these strata began more and more to consider pre-war Germany as their ideal, in which there was not yet the general crisis of capitalism and not such an impoverishment of the masses as now.

It can be understood therefore, that at a time of the most intense economic crisis, which increased the burden of the external Versailles national oppression and when, due to the Social Democrats, the proletariat was split, and consequently not strong enough to carry the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the peasant masses with it, there was bound to arise, and actually there did arise, a tempestuous outburst of German nationalism and chauvinism which considerably strengthened the political situation of the bourgeoisie, and brought to the surface the most demagogic nationalist party—the Party of the "National Socialists."

Social-Fascist Leaders Disrupt United Struggle Against Fascism

The Communist workers organized and carried on a struggle against the capitalist and fascist offensive. They supported every, even the slightest action of the social democratic workers against capital, wherever such actions took place. Wishing to restore the revolutionary unity of the working class, they, long before the victory of fascism, repeatedly proposed to the social democratic workers and the lower social democratic organizations that a United Front be formed for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the fascists.

But the mass of the social democratic workers, who carried with them the majority of the working class of Germany, were fettered by their social democratic leaders, who were opposed to the revolutionary united front, and who maintained their reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie, rejected the united front with the Communists on every occasion, and disrupted the struggle of the working class. While the Communists insisted on a Revolutionary united front of the working class against the bourgeoisie, against fascism, the social democrats on the contrary, impelled the workers in the direction of a reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie, against the Communists, against the Communist workers, destroying and repressing Communist organizations whenever and wherever this was possible.

Social Fascists Surrender Prevents General Strike Against Hitler's Accession

In pursuing its line of struggle for the revolutionary unity of the working class against the social democratic united front with the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party, as the only revolutionary leader of the German proletariat, in spite of the strike-breaking tactics of social democracy in the matter of the united front against the bourgeoisie, called on the working class for a General Political Strike on July 20, 1932, when the fascists dispersed the social democratic Prussian Government, and on January 30th, 1933, when Hitler came into power in Germany; and in order to carry on this strike proposed a united front to the Social Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions. The development of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and fascism, combined with general strike, would have caused the hesitating toiling masses of peasants and the urban petty-bourgeoisie to follow the proletariat.

But the Social Democrats, continuing their previous policy, and orientating themselves to further collaboration with the bourgeoisie, fettered the initiative of the masses by the network of centralized organizations which followed their lead, first of all the reformist trade unions, interfered with the organizations of a general strike and disrupted it, thus encouraging the further attacks of the fascists on the proletariat.

As a result, the vanguard of the revolutionary wing of the German proletariat, the Communist Party, was deprived of the support of the majority of the working class.

Under these circumstances, the proletariat was not in a position to organize, and in fact failed to organize, an immediate and decisive blow against the state apparatus, which now for the purpose of fighting against the proletariat, absorbed the fighting organizations of the fascist bourgeoisie: the Sturm Detachments, the "Steel Helmets" and the Reichswehr. The bourgeoisie was able, without serious resistance, to hand over the power of government to the National Socialists, who acted against the working class by means of provocation, bloody terror and political banditism.

Conditions Not Ripe For Uprising

In analyzing the conditions for a victorious uprising of the proletariat, Lenin said:

"A decisive battle can be considered as fully mature," if all the class forces which are hostile to us have become sufficiently entangled, have sufficiently come into conflict with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves by a struggle which is beyond their strength." If "all the vacillating, hesitating, unstable, intermediate elements, i. e., the petty bourgeoisie, petty bourgeois democracy as distinguished from the bourgeoisie, have sufficiently exposed themselves to the people, have sufficiently disgraced themselves by their practical bankruptcy." If "among the proletariat mass sentiment has begun, and is rising strongly in favour of supporting the most decisive, supremely, bold and revolutionary activity against the bourgeoisie. Then the revolution has matured, and if we have properly taken into account all of the conditions mentioned above . . . and have properly selected the moment, our victory is assured."

The characteristic feature of the circumstances at the time of the Hitler coup was that these conditions for a victorious rising had not yet managed to mature at that moment. They only existed in an embryonic state.

As for the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, it did not wish to slip into adventurism, and of course, could not compensate for this missing factor by its own actions.

"It is impossible to win with the vanguard alone," says Lenin. "To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive fight, while the whole of the class, the whole of the broad masses, have not occupied the position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of friendly neutrality towards it . . . would not only be foolish, but a crime."

Such were the circumstances which decided the retreat of the working class and the victory of the counter-revolutionary fascists in Germany.

Socialist Support of Bourgeoisie Responsible for Fascism

Thus, in the last analysis, the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany is the result of the social democratic policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie throughout the whole period of existence of the Weimar republic. The Social Democrats repeatedly stated that they would not object to Hitler's coming into power in a "constitutional" manner. After Hitler assumed power, "Vorwaerts" on February 2nd, stated that without social democracy a person like Hitler could not have become Reichs Chancellor. Wels stated the same thing on March 23rd, in his declaration in the Reichstag, in which he said that the services social democracy had rendered to the "National Socialists" are very great, because it was thanks to the policy that social democracy pursued, that Hitler was able to come to power. There is no need to mention Leipart, Loebe and other social democratic leaders who completely support the fascists. The Communist Party was right in giving the name of social fascists to the social democrats.

Fascism Destroys Democratic Illusions

But the fascist dictatorship, basing itself on armed gangs of National Socialists and "Steel Helmets," and commencing civil war against the working class, abolishing all the rights of the proletariat, is at the same time smashing the

Social Democratic theory that it is possible to win a parliamentary majority by means of elections, and to develop peacefully towards Socialism without revolution. It is destroying the social democratic theory of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the policy of the "lesser evil," and is destroying all the democratic illusions among the broad masses of workers. It is proving that the Government is not a super-structure rising above classes, but a weapon of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, that the real State power is the armed bands of storm troops, "Steel Helmets," police and officers who are governing in the name of the bourgeoisie and the Junkers. The working class is actually becoming convinced that the Communists were right, when for a number of years they fought against democratic illusions, the Social Democratic policy of the "lesser evil," and collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Mass Misery Grows—Hitler Leads Germany To Economic Catastrophe

Meanwhile the frantic dictatorship of Hitler, which has started civil war in the country, cannot solve a single political and economic question of contemporary Germany. The poverty and want of the masses are increasing day by day. The position of industry is growing worse because the adventurist policy of the government is only accelerating the contraction of the home and foreign market. There are not and there cannot be any prospects of a serious reduction of unemployment. There is no possibility of giving work and employment to all the adherents of the National Socialists. In place of the National Socialists who are giving jobs, other workers will be dismissed. The continuation of the moratorium until October and introduction of quotas on imports of agricultural products, can only satisfy a small section of the most well-to-do peasants for a very short period, but cannot stop the growth of want, poverty and discontent among the broad peasant masses. The demagogic attacks on the big stores and Jewish capital cannot help the impoverished petty-bourgeoisie, whose position will grow worse proportionally with the further fall of the purchasing power of the home market. The giving of paltry help to the needy with bread and pork was only a sop for the elections. In view of the worsening economic situation, the increase of unemployment relief by 2 marks a month, cannot but be taken back. It is becoming clear that Hitler is leading Germany to economic catastrophe, which is becoming more and more inevitable.

German Fascism Increases War Danger

The National Socialist movement grew up first of all as a nationalist and chauvinist movement of the petty-bourgeoisie and part of the peasant masses, led by officers and government officials of the Kaiser, against the Versailles treaty. The two months in which Hitler has been in power is just one chauvinist tirade against proletarian internationalism and against "world Bolshevism." It is a policy of sharpening relations with all countries without discrimination. Such a policy will not only fail to strengthen Germany, but will weaken it still further and isolate it. The attempts of the government to violate the Versailles treaty under such conditions and to obtain successes in foreign policy, even if only unity with Austria, so as to raise its prestige among its followers, will only lead to a further sharpening of the whole international situation and a tremendous growth of the war danger. Every day of the Hitler Government will reveal with greater clearness the manner in which the masses who follow Hitler have been tricked. Every day will show with greater clearness that Hitler is leading Germany to catastrophe.

Communist Party Prepares for Decisive Revolutionary Battles

The present period of calm after the victory of fascism is temporary. The revolutionary upsurge in Germany will inevitably grow in spite of the fascist terror. The resistance of the masses to fascism is bound to increase. The establishment of an open fascist dictatorship, by destroying all the Democratic illusions among the masses and liberating them from the influence of social democracy, accelerates the rate of Germany's development towards proletarian revolution.

The task of the Communists must be to explain to the masses that the Hitler Government is leading the country to catastrophe. It is now necessary to warn the masses with greater energy than ever before that the only salvation

for the toiling masses from still greater poverty and want, the only way to avoid catastrophe, is the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is necessary to strive to rally all the forces of the proletariat and form a united front of social democratic and Communist workers for the struggle against the class enemies. It is necessary to strengthen the Party and strengthen all the mass organizations of the proletariat, to prepare the masses for decisive revolutionary battles, for the overthrow of capitalism and for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship by an armed rebellion.

In view of all this, the Presidium of the ECCI approves the programme of practical activities planned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

EXHIBIT No. 84

[Source: Daily Worker, May 19, 1933, page 1]

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DEVELOP ANTI-WAR STRUGGLES

Our struggle against imperialist war has of late slackened. This in spite of the growing war tenseness which permeates the whole international situation at the present time. It is necessary with the greatest vigor to develop anti-war activities. It is necessary to popularize the Resolution of the 12th Plenum Against War. Below, we print a section of the 12th Plenum Anti-War Resolution, outlining the immediate steps for struggle against imperialist war.

The general tasks of all Communist Parties in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention and in the struggle against fascism, social democracy and bourgeois pacifism which facilitate the various methods of preparing and carrying on imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R., are as follows:

a) To develop a systematic ideological struggle against chauvinism and nationalism, to carry on propaganda for real proletarian internationalism, to expose to the masses all the machinations of the foreign policy of their own bourgeoisie, to expose all the measures of the home policy of the bourgeoisie in preparation for war, to expose the production and transport of munitions for imperialist countries, to remind the masses of all the calamities of the first imperialist war, to fight tirelessly against the militarization of the schools.

b) To react actively to all manifestations of the anti-Soviet campaigns, to seriously improve the propaganda of the success of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., among the broadest masses, to mobilize the toilers against the whiteguards, to popularize the peace policy of the U. S. S. R., to mobilize the masses for the active defense of the U.S.S.R., China and the Chinese-Soviet revolution.

c) To expose on the basis of actual and well-known facts all the sophisms and maneuvers of the bourgeois pacifists and especially the social-democratic parties.

d) To expose widely to the masses the peculiar, secret birth and conduct of a new imperialist war (mobilization in parts, formation of a covering army, preparation to cleanse the rear from revolutionary elements) and in deciding the anti-war tactics of the Communist Party, to take into account the variety of the new methods employed by the bourgeoisie in preparing and carrying on war.

e) By employing the tactic of the united front, to set up legal, semi-legal and illegal control committees and committees of action in the munition factories, in ports, in factories, on railroads, and on ships, for the purpose of developing mass activity and carefully prepared protest strikes and economic strikes to prevent the transport of munitions and troops, and to rouse the initiative of the broad masses of workers in this matter.

f) To develop extensive mass work among the unemployed, among the youth, among working women and among emigrant workers, against imperialist war and military intervention. To draw the peasant masses into the struggle against imperialist war. To support the national liberation movement of the colonial and subjected nations.

g) To carry on extensive anti-imperialist work among the soldiers, among conscripts, reservists and in the special military organizations of the bour-

geoisie. To strengthen the Party organizations and all the revolutionary youth organizations, bearing in mind that the whole Party, the whole of the Y. C. L. must participate in this work.

To organize the struggle of the soldiers for their every day demands and to support this struggle by the solidarity of the workers and the toiling peasants. To popularize revolutionary traditions and examples of the struggle against war.

All the C. P.'s must carry on an irreconcilable Bolshevik struggle in their own ranks against an opportunist underestimation of the war danger, against opportunist passivity in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention and against a pseudo-left fatalistic attitude towards war.

EXHIBIT No 85

[Source: Daily Worker, January 14, 1933, page 5; an article entitled "Leninism and the Mass Struggle Against Imperialist War," by Earl Browder]

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LENINISM AND THE MASS STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR—HIS TEACHINGS ONLY RELIABLE GUIDE IN THE ANTI-WAR FIGHT

Show Necessity for Defeat of 'Own' Country, Expose "Socialist" Betrayers

By Earl Browder

The smouldering ruins of the city of Shanhaikwan, amidst which lie the shattered bodies of several thousand Chinese men, women and children, give the tone to the opening of the year 1933. Simultaneously, the wars in Latin-America proceed with a ferocity revealing the depth of the antagonisms which urge them on, primarily the rivalry between Great Britain and the United States. The world is moving inexorably into a general imperialist war, which will be aimed in the first place against the Soviet Union.

More than ever before, the workers must prepare themselves for the struggle against imperialist war, and for the task, when the war is upon us, to transform it into a revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Lenin's Teachings Are Guide

Lenin's teachings constitute the only reliable guide in this struggle. Under Lenin's leadership, the Bolsheviks conducted the struggle against the imperialist war of 1914-1918, which actually transformed it into a civil war that overthrew imperialism in one-sixth of the world.

All who seriously think of action against imperialist war must, therefore, master the lessons of history, contained in the teaching of Lenin.

There are a few central principles of Leninist theory, which necessarily guide all phases of the struggle against imperialist war.

"It must be the task of the Social-Democracy (for today, read Communist Parties—E.B.) of every country first of all to struggle against the chauvinism of that country."

Thus wrote Lenin in October, 1914, in a manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (the Bolsheviks, now the Communist Party). The enemy is at home; it is the capitalist class, and its exploiting allies; so long as capitalism rules, the working class has no fatherland to defend.

It was the violation of this principle that brought about the collapse of the Second International, when in 1914 "the majority of the Social-Democratic Parties and first of all the German party, the greatest and most influential in the Second International, have joined their general staffs, their governments, their bourgeoisie, thus taking a stand against the proletariat." (Lenin, "Collapse of the Second International," summer 1915). In the midst of imperialist war, the revolutionary working class must put forward the slogan, "Defeat of 'our own' imperialism."

"To repudiate the defeat slogan means to reduce one's revolutionary actions to an empty phrase or sheer hypocrisy." (Lenin, "Defeat of 'our' Government," July, 1915.)

This was the issue which split the Socialist Parties of the world, the Second International, and in 1919 gave birth to the Communist International, which

gathered to itself all that was revolutionary, all that was sound and healthy, and which restored revolutionary Marxism, which had been revised and prostituted by the leaders of the Second International. This was the issue, upon which the treacherous revisionist leaders (represented in America by Hillquit & Co.) passed openly over to the side of the capitalists, and proceeded step by step to integrate themselves more thoroughly into capitalist society, culminating today in their role of path-clearers for fascism (support of Hindenburg in Germany, MacDonald "labor" government in England), which we call social-fascism.

Already then Lenin clearly defined the tasks of struggle against war even under the most difficult conditions. Referring to the situation in Belgium, he says:

"What should the Belgian socialists have done? Since they could not accomplish a social revolution together with the French, etc., they had to submit to the majority of the nation at the present moment and go to war. But in submitting to the will of the slave-holding class, they should have put the responsibility on the latter, they should have refrained from voting for appropriations, they should have sent Vandervelde not on ministerial journeys to the exploiters, but to organize (together with the revolutionary Social-Democrats of ALL countries) illegal revolutionary propaganda in favor of a 'socialist revolution' and civil war; they should have conducted the same work in the army, experience having shown that even in the trenches of the fighting armies 'fraternization' of soldier-workers is possible. To prattle about dialectics and Marxism, at the same time being unable to combine the temporary necessity of submission to the majority with revolutionary work under all conditions, means to mock at the workers, to jeer at Socialism." (Lenin, February, 1915.)

The workers must fight against all imperialism, beginning with "their own." But "it is foolish to renounce participation in war forever and as a matter of principle." For there is not only imperialist war, but there is also the war of an oppressed nation for its independence, for its national existence. Such wars are today a part of the struggle to overthrow imperialism, and must be supported by the workers of all lands. Lenin said in 1914:

"Thus, of all the belligerent countries only the Serbs are fighting for their national existence. Similarly, the class-conscious proletarians in India and China cannot follow any but the national road, as their countries have not been formed as yet into national states. If China had to wage an aggressive war for this purpose, we could only sympathize with it, since objectively this would be a progressive war."

Still less is it possible for the workers to fight against war by empty slogans of "peace," or by pacifist means. Exposing pacifist maneuvers in 1915, Lenin wrote this historic paragraph:

"This is a lesson for those phrase-lovers who, like Trotsky, defend, in opposition to us, the peace slogan, alleging among other things that 'all the Left Wingers' have united for the purpose of 'action' under this very slogan! The government of the Junkers has now demonstrated the correctness of our Berne resolution, which said that peace propaganda 'not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions' is only capable of spreading illusions and of making the proletariat 'a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries.'" (Collected Works, p. 262, Vol. XVIII.)

These are the central, guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against imperialist war. They are simple and clear; every worker is able to understand them. Amid the confusion and clamor of contemporary events, and the poison-gas of chauvinism, pacifism, and social fascism, they furnish the dependable compass which will guide the revolutionary workers of America also through the period of testing-by-fire which is approaching.

EXHIBIT No. 86

[Source: Daily Worker, April 8, 1933, page 5; a series of quotations entitled "Lenin On War"]

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LENIN ON WAR

By social patriotism we mean the willingness to defend one's country in this imperialistic war, to justify the alliance of the Socialists with the bourgeoisie and the governments of their own country, and the refusal to preach and sup-

port the revolt of the proletarians against their national bourgeoisie. It is obvious that in its essential traits, politically and intellectually, chauvinism is identical with opportunism. Both represent one and the same tendency.

Socialism and War.—Lenin.

"A logical analysis of war leads to the conclusion that war is simply "the continuation of politics by other means."

Socialism and the War—Lenin.

Civil wars are also wars. Those who accept the class struggle must accept civil wars, which, under certain circumstances, are a natural and inevitable continuance, development and accentuation of the class struggle in every society based on class divisions. . . . To deny or to overlook civil wars would mean becoming a victim of the most hopeless opportunism and abandoning the social revolution.

Socialism and War.—Lenin.

The fight against imperialism is empty and deceitful if it is not combined with a fight against opportunism.

Socialism and War.—Lenin.

EXHIBIT No. 87

[Source: A pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, P. O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 East 13th St.), New York City: September, 1933]

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ORGANIZE MASS STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE—TASKS OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN ORGANIZING STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE

By S. I. Gusev and Earl Browder

The Tasks of the Communist Party of U. S. A. in the Struggle for Social Insurance

By S. I. Gusev

The past year in the U.S.A. has been marked by a series of mass actions of the proletariat and the farmers. A number of economic strikes accompanied by fierce clashes with the police, the farmers' "strike," in which armed bands were organized to prevent agricultural products being hauled into the towns, and repeatedly came into conflict with the police forces, the Veterans' march, which terminated in their armed expulsion from Washington, the hunger march of the unemployed, which repeatedly clashed with the police—all these facts show the growing radicalisation of the workers and the masses of the farmers, the growing determination of these masses to wage a firm struggle for their interests. The source of all this is unemployment, the lowering of wages and the worsening of the general standard of living of the working class, the growth of insecurity of their existence, uncertainty as to the morrow and the ruin of the farmers.

The imperialists are attempting to emerge from the crisis by means of war. War in the Far East, where British and French imperialism is supporting the Japanese imperialists—while American imperialism backs the Nanking government, the war between Colombia and Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay, which are in reality Anglo-American wars for markets and sources of raw materials (oil)—are the first attempts at a military way out of the crisis. But the imperialists understand the extreme danger of war between themselves, especially at the present time, after the completion of the Five-Year Plan in the U. S. S. R., and are trying to organize international intervention in the U. S. S. R., that they may solve the crisis at the expense of the toilers of the U. S. S. R. and all countries. The attempts to find a way out of the crisis through the agency of imperialist war are assuming a somewhat protracted character. The imperialists are slipping slowly into war.

The prolongation of the crisis means a further ruin of the masses of workers and farmers, a further growth of the uncertainty of their existence. Therefore the further radicalisation of the masses, the further growth of still wider mass actions is inevitable.

However, in spite of this growing radicalisation, the political consciousness of the masses still remains at a low level. The presidential election showed, on the

one hand, that tremendous masses of workers and farmers voted for the bourgeois parties (democrats, republicans and socialists) and only an insignificant minority (probably 200,000-300,000 if we reckon the stealing of votes) for the Communist Party. Further, the election disclosed the growth of the illusion that the Roosevelt government would find a peaceful and painless way out of the crisis, would liquidate unemployment, etc. On the other hand, the presidential election, the swing of the majority of the electors from the more Right Republican Party to the side of the Democratic Party, and the growth in the vote of the Socialist Party disclosed an increasing dissatisfaction of the masses, and their striving to change the existing position, and thus, indirectly, proves the radicalisation of the masses.

There can be no doubt that the breakdown of the parliamentary illusion connected with the presidential election will set in very rapidly after Roosevelt takes power, and be accompanied by a new and much higher wave of mass actions. Even now there are signs of a new rise of the mass struggle (demonstrations and marches of the unemployed, the strike at Detroit, mass action by the farmers to prevent the auctioning of belongings).

All the bourgeois parties—republican, democratic, socialist and also the A. F. of L. and the Mustéites, understand the inevitability of a tremendous new wave of mass movements perfectly well, and have been using the greatest demagoguery, especially recently, by their projects for a 30-hour week and social insurance, to restrain the masses from activity and weaken these manifestations.

During the last year, we may observe certain successes of the Communist Party in the leadership of the mass activity (Veterans' march, hunger march, conference of farmers, some improvement in the work among the unemployed, the struggle inside the A. F. of L. for social insurance). But, at the same time, it must be stated that, firstly, the leadership of this activity has been marked by strong vacillations, indecision, and lagging behind the spontaneous upsurge of the movement, and that, secondly, the Party has let a series of strikes slip during the past year, the leadership of which has passed into the hands of the Mustéites and the A. F. of L., and also it has not only failed to consolidate the achievements of last year in the sphere of trade union work, but has permitted the greatest weakening of all the Red trade unions, with the exception of the tailors, furriers, boot and shoe operatives and food workers. In the conditions of a growing mass movement, especially in view of the prospects of a new and higher mass upsurge, such a weakening of mass work as took place in 1932 menaces the Party with a *very serious danger*. The growth in the number of votes cast for the Socialist Party at the last elections, the membership of this party, and the number of its local organisations; the miners' union organised by the Mustéites; the passing of the leadership of the majority of strikes to the Mustéites and the A. F. of L.—all these facts are the reverse side of the lagging of the Communist Party behind the mass movement, and clearly show the nature and the extent of the danger which menaces the Party. Though the Party is even now very weakly linked up with the decisive strata of the native American workers, it is in danger of still greater isolation, in view of the fact that it is lagging ever more behind the mass movement, which, though irregular, is nevertheless increasing.

The same lagging behind the mass struggle must be noted in the campaign for all kinds of social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government, which was begun by the Party in 1930. Compared with 1931, this campaign carried on by the Party in 1932 was weaker, and on a narrower mass basis. And this took place in spite of the fact that, during the last few years, the campaign for the seven-hour day, for social insurance, has been systematically put before the Party as a central task requiring insistent, constant and planned work by the Party.

It was stressed with the greatest urgency in the Communist press as early as May, 1929, that the main demands, capable of uniting the colossal masses of American workers, were the seven-hour day and all kinds of social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government, and that the widest and most tireless agitation for these demands must become the chief task of the Party for a whole period, which must simultaneously start to organise the unemployed. Since then it has been repeated on numerous occasions that the struggle for social insurance, especially unemployment insurance, must occupy the central place in the struggle for immediate demands (1930), that the struggle for social insurance and unemployment insurance must be converted into a genuine mass campaign (1931), that the directly central task of the Party is the mobilisation of the masses for the struggle for immediate aid for the unemployed, the insuring of the unemployed, social insurance (1932). This fundamental task of the Party

has been repeatedly explained *in the most detailed manner*, and simultaneously detailed and concrete organisational measures have been worked out with the aim of mobilising the masses for the struggle, of creating a system of various organs, of organisationally embracing the great masses. In this very way, the necessity of a systematic campaign in the press for social insurance of all kinds at the expense of the capitalists and the State has been constantly emphasised with the greatest insistence.

It is also necessary to recall the decisions of the XI. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which said that the immediate task of the C. P. of the U. S. A. was the "struggle against the capitalist offensive and the organisation of a wide counter-offensive . . . for social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the State."

What has the Party done in the course of the four years since May, 1929, when the struggle for the seven-hour day and for social insurance was first put forward as the central task?

In 1930, the Party carried on a wide campaign for collecting individual and collective signatures to a Bill on social insurance, and gathered about a million signatures. Then the Party put forward the slogan of social insurance as the central slogan during the hunger march of 1931. In the same way this slogan was put forward during the Veterans' march and in the election campaign, and also during the last hunger march. However, both in these marches and especially in the election campaign, the agitation for this slogan was completely insufficient.

Thus the campaign for social insurance was carried on unsystematically by the Party, in fits and starts. It had not a sufficiently mass character, and the Party only carried out the plan contained in the decisions of the XI. Plenum to "organise a wide counter-offensive of the proletariat for social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the State" to an insufficient degree.

And this took place in spite of the fact that the Party had a monopoly in the working class for almost three years on the struggle for social insurance, in spite of the fact that the number of unemployed increased year by year, and, at the present time, has reached 15-16 millions.

The basic source of the lagging of the Party behind the mass movement consists in the sectarian tendencies still very strong in the Party. These tendencies have found a clear expression, especially recently, in the incorrect manner in which the question of the relation between the political and organisational tasks of the Party, between the leadership of the mass struggle and the organisational preparations for mass activity, were raised in the Party and its leadership. Serious differences arose among the Party leaders on the question of which is more important—the political leadership of mass struggles, or the organisational preparations for them. Such a contrasting of politics and organisation, from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism, is absolutely incorrect. Without a correct policy, and our whole policy is directed to winning the masses to our side, the mobilising of the masses for struggle against the bourgeoisie, there can be no question of victory. But no policy, even the most correct one, can give victory of itself, and requires organisational measures to carry it out. Policy cannot replace organisation; organisation cannot replace policy. One is impossible without the other. Policy predetermines; organisation decides. Policy is the basis; organisation the derivative. Not politics for organisation, but organisation for politics. For victory, both policy and organisation are equally necessary. Therefore, to raise the question—which is more important for victory—policy or organisation—is utterly wrong. To reduce everything to policy alone without organisational measures, means to convert the Party into a propaganda society, a narrow sect, proud of the purity of its principles, but absolutely separated from the masses. To reduce everything to organisation and the preparation of struggles, also means to convert the Party into a sectarian, petty, "business" organisation, urging the masses to be patient and wait, until the Party prepares everything. But the masses cannot be satisfied with political directives alone, and demand organisational guidance. The masses cannot wait and will not postpone their activity until the Party has made organisational preparations, but demand leadership immediately at every manifestation they make. Therefore, while carrying on persistent political and organisational preparation of mass activity, the Party must, together with this, take the leadership of all mass movements, even in cases when it is by no means ready for this movement organisationally. The Party must take the leadership of mass actions in the condition in which these mass actions find it, introducing further organisational measures in the course of the struggle itself, on the basis of a wide

application of the tactic of the united front from below, as was stressed by the decision of the XIIIth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

The unclarity and confusion on the question of mass struggles, and particularly the tendency to surrender the leadership of mass activity, or narrow it down under the pretext of organisational unpreparedness (which was shown in the Veterans' march with the greatest clarity) led to the fact that the Party leaders had no firm line on this basic question. Vacillations, half-heartedness and indecision among the leaders were observable repeatedly, which naturally found reflection in all Party organisations, and, above all, in the Party press.

It was precisely this absence of a firm line, the absence of firmness in applying the line; waverings, indecision, and half-heartedness, which found expression in the lack of system in the campaign for social insurance; in spite of a series of categorical instructions as to the central importance of this task for a whole period; the exceptionally favourable conditions for carrying on this campaign in the broadest possible manner; and the monopoly enjoyed by the Communist Party for a number of years in this sphere.

The monopolist position of the Party in the struggle for social insurance has ended. At present, all the bourgeois parties, together with the A. E. of L. and the Mustéites, are trying to snatch this matter out of the hands of the Party, putting forward their projects for a 30-hour week and social insurance. The Communist Party is faced with the most urgent task—to concretely expose the lying demagogic nature of these projects, and carry on the widest mass campaign for social insurance, converting it into a systematic daily campaign, without losing its leading rôle in the struggle for social insurance, making it the main axis of all Party work—which will be impossible unless a decisive struggle is carried on against the sectarian tendencies and their actual champions.

At the present time, the struggle for social insurance is most closely interwoven with the demagogic slogan of the 30-hour week, put forward by the bourgeois parties. The aim of this demagogic campaign is to introduce the so-called "stagger system" under this slogan, i. e., to take part of the work from the employed workers and transfer it to the unemployed, thus lowering the wages of the workers who are engaged in industry. The reduction of the working day will mean it is claimed, that a larger number of workers will be needed to do the same amount of work, and part of the unemployed consequently will get work. Such statements need to be most carefully investigated, because, in the first place, experience shows that the reduction of the working week in a number of factories has *not* led to the reduction of unemployment, and, in the second place, the reduction of the working week may lead to a new intensification of labour. Consequently, it is not impossible that, in a number of factories, the introduction of the 30-hour week will lead to no increase in the number employed. The capitalists count on the slogan of the 30-hour week to distract the unemployed from the struggle for social insurance, and set them against workers employed in industry. Our task is not to repudiate the 30-hour week; but advance the demand for the maintenance of weekly and monthly wage-rates, and the introduction of social insurance of all kinds, first of all, unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government. "By the stagger system, the capitalists want to feed the unemployed at the expense of the employed. Not a cent off wages of the workers. Feed the unemployed at the expense of the capitalists and the State. The capitalists want to set the workers against the unemployed. We call for a united front of the unemployed and the employed workers in the struggle for social insurance and to prevent the lowering of wages when passing to a 30-hour week"—such is the way in which we should link up the slogan of social insurance with opposition to wage reduction.

One of the primary conditions for winning the masses in the course of the campaign for social insurance and no reduction of wages when introducing the 30-hour week, is the exposure of all bourgeois parties, first of all and mainly the social-fascists, chiefly for their refusal to mobilise the masses for a real struggle for their demands, and limiting themselves exclusively to parliamentary means of struggle, and also for introducing splits into the struggle of the working class for these demands. It is necessary to explain to the masses insistently and patiently that it will be impossible to secure the granting of their demands without their determined actions.

However, the matter cannot be restricted to this. The most concrete criticism is required of all the proposals for a 30-hour week and social insurance.

The basic criterion of the 30-hour week is the question of wages. Not a single bourgeois party, including here the A. F. of L. and the Mustéites, is against the lowering of wages when the 30-hour week is introduced in reality. But, naturally, they cannot state openly that they are in favour of a reduction. Therefore, they put various evasive formulas into circulation, to give the impression that these parties are against wage reductions. Thus the A. F. of L. says that it "recommends" no reduction of wages, while Green, who stated that if wages were reduced, the A. F. of L. would employ violent methods, repudiated his threat almost the following day, and explained that the "violent methods" he had in view was economic struggle. All these crooked tricks must be exposed and nailed down by our press. We must constantly remind the workers of these exposed tricksters in our papers.

As for the projects of social insurance, it is necessary to submit them to the most concrete criticism in our papers, and in pamphlets.

The Wisconsin law of social insurance is a reactionary slave law, enslaving and oppressing the unemployed, if they get relief. The law demands: (a) that the unemployed worker prove that he is physically capable of work; (b) that the unemployed worker was not dismissed from work for misconduct or striking; (c) that the unemployed worker has lived in the State of Wisconsin continuously for two years and worked not less than 40 weeks during this period; (d) that the unemployed worker will not refuse any work offered him by the Employment Bureau, otherwise he loses the right to receive relief. The workers are thus tied down to a definite State, and in case of unemployment are condemned to forced labour, receiving relief at the rate of 10 dollars a week for not more than 10 weeks.

The project of the A. F. of L. has a large number of all kinds of provisos, which exclude large strata of the unemployed from the list of the insured, and make it possible to nullify the proposals contained in it. The main thing in this project is that it is a statement against a Federal law and in favour of a separate law for each State, thus splitting the united struggle of the proletariat for a single Federal law up into small parts, breaking up the united proletarian front and making it possible to defeat the separate sections of the unemployed individually.

The draft of Musté is, in essence, this same draft of the A. F. of L., with the additional demand for a Federal subsidy for the States, which demand is intended to create the impression that the Mustéites are for a Federal law.

The project of the socialists, the most demagogic of them all, consists in a forgery of the draft of the Communist Party. In reality, this draft is in favour of insurance by separate States, financed by the Federal government. But the very leader of the socialist party—Morris Hillquit—exposed the lying nature of this project in the press in its central organ, "The New Leader," on November 26th, by practically joining with the project of the A. F. of L., praising it as being the "first decided step in the direction of socialist philosophy," as being near to the socialist project, and although not so far-reaching and generous as the socialist plan, more practical.

When criticising the projects, special attention must be paid, firstly, to the fact that when the projects enumerated speak of insurance against unemployment, they evidently have in view, not those unemployed who are already out of work, but those who will lose their jobs after the law comes into force, and, secondly, that the date when the law is to operate and relief be paid is put off for a lengthy period in every project (two to five years).

In the past campaign for social insurance, the Communist Party made a series of mistakes, disclosing a flippant, thoughtless approach to it, and a failure to understand its central and decisive importance. This failure stubbornly maintains itself in the Party despite a series of most categorical instructions on the central importance of the campaign. The draft insurance Bill was worked out by the Party from above, and not presented to the workers for discussion. This draft has been changed three times. After the changing of the draft at the Cincinnati conference, with the participation of the representatives of the local branches of the A. F. of L., the original draft of the Bill was presented to Congress during the national hunger march; while the new draft was presented to the convention of the A. F. of L., which inevitably brought confusion into the minds of the workers. The Party did not consider it necessary to popularise the contents of its draft among the workers. The leading comrades, and our press, were content with bare statements that the Communist Party is in favour of social insurance against unemployment at the expense of the capitalists and the government. When the social-fascists (including the Mustéites), following the example

of the Communist Party, began to put forward their own projects for bills, the Party and its press paid very little attention to making a detailed examination of these bills, and did not systematically expose them to the workers, in spite of a number of repeated instructions on the necessity of doing this. The Party did not attempt to propose to the workers that they should organise a joint struggle of all workers' organisations on the basis of the united front from below for Federal unemployment insurance on a single occasion, for the appropriation of funds for public works, for the appropriation of funds to assist the unemployed.

A number of facts from the recent period show that a non-serious and inattentive attitude to the campaign continues to exist in the Party leadership. This leads to the greatest lack of clarity in the question of our attitude to Federal or State insurance, and to retreats from the line of struggle for Federal insurance adopted by the Party (e. g., the article of Comrade Bill Doune in the "Daily Worker" on December 1st, 1932).

A dangerous disorganisation is introduced into the campaign for social insurance by the fact that, after a three-year struggle for *Federal* insurance, the Californian district organisation published its proposal for *State* unemployment insurance, from which the demand for Federal unemployment insurance is omitted, and the amount of relief made to depend on the average wages received, while a demand is included for 3 per cent. of the wages to be deducted from the employers, for the insurance fund. In the same way the Chicago organisation put forward the demand for unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the State government, while the demand for Federal insurance was completely left out. How does it happen that the Californian district organisation takes, in essence, the line of the proposal of the A. F. of L.? How does it happen that the Chicago organisation replaced the demand for Federal insurance by that of State insurance? Would such things be possible if the C. C. had really led the campaign in a planned and proper manner?

With the aim of giving the campaign for social insurance the widest militant mass character and ensuring the leading rôle of the Communist Party in it, it is necessary to introduce a series of varying measures of a political and organisational nature:—

1. It is necessary, above all, to instil the most complete understanding into the *whole Party* that the campaign for social insurance, alongside and including the struggle against wage-cuts with the shortened week (irrespective of whether such a short week is adopted) and the struggle for immediate aid for the unemployed, touches vitally, in addition to the anti-war campaign, the most urgent and burning interests of the proletariat, and that this campaign at the present time is the chief link to be seized to tug the whole chain, that this campaign demands the mobilisation of all Party forces for a whole period of indefinite length, and that a planned, unbroken, every-day and persistent conduct of this campaign is necessary. All the members of the Party must be drawn into the conduct of this campaign on the basis of Bolshevik inner-Party democracy, by raising the question of the struggle for social insurance for discussion by all the Party members, by all the Party organisations (cells, fractions, committees, conferences), by the inclusion of every single member of the Party in the every-day work for conducting the campaign. Every member of the Party must become an agitator for our insurance proposal, must learn to expose other propositions.

2. The Politburo, together with the representatives of the nearest large Party organisations, the representatives of the Red trade unions, the representatives of the fractions of the national committee of the opposition in the A. F. of L., and representatives of the fraction in the National Unemployed Committee, must work out a firm and united tactical line in the struggle for social insurance (and also against the reduction of wages when a shortened week is introduced, and for immediate aid for the unemployed), and a plan for conducting the whole campaign in the next three months. The decisions of this meeting must be sent to all local Party organisations and Party fractions as obligatory; for fulfilment. It is particularly important to attain unity of action with the aim of preventing such disorganising actions as that of the Californian district organisation.

3. The Politburo decided absolutely correctly that one or more active members of the P. B. must be appointed as responsible leaders to guide the whole campaign. Every two weeks the P. B. must discuss the reports of this leader, and also of representatives of the fraction in the national committee of the unemployed, the fraction in the T. U. U. L., the fraction in the national com-

mittee of the opposition in the A. F. of L., and the editorial board of the "Daily Worker" and other central papers. According to the course of the campaign, it is also necessary to discuss the reports of the district organisations.

4. In the same way, the district organisation (above all, in the industrial districts) must appoint a responsible leader of the campaign from among the most active members of the bureau of the district committee, and his report must be discussed every two weeks, together with the reports of the fraction in the town committee of the opposition in the A. F. of L., the local branch of the T. U. U. L. and the local council of the unemployed.

5. It is necessary to mobilise all our Party press (including the language press) and also the trade union papers, the factory papers and the papers of the councils of the unemployed for a wide, systematic, daily conduct of the campaign. This campaign must always be given space on the front page. The main points which must be systematically dealt with in all the papers are the popularisation of our proposal, and of social insurance in the U. S. S. R. (in the most concrete form, by printing extracts from the Soviet laws on social insurance, giving statistics on the number of insured persons, the sums expended by the Central Insurance Board, the hospital service and the sanatoriums provided for the workers, etc.), concrete criticism of the projects of social insurance advanced by other parties, especially the A. F. of L., the Musteites, and the socialists, together with an every-day exposure of their crooked demagogic methods, resistance to the masses entering the independent struggle for social insurance, and the splits they bring into the working class in the struggle for social insurance, which was commenced by the Communist Party and conducted for a long time by it alone; the exposure of the activity of all legislative commissions which only trick and deceive the workers. Further, reports and information on the course of the campaign, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc., the publication of resolutions for our draft adopted at mass meetings and various workers' organisations, and also letters from workers from the factories and the unemployed. Not a single issue of any paper should appear without a special section dealing with the struggle for social insurance, for immediate aid for the unemployed, against the lowering of wages when a shortened week is introduced.

6. It is necessary to widely disseminate our proposal adopted at Cincinnati among the masses demanding Federal Insurance for all unemployed without exception for the whole period of unemployment, on a scale equal to average wages, but not less than ten dollars a week and three dollars for every dependent; furthermore, the funds must be found by taxing the rich, and the progressive taxation of all incomes over 5,000 dollars, and also (it should be added) at the expense of the military and police appropriations. This proposition should be presented to Congress in place of the first one.

7. It is necessary to appeal to all local workers' organisations, as was decided to do already in 1931, with a proposal for the united front from below, for Federal insurance against unemployment, at the same time supporting the demands of the workers' organisations for appropriations for public works; for the immediate issue of grants for the relief of the unemployed; and also the demand for the exemption of the unemployed from paying for light, gas, water, with a determined struggle against evictions; against the "economy" measures which are being energetically carried through at present at the expense of hospitals, road construction, public works, etc. .

8. It is necessary to continue the unemployed marches which were commenced by the Party in some States, within the limits of the State, and to transfer this method of mass struggle to other States, at the same time continuing to organise meetings, the mass collection of signatures for our draft and constantly striving to link up the actions of the unemployed with the strikes of employed workers, with the activity of the Veterans and the poor farmers.

9. In the course of the campaign, it is necessary to form committees and councils of the unemployed, committees of struggle for social insurance, committees of unity, including the employed workers and the unemployed workers' committees, etc. (by calling local, district, and national conferences). In connection with such district committees, according to the decisions of 1931, wide committees, including non-proletarian elements (writers, doctors, lawyers, etc.) who fully support our project for social insurance must be organised. In connection with the central workers' committee (or the central unemployed committee) it is necessary to organise a central committee of sympathisers.

A new wave of big mass actions of the American workers and farmers is rising. Only if the Party is able, in the course of the campaign for social insurance, to eliminate its sectarian aloofness from the working masses, to strengthen and extend its contacts with the native American workers in the big enterprises in the basic branches of industry, to strengthen and enlarge the Party basis in the factories, to draw all the militant cadres which are growing up in the course of the mass fights into its ranks, to strengthen the leading organs of the Party with fresh and new cadres, will it be able to stand at the head of the millions of American proletarians, poor farmers, and negroes who are fighting for a revolutionary way out of the crisis.

Struggle for Social Insurance—A Central Task

(From Speech of Earl Browder at Extraordinary Conference of Communist Party U. S. A., held in New York City, July 7-10, 1933)

Let us turn to an examination of our central struggle for social insurance, where we have most serious weaknesses. These weaknesses have been examined in detail in the article of Comrade Gusev, published in the *Communist International* and in the *Daily Worker*. We must all agree with the fundamental correctness of that article. We must search for the causes and remove them.

While in theory we all agree that social insurance is the business of all workers, of all organizations, yet in practice we assign all concrete measures in the fight for unemployment insurance to the unemployed councils. In resolutions, we speak of unity of the employed and unemployed, but in practice our red unions often ignore the whole question of social insurance. They do not undertake any concrete actions which show they understand it is their very central task to fight for social insurance also. We have the beginnings of a good movement for social insurance in the A. F. of L. local unions, but it is left isolated, working by itself. The districts and sections neglect their task of building the whole broad movement.

Above all we have a general underestimation of the historical aim of the fight for social insurance, even within our Party, and yet worse, among the leading cadres. We have not won mass support as it is quite possible to do because we have not been able simply and clearly to explain to the workers the need for struggle for social insurance. We will win the masses when every Party member and every Party leader can explain in the simplest terms that mass unemployment of millions of workers is a permanent feature of American society as long as capitalism lasts; and without unemployment insurance this condition results in degrading to a starvation level, not only the millions of unemployed but the millions who are in the shops. We must explain the difference between the real social insurance as proposed in the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill and the fake schemes of the reformists.

Probably it is no exaggeration to say that our explanation of social insurance has been so weak, that even you 300 or 350 comrades in this meeting today would not be able, if you were called upon suddenly, to give a serious and simple explanation of the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill. If you were asked the question, "What is the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill; how does it differ from the fake unemployment insurance schemes?" would you be able after a half hour or an hour's talk, to win support for the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill? If you cannot do this you cannot fulfill one of our fundamental tasks. We not only have to know how to do this ourselves, we have to know how to train others to do this also. But before we can train anybody else we must know how to do it ourselves.

Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill and Bills of Our Opponents

I will list ten points that distinguish the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill, points upon which we can win the masses to us, to work with us, fight with us, to support our struggle, to join our organizations. These ten points are:

First—Whereas the fake schemes of the employers, reformists and social fascists direct themselves only to *future* unemployment, the Workers' Bill provides for immediate insurance for those *now* unemployed.

Second—While the fake schemes all exclude some categories of workers, the Workers' Bill covers *all those who depend for a living upon wages*.

Third—While most of the fake schemes place burdens upon the employed workers, the Workers' Bill places the full burden of the insurance upon the *employers* and their *government*.

Fourth—While all of the fake schemes contain provisions that could and would be used for strike-breaking, wage-cutting and victimization, the Workers' Bill protects the unemployed from being forced to work below union rates, at reduced wages, or far from home.

Fifth—While all fake schemes place the administration of the insurance in the hands of the employers and the bureaucratic apparatus controlled by them, the Workers' Bill provides for administration by representatives elected from the workers themselves.

Sixth—While all the fake schemes provide for benefits limited to a starvation level, a fixed minimum which is also the maximum, and this only for a few weeks in a year (thereby being in amount even below charity relief), the Workers' Bill provides for *full average wages* for the entire period of unemployment, determined according to industry, group and locality, thus maintaining the standard of life at its previous level.

Seventh—While the fake schemes establish a starvation maximum above which benefits cannot be given, the Workers' Bill establishes a living minimum, below which benefits shall not be allowed to fall, no matter what the previous conditions of the unemployed worker.

Eighth—While all the fake schemes refuse benefits to all workers who still have any personal property, forcing them to sell and consume the proceeds of home, furniture, automobiles, etc., before they can come under the insurance, the Workers' Insurance Bill establishes the benefits as a matter of right, without investigation of the worker's other small resources.

Ninth—While the fake schemes limit their benefits to only able-bodied unemployed, the Workers' Bill provides for every form of involuntary unemployment, whether from closing of industries, from sickness, accidents, old age, maternity, etc.; in other words the Workers' Bill is an example of true *social insurance*.

Tenth—Whereas the fake schemes all try to turn attention of the workers to the 48 different state governments in an effort to split up and discourage the movement, the Workers' Bill provides for federal insurance, one uniform national system, financed through national taxation and all proposals to the state legislatures contain the provision that the state bills are only temporary, pending the adoption of the Federal Bill demanded in the state proposals.

These ten points all protect the most vital interests of the entire working class. Each and every one of them is absolutely essential to protect the working class from the degrading effects of mass unemployment. All that is necessary to win millions of workers to active struggle for this social insurance is to make these proposals clear, show how the fake schemes violate these fundamental interests of the workers, and show how mass struggle can win real insurance.

With this Workers' Bill we can then proceed to smash the influence of the social-fascists and employers who claim that it is impossible to finance such a system of insurance. The Hoover and Roosevelt administrations have already shown that tens of billions of dollars are available to the government whenever it really decides to get the funds. But Hoover and Roosevelt got these billions only to give to the banks and trusts. We demand these billions together with the hundreds of millions used in war preparations to be used for social insurance.

We really must begin a mass campaign along these lines, conducted in the most simple form with a real concentration of attention by all of our organizations and all leading committees. Such a campaign will rouse a mighty mass movement for the Workers' Bill. And this movement will be under the leadership of the Communist Party. The fact that our mass struggle for social insurance has been so weak, politically and organizationally, is largely to be attributed to neglect arising from serious underestimation of this issue; and also to lack of detailed understanding of our own Workers' Bill, and the vital differences between it and the other bills.

EXHIBIT No. 88

[Source: The Department of State; Eastern European Series No. 1: Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; United States Government Printing Office, Washington: 1933. Publication No. 528, pages 5, 6]

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WASHINGTON, November 16, 1933.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I have the honor to inform you that coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories or possessions.

2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquility, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention, or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim, the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the Government of, or makes attempt upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,

President of the United States of America.

The White House.

EXHIBIT No. 89

[Source: The Communist, November, 1934, from an article entitled: "Leninism Is the Only Marxism of the Imperialist Era," by Alex Bittelman and V. J. Jerome, pages 1132-1133]

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The stage of declining capitalism, which is the era of proletarian revolution, makes necessary the existence of a vanguard proletarian Party that shall be prepared to lead the working class—allied with the toiling farmers and in hegemony over them—to the seizure of power; that shall sound the slogan demanded by the new historic era—Dictatorship of the Proletariat; that shall rouse and lead the masses, under the banner of proletarian internationalism, to struggle against imperialist militarism and that shall call upon the toilers in uniform and at home to transform imperialist war into revolution.

EXHIBIT No. 90

[Source: Chapter VIII from Foundations of Leninism, by Joseph Stalin, a booklet published by the International Publishers, New York: 1934; pages 106-122. In an edition of 100,000]

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VIII. The Party

In the pre-revolutionary period, in the period of more or less peaceful development, when the parties of the Second International were the predominant force in the labor movement and parliamentary forms of struggle were regarded as the principal forms, conditions were such that the Party neither had nor could have that great and decisive importance which it acquired afterwards

in the midst of open revolutionary battles. In defending the Second International against the attacks that were made upon it, Kautsky says that the parties of the Second International are instruments of peace and not of war, that for that very reason they were powerless to take any far-reaching steps during the war, during the period of revolutionary action by the proletariat. That is absolutely true. But what does it prove? It proves that the parties of the Second International are not suitable for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, that they are not militant parties of the proletariat leading the workers to power, but an election apparatus suitable for parliamentary elections and parliamentary struggle. This, properly speaking, explains why, in the days when the opportunists of the Second International were dominant, it was not the Party but the parliamentary fraction that was the fundamental political organisation of the proletariat. It is well known that the Party at that time was really an appendage or an auxiliary of the parliamentary fraction. It is superfluous to add that under such circumstances and with such a Party at its head, it was utterly impossible to prepare the proletariat for revolution.

With the dawn of the new period, however, matters changed radically. The new period is a period of open collisions between the classes, a period of revolutionary action by the proletariat, a period of proletarian revolution; it is the period of the immediate mustering of forces for the overthrow of imperialism, for the seizure of power by the proletariat. This period confronts the proletariat with new tasks of reorganising all Party work on new, revolutionary lines; of educating the workers in the spirit of the revolutionary struggle for power; of preparing and moving up the reserves; of establishing an alliance with the proletarians of neighbouring countries; of establishing durable contact with the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, etc., etc. To imagine that these new tasks can be fulfilled by the old Social-Democratic parties, brought up as they were in the peaceful atmosphere of parliamentarism, can lead only to hopeless despair and to inevitable defeat. To have such tasks to shoulder under the leadership of the old parties is tantamount to being left completely disarmed. It goes without saying that the proletariat could not accept such a position.

Hence the necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, bold enough to lead the proletarians to the struggle for power, with sufficient experience to be able to orientate itself in the complicated problems that arise in a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of any submerged rocks on the way to its goal.

Without such a party it is futile to think of overthrowing imperialism and achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This new party is the party of Leninism.

What are the special features of this new party?

(1) *The Party as the Vanguard of the Working Class.*

The party must first of all constitute the *vanguard* of the working class. The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit and their unbounded devotion to the cause of the proletariat. But in order that it may really be the vanguard, the Party must be armed with a revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of revolution. Without this it will be impotent to guide the struggle of the proletariat and to lead the proletariat. The Party cannot be a real Party if it limits itself to registering what the masses of the working class think or experience, if it drags along at the tail of the spontaneous movement, if it does not know how to overcome the inertia and the political indifference of the spontaneous movement, or if it cannot rise above the transient interests of the proletariat, if it cannot raise the masses to the level of the class interests of the proletariat. The Party must take its stand at the head of the working class, it must see ahead of the working class, lead the proletariat and not trail behind the spontaneous movement. The parties of the Second International which preach "tailism" are the exponents of bourgeois politics which condemn the proletariat to being a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Only a party which adopts the point of view of the vanguard of the proletariat, which is capable of raising the masses to the level of the class interests of the proletariat, is capable of diverting the working class from the path of craft unionism and converting it into an independent political force. The Party is the political leader of the working class.

I have spoken above of the difficulties encountered in the struggle of the working class, of the complicated nature of this struggle, of strategy and tactics, of

reserves and manœuvring operations, of attack and defence. These conditions are no less complicated, perhaps more so, than war operations. Who can understand these conditions, who can give correct guidance to the vast masses of the proletariat? Every army at war must have an experienced General Staff if it is to avoid certain defeat. All the more reason therefore why the proletariat must have such a General Staff if it is to prevent itself from being routed by its mortal enemies. But where is this General Staff? Only the revolutionary party of the proletariat can serve as this General Staff. A working class without a revolutionary party is like an army without a General Staff. The Party is the Military Staff of the proletariat.

But the Party cannot be merely a *vanguard*. It must at the same time be a unit of the *class*, be part of that class, intimately bound to it with every fibre of its being. The distinction between the vanguard and the main body of the working class, between Party members and non-Party workers, will continue as long as classes exist, as long as the proletariat continues replenishing its ranks with newcomers from other classes, as long as the working class as a whole lacks the opportunity of raising itself to the level of the vanguard. But the Party would cease to be a party if this distinction were widened into a rupture: if it were to isolate itself and break away from the non-Party masses. The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, if there is no close union between the Party and the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership, if the Party does not enjoy moral and political authority among the masses. Recently, two hundred thousand new workers joined our Party. The remarkable thing about this is that these workers did not *come* into the Party, but were rather *sent* there by the mass of other non-Party workers who took an active part in the acceptance of the new members and without whose approval no new member was accepted. This fact proves that the broad masses of non-Party workers regard our Party as *their* Party, as a Party near and dear to them, in the expansion and consolidation of which they are vitally interested and to whose leadership they willingly entrust their destinies. It goes without saying that without these intangible moral ties connecting the Party with the non-Party masses, the Party could never become the decisive force of its class. The Party is an inseparable part of the working class.

"We are the party of a class," says Lenin, "and therefore *almost the entire class* (and in times of war, during the period of civil war, the entire class must act under the leadership of our Party, must link itself up with our Party as closely as possible. But we would be guilty of Manilovism* and "khvostism" if we believed that at any time under capitalism nearly the whole class, or the whole class, would be able to rise to the level of the class consciousness and degree of activity of its vanguard, of its socialist party. No sensible Socialist has ever yet doubted that under capitalism even the trade union organisations (which are more primitive and more accessible to the intelligence of the undeveloped strata) are unable to embrace nearly the whole, or the whole, working class. To forget the distinction between the vanguard and the whole of the masses gravitating towards it, to forget the constant duty of the vanguard to *raise* these increasingly widening strata to this advanced level, only means deceiving oneself, shutting one's eyes to the immensity of our tasks and narrowing them." (*Collected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 205-06, Russian edition.)

(2) *The Party as the Organised Detachment of the Working Class.*

The Party is not only the *vanguard* of the working class. If it desires really to lead the struggle of the class it must at the same time be the *organised* detachment of its class. Under the capitalist system the Party's tasks are huge and varied. The Party must lead the struggle of the proletariat under the exceptionally difficult circumstances of inner as well as outer development; it must lead the proletariat in its attack when the situation calls for an attack; it must withdraw the proletariat from the blows of a powerful opponent when the situation calls for retreat; it must imbue the millions of unorganised non-Party workers with the spirit of discipline and system in fighting, with the spirit of organisation and perseverance. But the Party can acquit itself of these tasks only if it itself is the embodiment of discipline and organisation, if it itself is the *organised* detachment of the proletariat. Unless these conditions are fulfilled it is idle to talk about the Party really leading

*From the name Manilov, the hero in Gogol's *Dead Souls*, who typifies a person filled with good intentions, a sentimental dreamer, but one completely lacking in strength of will and capacity to do things.—*Ed.*

the vast masses of the proletariat. The Party is the organised detachment of the working class.

The conception of the Party as an organised whole has become firmly fixed in Lenin's well-known formulation of the first point of our Party Constitution, in which the Party is regarded as the *sum total* of the organisations and the Party member as a member of one of the organisations of the Party. The Mensheviks, who had objected to this formulation as early as 1903, proposed to substitute for it a "system" of self-enrolment in the Party, a "system" of conferring the "title" Party member upon every "professor" and "high school student," upon every "sympathiser" and "striker" who gave support to the Party in one way or another, but who did not belong and had no inclination to belong to any one of the Party organisations. We need not stop to prove that had this old "system" become firmly entrenched in our Party it would have been inundated with professors and students, it would have degenerated into a widely diffused, amorphous, disorganised "body" lost in a sea of "sympathisers," that would have obliterated the line of demarcation between the Party and the class and would have frustrated the aim of the Party to raise the unorganised masses to the level of the vanguard. It goes without saying that under such an opportunist "system" our Party would not have been able to accomplish its mission as the organising nucleus of the working class during the course of our revolution.

"From Martov's point of view," says Lenin, "the boundary line of the Party remains absolutely unfixcd inasmuch as 'every striker could declare himself a member of the Party.' What advantage is there in this diffuseness? The broad-casting of a 'title.' The harmfulness of it lies in that it introduces the *disruptive* idea of identifying the class with the Party." (*Collected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 211, Russian edition.)

But the Party is not merely the *sum total* of Party organisations. The Party at the same time represents a single system of these organisations, their formal unification into a single whole, permitting of higher and lower organs of leadership, of the submission of the minority to the majority, where decisions on questions of practice are obligatory upon all members of the Party. Unless these conditions are fulfilled the Party is unable to form a single organised whole capable of exercising systematic and organised leadership of the struggle of the working class.

"Formerly," says Lenin, "our Party was not a formally organised whole, but only the *sum total* of separate groups. Therefore, no other relations except that of ideological influence were possible between these groups. *Now*, we have become an organised Party, and this implies the creation of a power, the conversion of the authority of ideas into the authority of power, the subordination of the lower Party bodies to the higher Party bodies." (*Ibid.*, p. 291.)

The principle of the minority submitting to the majority, the principle of leading Party work from a centre, has been a subject of repeated attacks by wavering elements who accuse us of "bureaucracy," "formalism," etc. It hardly needs to be proved that systematic work of the Party, as one whole, and the leadership of the struggle of the working class would have been impossible without the enforcement of these principles. On the organisational question, Leninism stands for the strict enforcement of these principles. Lenin terms the fight against these principles "Russian nihilism" and "gentleman's anarchism" which deserve only to be ridiculed and thrown aside.

This is what Lenin has to say about these wavering elements in his book entitled *One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward*:

"The Russian nihilist is especially addicted to this gentleman's anarchism. To him the Party organisation appears to be a monstrous 'factory,' the subordination of the part to the whole and the submission of the minority to the majority appears to him to be 'serfdom' . . . the division of labour under the leadership of a centre evokes tragi-comical lamentations about people being reduced to mere 'cogs and screws' . . . the bare mention of the Party rules on organisation calls forth a contemptuous grimace and some disdainful . . . remarks to the effect that we could get along without rules. . . . It seems clear, however, that these outcries against the alleged bureaucracy are an attempt to conceal the dissatisfaction with the personnel of these centres, a fig leaf. . . . 'You are a bureaucrat because you were appointed by the Congress without my consent and against my wishes; you are a formalist because you seek support in the formal decisions of the Congress and not in my approval; you act in a crudely mechanical way, because your authority is the "mechanical" majority of the Party Congress and you do not consult by desire to be co-opted; you are an autocrat because you do not want to deliver

power into the hands of the old gang.'” * (*Collected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 310 and 287, Russian edition.)

(3) *The Party as the Highest Form of Class Organisations of the Proletariat.*

The Party is the organised detachment of the working class. But the Party is not the only organisation of the working class. The proletariat has in addition a great number of other organisations which are indispensable in its correct struggle against the capitalist system—trade unions, co-operative societies, factory and shop organisations, parliamentary fractions, non-Party women's associations, the press, cultural and educational organisations, youth leagues, military revolutionary organisations (in times of direct revolutionary action), soviets of deputies as the state form of organisation (where the proletariat is in power), etc. Most of these organisations are non-Party and only a certain part of these adhere directly to the Party, or represent its off-shoots. All these organisations, under certain conditions, are absolutely necessary for the working class, as without them it is impossible to consolidate the class position of the proletariat in the diversified spheres of struggle, and without them it is impossible to steel the proletariat as the force whose mission it is to replace the bourgeois order by the socialist order. But how can unity of leadership become a reality in the face of such a multiplicity of organisations? What guarantee is there that this multiplicity of organisations will not lead to discord in leadership? It might be argued that each of these organisations carries on its work in its own field in which it specialises and cannot, therefore, interfere with the others. That of course is true. But it is likewise true that the activities of all these organisations ought to be directed into a single channel, as they serve *one* class, the class of the proletariat. The question then arises; who is to determine the line, the general direction along which the work of all these organisations is to be conducted? Where is that central organisation which is not only able, having the necessary experience, to work out such a general line, but also capable, because of its authority, of prevailing upon all these organisations to carry out this line, in order to attain unity of direction and preclude this possibility of working at cross purposes?

This organisation is the party of the proletariat.

The Party possesses all the necessary qualifications for this purpose because, in the first place, it is the common meeting ground of the best elements in the class that have direct connections with the non-Party organisations of the proletariat and very frequently lead them; because, secondly, the Party, as the meeting ground of the best members of the working class, is the best school for training leaders of the working class, capable of directing every form of organisation of their class; because, thirdly, the Party, as the best school for training leaders of the working class, is, by reason of its experience and authority, the only organisation capable of centralising the leadership of the struggle of the proletariat and in this way of transforming each and every non-Party organisation of the working class into an auxiliary body, a transmission belt linking it with the class. The Party is the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat.

This does not mean, of course, that non-Party organisations like trade unions, co-operative societies, etc., must be formally subordinated to Party leadership. It means simply that the members of the Party who belong to these organisations and doubtless exercise influence in them should do all they can to persuade these non-Party organisations to draw nearer to the Party of the proletariat in their work and voluntarily accept its political guidance.

That is why Lenin says that “the Party is the *highest* form of class association of proletarians” whose political leadership ought to extend to every other form of organisation of the proletariat. (*“Left-Wing” Communism*, Chap. VI.)

That is why the opportunist theory of the “independence” and “neutrality” of the non-Party organisations, which theory is the progenitor of *independent* parliamentarians and publicists who are *isolated* from the Party, and of *narrow-minded* trade unionists and co-operative society officials who have become petty-bourgeois, is wholly incompatible with the theory and practice of Leninism.

(4) *The Party as the Weapon of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.*

The Party is the highest form of organisation of the proletariat. The Party is the fundamental leading element within the class of the proletariat and within

*The “old gang” here referred to is that of Axelrod, Martov, Potresov and others who would not submit to the decisions of the Second Congress and who accused Lenin of being a “bureaucrat.”—*J. S.*

the organisation of that class. But it does not follow by any means that the Party can be regarded as an end in itself, as a self-sufficing force. The Party is not only the highest form of class association of the proletarians; it is at the same time a *weapon* in the hands of the proletariat for the achievement of the dictatorship where that has not yet been achieved: for the consolidation and extension of the dictatorship where it has already been achieved. The Party would not rank so high in importance and it could not overshadow all other forms of organisation of the proletariat if the latter were not face to face with the question of power, if the conditions of imperialism, the inevitability of wars and the presence of a crisis did not demand the concentration of all the threads of the revolutionary movement in one spot, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat needs the Party first of all as its General Staff, which it must have for the successful seizure of power. Needless to say, the Russian proletariat could never have established its revolutionary dictatorship without a Party capable of rallying around itself the mass organisations of the proletariat and of centralising the leadership of the entire movement during the progress of the struggle.

But the proletariat needs the Party not only to achieve the dictatorship, it needs it still more to maintain, consolidate and extend its dictatorship in order to attain complete victory for socialism.

"Certainly almost every one now realises," says Lenin, "that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and one-half years, and not even for two and one-half months, without the strictest discipline, the truly iron discipline in our Party and without the fullest and unreserved support rendered it by the whole mass of the working class, that is, by all those belonging to this class who think, who are honest, self-sacrificing, influential and capable of leading and attracting the backward masses." (*Left-Wing Communism*, p. 9.)

Now what is meant by "maintaining" and "extending" the dictatorship? It means imbuing these millions of proletarians with the spirit of discipline and organisation; it means creating among the proletarian masses a bulwark against the corrosive influences of petty-bourgeois spontaneity and petty-bourgeois habits; it means that the organising work of the proletarians in re-educating and remoulding the petty-bourgeois strata must be reinforced; it means that assistance must be given to the masses of the proletarians in educating themselves so that they may become a force capable of abolishing classes and of preparing the ground for the organisation of socialist production. But it is impossible to accomplish all this without a Party, which is strong by reason of its cohesion and discipline.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," says Lenin, "is a persistent struggle—sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and of tens of millions is a terrible force. Without an iron party steeled in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all who are honest in the given class, without a party capable of keeping track of and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully." (*Left-Wing Communism*, pp. 28-29.)

The proletariat needs the Party for the purpose of achieving and maintaining the dictatorship. The Party is the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From this it follows that when classes disappear and the dictatorship of the proletariat dies out, the Party will also die out.

(5) *The Party as the Expression of Unity of Will, Which Is Incompatible With the Existence of Factions.*

The achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat are impossible without a party strong in its cohesion and iron discipline. But iron discipline in the Party is impossible without unity of will and without absolute and complete unity of action on the part of all members of the Party. This does not mean of course that the possibility of a conflict of opinion within the Party is thus excluded. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and conflicts of opinion within the Party. Least of all does it mean that this discipline must be "blind" discipline. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes conscious and voluntary submission, for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline. But after

a discussion has been closed, after criticism has run its course and a decision has been made, unity of will and unity of action of all Party members become indispensable conditions without which Party unity and iron discipline in the Party are inconceivable.

"In the present epoch of intensified civil war," says Lenin, "the Communist Party can discharge its duty only if it is organised with the highest degree of centralisation, ruled by iron discipline bordering on military discipline, and if its Party centre proves to be a potent authoritative body invested with broad powers and enjoying the general confidence of the Party members." (*Conditions of Affiliation to the Communist International*.)

This is the position in regard to discipline in the the Party in the period of struggle preceding the conquest of the dictatorship.

The same thing applies, but to a greater degree, to discipline in the Party after the establishment of the dictatorship.

In this connection, Lenin said: "Whoever in the least weakens the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship) actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." (*"Left-Wing" Communism*, p. 29.)

It follows that the existence of factions is incompatible with Party unity and with its iron discipline. It need hardly be emphasised that the existence of factions leads to the creation of a number of centres, and the existence of a number of centres connotes the absence of a common centre in the Party, a breach in the unity of will, the weakening and disintegration of discipline, the weakening and disintegration of the dictatorship. It is true that the parties of the Second International, which are fighting against the dictatorship of the proletariat and have no desire to lead the proletariat to power, can permit themselves the luxury of such liberalism as freedom for factions, for they have no need whatever of iron discipline. But the parties of the Communist International, which organise their activities on the basis of the task of achieving and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot afford to be "liberal" or to permit the formation of factions. The Party is synonymous with unity of will, which leaves no room for any factionalism or division of authority in the Party.

Hence Lenin's warning on the "danger of factionalism from the point of view of Party unity and of the realisation of unity of will in the vanguard of the proletariat as the primary prerequisite for the success of the dictatorship of the proletariat," which is embodied in a special resolution of the Tenth Congress of our Party, *On Party Unity*.

Hence Lenin's demand for the "complete extermination of all factionalism" and the "immediate dissolution of all groups, without exception, that had been formed on the basis of this, or that platform" on pain of "unconditional and immediate expulsion from the Party." (Cf. the resolution, *On Party Unity*.)

(6) *The Party Is Strengthened by Purging Itself of Opportunist Elements*

The opportunist elements in the Party are the source of Party factionalism. The proletariat is not an isolated class. A steady stream of peasants, small tradesmen and intellectuals, who have become proletarianised by the development of capitalism, flows into the ranks of the proletariat. At the same time the upper strata of the proletariat—principally the trade union leaders and labour members of parliament—who have been fed by the bourgeoisie out of the super-profits extracted from the colonies, are undergoing a process of decay.

"This stratum of bourgeoisified workers or 'labor aristocracy,'" says Lenin, "who have become completely petty-bourgeois in their mode of life, in the amount of their earnings, and in their point of view, serve as the main support of the Second International, and, in our day, the principal *social* (not military) support of the bourgeoisie. They are the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, the real carriers of reformism and chauvinism." (*Imperialism, the High-Stage of Capitalism* [International Publishers], pp. 13-14.)

All these petty-bourgeois groups somehow or other penetrate into the Party into which they introduce an element of hesitancy and opportunism, of disintegration and lack of self-confidence. Factionalism and splits, disorganisation and the undermining of the Party from within are principally due to them. Fighting imperialism with such "allies" in one's rear is as bad as being caught between two fires, coming both from the front and rear. Therefore, no quarter should be given in fighting such elements, and their relentless expulsion from

the Party is a condition precedent for the successful struggle against imperialism.

The theory of "overcoming" opportunist elements by ideological struggle within the Party; the theory of "living down" these elements within the confines of a single Party are rotten and dangerous theories that threaten to reduce to Party to paralysis and chronic infirmity, that threaten to abandon the Party to opportunism, that threaten to leave the proletariat without a revolutionary party, that threaten to deprive the proletariat of its main weapon in the fight against imperialism. Our Party could not have come out onto the high road, it could not have seized power and organised the dictatorship of the proletariat, it could not have emerged victorious from the civil war, if it had had within its ranks people like Martov and Dan, Potresov and Axelrod. Our Party succeeded in creating true unity and greater cohesion in its ranks than ever before, mainly because it undertook in time to purge itself of opportunist pollution and expelled the liquidators and Mensheviks from its ranks. The proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists. The Party becomes strong by ridding itself of opportunist elements.

"With reformists and Mensheviks in our ranks," says Lenin, "*we cannot be victorious in the proletarian revolution nor can we defend it against attack. This is clearly so in principle. It is strikingly confirmed by the experiences of Russia and Hungary. . . . Russia found itself in a tight corner many a time, when the Soviet régime would certainly have been overthrown had the Mensheviks, reformists or petty-bourgeois democrats remained within our Party. . . . It is generally admitted that in Italy events are heading towards decisive battles of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie for the capture of state power. At such a time not only does the removal of the Mensheviks, reformists and Turatists from the Party become absolutely necessary but it may even prove useful to remove certain excellent Communists who might and who do waver in the direction of desiring to maintain 'unity' with the reformists—to remove these from all responsible positions. . . . On the eve of the revolution and in the midst of the desperate struggle for victory, the slightest hesitancy within the Party is apt to ruin everything, to disrupt the revolution and to snatch the power out of the hands of the proletariat, since that power is as yet insecure and the attacks upon it are still too violent. The retirement of wavering leaders at such a time does not weaken but strengthens the Party, the labour movement and the revolution.*" (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, pp. 462-64, Russian edition.)

EXHIBIT No. 91

[Source: A pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, N. Y.: second edition, July, 1934]

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS

RESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

July-August, 1928

Workers Library Publishers, P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York City. First Edition, December, 1932. Second Edition, July, 1934.

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I. THE MENACE OF IMPERIALIST WAR

1. Ten years after the world war, the big imperialist powers solemnly conclude a pact for outlawing war; they talk about disarmaments; they seek, with the support of the leaders of international social-democracy, to delude the workers and toiling masses into the belief that the rule of monopoly capitalism assures peace to the world.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International condemns all these maneuvers as vile deception of the working masses. It recalls to the minds of the international proletariat, of the toilers and oppressed peoples of the world, the experiences of recent years, the small wars of plunder continuously waged against the colonial peoples, and the events of last year: intervention against the Chinese revolution, the sharpening conflict between the powers for a new division of China, the mobilization of troops in Poland, the immediate menace to the independence of Lithuania—and in connection therewith, the constantly growing menace of war against the Soviet Union by an imperialist bloc under the leadership of Great Britain; it recalls all these facts as illustrating the criminal war policy of the imperialists, which may suddenly burst into a terrible world conflagration.

The Sixth World Congress has already analyzed the political and economic driving forces of the coming war.

The changes in the world situation since the Fifth World Congress are characterized by a tremendous intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism, by the great economic and political strengthening of the Soviet Union, by the rapid growth of the national revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonial countries,—above all in China—and by the intensification of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries.

The antagonisms between the imperialist powers in the struggle for markets are more and more sharply expressed. But still more strongly than the antagonisms between the imperialist powers is growing the principal antagonism that is dividing the world into two camps; on the one hand the whole of the capitalist world, and on the other hand the U. S. S. R., around which the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies are grouping.

The fight for the destruction of the Soviet system and the Chinese revolution, for unrestricted domination over China and for the possession of the enormous reservoirs of raw materials and the markets in these countries, is a matter of extreme importance for international capital and the basis for the imminent danger of a new imperialist war that is threatening at the present time.

2. The coming imperialist world war will not only be a mechanized war with a tremendous use of material, but simultaneously it will be a war that will seize upon vast millions, indeed upon the majority of the population of the warring countries. The boundary between battle-front and rear will tend more and more to become obliterated.

The Congress points to the tremendous increase in armaments, to the great improvements in the field of war technique, and to the measures for the militarization of the masses and of industry taken in all capitalist countries; the militarization in Fascist Italy; the military reform in France; the reactionary army laws in Czechoslovakia; the growing military preparations in Poland and Roumania under the direction of the General Staffs of the big imperialist powers; the preparations in Germany for the re-building of the old militarism in new forms; the mass militarization in America; the military preparations in Great Britain, in the Dominions and particularly in India, etc. The naval rivalry between America and England opens up a new world armament race. A most significant new factor in the present mass militarization is intensified militarization of the youth and that this militarization actually, and in some places even officially, extends to women (France, Poland, Bulgaria, etc.).

3. Side by side with the armaments and war preparations of the imperialists against foreign rivals, there proceeds an intensification of reaction at home. Without a "quiet" hinterland it is impossible for the imperialists to wage war. The bourgeoisie is taking measures to prevent the workers from putting up any kind of organized resistance to their war policy.

This "covering of the rear" by the bourgeoisie is served by such measures as the Trade Union Laws in Great Britain and Norway, the arbitration system

in Germany, the Mond plan for collaboration in the chemical enterprises, the "industrial peace" campaigns, the non-political trade unions (Spencerism in Great Britain), the "company unions" in America, the creation of Fascist State unions in Italy and the law militarizing the trade unions in case of war in France. These are measures to assure the military suppression of every working class movement immediately war is declared.

On the other hand, the unofficial armies of the type of the "Stalhelm" in Germany, the "Schutzcorps" in Finland, the "Strzelcy" in Poland, and the "Heimwehr" in Austria pursue the aim of strike-breaking and forcible suppression of the workers—not only in time of war, but also in the period of war preparations. In this must be included also the military or semi-military women's organizations established in a number of countries. The big imperialist powers support Fascism in Southeastern Europe and in Poland and Roumania as an important instrument in the preparation for and conduct of the imperialist war especially against the U. S. S. R.

The persecution and measures of suppression against the Communist Parties are being systematically intensified and the Comintern Sections in all imperialist countries are immediately confronted with the danger of being driven "underground," into complete illegality.

4. In this situation of increased armaments and extensive preparations for imperialist wars, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois pacifists seek, by means of hypocritical speeches, to deceive the toiling masses as to the real facts of the situation, and under the cloak of pacifism, and "peace" policy, systematically strive to turn them in favor of the struggle against the Soviet Union. The battle-ery of the coming war against the Soviet Union will be: "The war for peace! Down with Bolshevism, the destroyer of civilization!"

The speeches of the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic and petty bourgeois pacifist accomplices, about disarmament security, arbitration courts, outlawry of war as an instrument of national policy, etc., are examples of the worst hypocrisy.

The League of Nations, founded nine years ago as an imperialist alliance in defense of the robber "peace" of Versailles, and for the suppression of the revolutionary movement of the world, is itself more and more becoming a direct instrument for the preparation and carrying through of war against the Soviet Union. The alliances and pacts created under the protectorate of the League of Nations are direct means for camouflaging war preparations, and are themselves instruments for the preparation of war, especially war against the Soviet Union.

5. The imperialists are only able to carry on their war policy thanks to the active collaboration of international Social Democracy. The reformists were exposed as social patriots and chauvinists already by the world war of 1914-1918. Since then, the policy of Social-Democracy has ripened into open social-imperialism. In all decisive questions, the leaders of Social-Democracy and of the Amsterdam trade unions have not only become the defenders, but the active champions of imperialism. They have developed their greatest activity in support of the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union.

The course adopted by the reformist leaders towards deepening the split in the camp of the labor movement by a sharpened offensive against the Communist movement and by their active splitting tactics in the trade unions and proletarian mass organizations (Germany, Great Britain), serves, like their defeatist strategy in big economic struggles, to strengthen the bourgeoisie, to weaken the battle-positions for the proletariat, and, in this way, to prepare the conditions in which the bourgeoisie may embark on a new imperialist war. The proletariat must closely study the methods by which Social Democracy is preparing ideologically for the war against the Soviet Union. Some of these methods are: (a) dissemination of lies about "Red" imperialism" and "Red" militarism," about the "identity of Fascism and Bolshevism," etc.; (b) the claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the cause of war, or one of the causes of war; (c) the hypocritical attitude that "We are for the support of the Soviets, but against the Communists and the Comintern"; (d) propagation of defeatism towards the Soviet Government under a "Left" mask. The war danger during the last year has provided several examples of these methods; especially in the work of the German Social Democrats. These examples were no less clearly expressed by the allies of Social Democracy, the Trotskyists, *e. g.*, in their phrases about "Thermidor," "kulakization," etc.

The so-called "Left" leaders of Social-Democracy were characterized by the Eighth Plenum as the most dangerous enemies in the labor movement. This

characterization has been completely confirmed by their treacherous policy during the past year and by their behavior at the Brussels Congress of the Second International. It is precisely they who, under "Left" phrases, seek to save both the bourgeoisie and Right reformist leaders in critical situations, by describing the Soviet regime and the Communist world movement as enemies of the proletarian united front, as enemies of "world peace," as "allies of reaction," in order thereby to mislead and confuse the workers and to assist the bourgeoisie in carrying out its war policy.

6. Events of recent years have shown that the main front in the policy of all imperialist powers is directed more and more openly against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution. But in view of the sharpening antagonisms between the imperialist powers themselves, a clash between the imperialist groups of powers in the struggle for world supremacy is possible even before this war breaks out.

Just as the world war of 1914-18 led directly to the victorious proletarian revolution in the former Tsarist Empire, to the development of the liberation movement in the colonies and to uprisings and revolutionary mass movements among the European proletariat, so a new war will rouse a mighty revolutionary movement that will embrace the industrial workers of America, the broad masses of peasants in agrarian countries and the millions of oppressed peoples of the colonies. However, the crisis of capitalism—the sharpest expression of which is war—may give rise to broad revolutionary mass movements, even before the open conflict breaks out. In such a movement, as in the daily struggles, the Communists must strive to rally, organize and lead the masses, with the aim of fighting, by means of revolutionary action, for the conquest of power, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

Even if the Communists in the European countries do not succeed in sharpening the daily struggle for the most urgent demands of the workers to the point of an open struggle for power, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—and only through the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the *most important countries* can imperialist wars be prevented—nevertheless the constant combining of this struggle with the fight against imperialism will considerably augment the activity of the workers, and will make it considerably more difficult for the bourgeoisie to prepare for or embark on war. It is clear that a postponement of the imperialist war measures by the mass actions of the proletariat will create conditions that will considerably facilitate the transformation of this war into civil war and the overthrow of the imperialists. In any case, the growing Leftward development among the proletariat and the toiling masses generally and the powerful development of the national revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, provides a broad foundation for the growing influence of the Comintern and for the intensified struggle of the Communists against the *whole* policy of the world bourgeoisie—a policy which leads to increased exploitation and oppression as well as to the greatest sharpening of war conflicts.

II. ATTITUDE OF THE PROLETARIAT TOWARDS WAR

7. War is inseparable from capitalism. The struggle against war, above all, calls for a clear insight into its nature, causes, etc. As against the reactionary excuse that war is a natural phenomenon, and the no less reactionary utopian schemes for its abolition by means of phrases or pacts, the revolutionary proletariat advances the rational theory of Marxism-Leninism, as the only scientific basis for a real struggle against war.

The cause of war as an historic phenomenon is not the "evil nature" of mankind, not the "bad" policies of governments, but the division of society into classes, into exploiters and exploited. Capitalism is the cause of the wars in modern history. These wars are not exceptional phenomena; they do not contradict the principles of capitalism, of private ownership in the means of production, of competition and exploitation, but are rather their direct consequence.

Imperialism, the monopolist stage of capitalism, sharpens all the contradictions of capitalism to such an extent that "peace" becomes but a breathing spell for new wars. The surface of the earth and its economic wealth (with the exception of that part that is ruled by the proletarian dictatorship) is almost completely monopolized by a few big powers. The uneven economic and political development of the various countries, however, again and again creates the necessity for a new division of the world. In the last analysis, this cannot take place except through wars waged by the decisive imperialist countries against one another. At the same time, however, the exploitation of the

hundreds of millions of proletarians and colonial slaves can be maintained only by bloody wars of oppression.

War is inseparable from capitalism. From this it follows that the "abolition" of war is possible only through the abolition of capitalism, i. e., through the overthrow of the bourgeois class of exploiters, through the proletarian dictatorship, the building of Socialism, and the elimination of classes. All other theories and proposals, however, "realistic" they may claim to be are nothing but a deception calculated to perpetuate exploitation and war.

For this reason, Leninism combats all pacifist theories concerning the abolition of war and points out to the masses of the workers and to all the exploited people the only way leading to this goal: the overthrow of capitalism.

8. But the overthrow of capitalism is impossible without force, without armed uprising and proletarian wars against the bourgeoisie. In the present epoch of imperialist wars and world revolution, as Lenin has stated, proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie, wars of the proletarian dictatorship against bourgeois states and against world capitalism, and national revolutionary wars of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, are inevitable and revolutionary. Therefore, the revolutionary proletariat, precisely because it is fighting for Socialism and for the abolition of war, cannot be against every war.

Every war is but a continuation of the policies of certain classes "by other means." The proletariat, therefore, must carefully study the historical and political class meaning of *each given war* and give special study to the role of the ruling classes in all the countries participating in the war from the viewpoint of the international proletarian revolution.

In the present epoch the following three types of wars are possible: *first*, wars between imperialist states; *second*, wars of imperialist counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution, or against countries in which Socialism is being built; *third*, national revolutionary wars, especially of colonial countries against imperialism, which are connected with wars of imperialist suppression.

In the *first* case, of which the world war of 1914-1918 is a classical example, both sides wage a reactionary imperialist war. In the *second* case, *e. g.*, the wars of intervention against the Soviet Union (1914-1918), only the imperialists wage reactionary war; the proletarian dictatorship, in such a case, wages a revolutionary war for Socialism in the interests of the whole world proletariat. In the *third* case, *e. g.*, the war of imperialism against the Chinese revolution, again it is only the imperialist powers that wage reactionary robber war. The war of an oppressed nation against imperialism, however, is not only just, but revolutionary; it is, in present times, a part of the proletarian world revolution.

This Marxian analysis of wars serves as the basis upon which the proletariat determines its position, in principle and in tactics, towards these various types of wars. The proletariat fights against the wars between imperialist states with a program of defeatism and the transformation of the war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. The same position, in principle, is taken by the proletariat in imperialist countries in the event of a war of oppression waged by the imperialists against national revolutionary movements, above all against the colonial peoples and in the event of imperialism waging an open counter-revolutionary war against the land of the proletarian dictatorship. The proletariat, however, supports and conducts national revolutionary wars and Socialist wars against imperialism, and organizes for the defense of national revolutions and of the countries of the proletarian dictatorship.

9. As long as the proletariat has not yet established its dictatorship, it must determine its tactics in regard to wars waged by its country in accordance with the results of a thorough examination of the concrete aspect of the war at each separate stage. National wars may be turned into imperialist wars, and vice versa.

Mere formal tokens, *e. g.*, offensive or defensive wars, cannot serve as a substitute for a concrete test of the character of a given war. In an imperialist war like that of 1914 this criterion is generally senseless, and serves only to deceive the masses. However, in wars waged by imperialists against revolutionary powers, it is necessary to view this criterion not in the strategical, but rather in the historico-political sense. The question primarily, is not, who is the aggressor, who is waging an unjust war, but, who represents reaction, the counter-revolution and exploitation; who is on the imperialist side, and against the national proletarian revolution? An example of the wrong application of the argument of the offensive war was furnished by the French Socialists in 1925 when they supported the French war against the insurgents of Morocco, because the latter was supposed to have "started first." A similar attitude was

taken by the labor imperialists in England in regard to intervention in China in 1927 ("protection of British life and property").

10. The attitude in principle to a given war determines also the attitude to the question of war. The proletariat has no country until it has captured political power and has taken the means of production from the exploiters. The expression "national defense" is nothing but a catchword, and mostly a petty-bourgeois catchword to justify war. In wars staged by the proletariat itself, or by a proletarian State against imperialism, the proletariat defends its *Socialist country*. In national-revolutionary wars against imperialism, the proletariat defends its country against imperialism. But in imperialist wars the proletariat absolutely rejects "national defense" as being defense of exploitation and treachery to the cause of Socialism.

A. The Proletariat Fights Against Imperialist Wars

1. *The Fight Against Imperialist War Before Its Outbreak.*

11. The fight the Communists wage against imperialist war differs essentially from the "fight against war" waged by pacifists of various shades. The Communists do not regard the struggle against such a war as being separate from the class struggle. On the contrary, they regard it as part of the general proletarian struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. They know that imperialist wars are *inevitable* as long as the bourgeoisie remain in power. This postulate is sometimes interpreted to mean that it is useless to carry on a specific struggle against imperialist war. Indeed, the Social Democrats deliberately charge the Communists with encouraging imperialist wars in order to accelerate the advent of Revolution. While the first-mentioned attitude is a mistaken one, the second is a silly calumny.

Although convinced that war is inevitable under the rule of the bourgeoisie, the Communists, in the interests of the masses of the workers and of all the toilers who bear the brunt of the sacrifice entailed by war, wage a persistent fight against imperialist war and strive to prevent imperialist war by proletarian revolution. They strive to rally the masses around their standard in this struggle, and if unable to prevent the outbreak of war, they strive to transform it into civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

12. The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight *against pacifism*. In this fight the Communists must take careful note of the various shades of pacifism. The most important of these shades are:

(a) Official pacifism, behind which the capitalist governments mask their maneuvers against each other and against the Soviet Union (League of Nations, Locarno, Disarmament Conferences, "outlawry of war," etc.).

(b) The pacifism of the Second International (Hilferding, Paul Boncour, MacDonald), which is but a branch of official government pacifism, except that it is embellished with Socialistic and even "Marxian" phrases.

(c) "Radical" or "revolutionary" pacifism, advocated by certain "Left" Socialists who admit the danger of war, but strive to combat this danger frequently by meaningless phrases against war. These pacifists frequently lay excessive stress upon the destructiveness of modern weapons of war in order, either to prove that protracted wars are impossible, or else, to demonstrate that it is impossible to transform imperialist war into civil war.

(d) Semi-religious pacifism, which has its basis in the church movement.

In the struggle against pacifism, however, the Communists must draw a distinction between the anti-war sentiments of large masses of the toilers—who are ready to fight against war, but do not as yet understand that the revolutionary way is the only proper way of combating war, and therefore, become a prey to pacifist swindlers—and the swindlers themselves, the pacifists of various shades. The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated.

(e) A special role is played by so-called "co-operative pacifism." This type of pacifism is to be observed chiefly in the International Cooperative Alliance and International Women's Cooperative Guild in London. To those must be added "Left" bourgeois organizations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

13. The closer and more imminent the danger of war becomes, the more dangerous becomes so-called "radical" pacifism. This type of pacifism is to be observed today chiefly among the "Left-wing" Social-Democrats in Germany, the I.L.P. in England, and the Social Democrats in the smaller countries like Holland, Norway, etc. The catchwords and phrases advocated by these pacifists like "No more war," "Boycott War," "General strike against the declaration of war," "Military strike," etc., are taken up in the utterances of the reformist leaders for the purpose of deceiving the masses (*c. g.*, the phrases about the general strike uttered by the Amsterdam International). In his instructions to the Russian Trade Union Delegation to the Hague Peace Conference in December, 1922, Lenin properly laid special stress upon this type of pacifism. His warning holds good to this day, particularly when we bear in mind that even in the ranks of the Communist Parties there are many members who, unconsciously perhaps, betray inclinations in this direction.

It is therefore necessary:

(a) To combat all high-sounding phrases like "we shall never permit another war," "no more war," etc. The Communists must not be content merely to "correct" these slogans theoretically, but must wage an active fight *against* this kind of propaganda by unmasking those who conduct it, and denounce this phrase-mongering as a screen to conceal the preparations being made for war. The same thing applies in many cases today to the slogan: "War against war" that is advanced by the Social Democrats as a hypocritical means of raising unfounded expectations among the masses.

(b) To combat the proposals advanced by the "radical" pacifists for preventing war. Communists cannot content themselves merely with exposing these people as phrasemongers, who would do nothing to carry their radical proposals into effect (general strike, military strike), but they must also point out to the masses that, as framed by these pacifists, these slogans are wrong and childish. They must explain to the masses the real circumstances under which war breaks out, the impossibility of limiting the struggle to certain fixed methods and the need for bringing into action all forms of the class struggle.

(c) Energetically to combat and openly criticize all frivolousness in the ranks of the Communist Parties concerning the question of combating war. This is particularly necessary at the present time, in view of the mistakes contained in press articles and parliamentary speeches. Under no circumstances should such mistakes be allowed to pass without criticism.

14. In addition to the task of combating pacifism and frivolous "revolutionary" phrasemongering in the struggle against imperialist war, the Communists are faced with a number of other fundamental agitational and educational tasks. These are:

(a) To expose in proper time, the sophistries and catch-words by which the bourgeoisie and Social-Democracy try to justify war. The principal slogan advanced by the latter, even in the present day, is the slogan of "national defense." The war against China in 1927 revealed the true significance of slogans like "Protection of life and property," "Protection of trade," "Protection of the flag," etc. In the last imperialist war, the Allies made use of the slogan "Fight against Prussian militarism," while the Central Powers used the slogan "Fight against Tsarism"; both sides using the respective slogans to mobilize the masses for the war. In a future war between Italy and France, or Yugo-Slavia, the same purpose will be served by the slogan "Fight against reactionary Fascism," for the bourgeoisie in the latter countries will take advantage of the anti-Fascist sentiments of the masses of the people to justify imperialist war. On the other hand, Fascism justifies its imperialist war policies by the catchwords "over-population," "natural necessity for expansion," etc. The Communist Parties have hitherto paid insufficient attention to the duty of refuting these sophistries.

(b) "It is essential again and again, and as concretely as possible, to explain to the masses what the situation was at the time of the last war, and why that situation was inevitable."

"It is particularly necessary to explain to the masses the significance of the fact that the question of 'national defense' is becoming an inevitable question, which the enormous majority of the toilers will inevitably decide in favor of their own bourgeoisie." (Lenin.)

"In view of recent experiences of war, we must explain that on the morrow of the declaration of war, such an enormous number of theoretical and social questions will arise, that the overwhelming majority of the men called up for service will find it utterly impossible to examine them with a clear head and with any degree of impartiality." (Lenin.)

"We must tell the masses the real facts about the profound secrecy in which the governments make their plans for war and how impotent the ordinary labor organizations, even those that call themselves revolutionary, are in the face of impending war." (Lenin.)

The Bolsheviks, having a well set up illegal organization, were the only Party able to carry on revolutionary work during the war. Yet even they could no more prevent the masses from responding to the bourgeois call for "national defense" than they could prevent the outbreak of war, notwithstanding the fact that the proletarian struggle in Russian was at high tide at that period. In fact, only a few weeks before the outbreak of war, barricades were erected in the streets of St. Petersburg.

Consequently, only by thoroughly explaining to the masses the tremendous difficulties that have to be overcome in a real struggle against war can the foundation be laid for the solution of the tactical problems involved in this struggle.

(c) Finally, it is necessary to explain thoroughly to the masses the experiences of the last world war, of 1914-1918: the tendencies that prevailed in the labor movement at that time, the struggles the Bolsheviks conducted against war, and the fundamental slogan they advanced of transforming the imperialist war into civil war.

15. This agitational and propagandist activity must be closely linked up with the revolutionary work of the Party among the masses.

This is the main task in the struggle against imperialist war before it breaks out. Stated in detail this task includes the following:

(a) Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilization for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry, and transport. It is particularly important to apply the tactics of the proletarian united front and to secure the organizational consolidation of its results (establishment of Committees of Action, etc.).

(b) In view of the fact that the peasantry constitutes the bulk of the army in most countries, special attention must be paid to anti-war work among the peasants. This work is facilitated by the strong anti-war sentiment prevailing among the peasants in many countries. The bourgeoisie, through the medium of the big landlords and big farmers and through Ex-Servicemen's Leagues, the press, Fascism, pacifism, the churches, etc., strive to consolidate their influence in the countryside, and to rouse the "fighting spirit" of the peasantry. Communists must counteract this activity by their work to sharpen the class struggle in the countryside. The Communists must conduct anti-war agitation among the peasant masses and in this utilize the experiences of the world war, and link up this agitation with the economic demands of the small peasantry. They must explain to the peasants the proletarian attitude towards war; carry on fraction work in the reactionary peasant leagues; organize anti-war conferences of the small peasantry, and give consideration to the special interests of the peasants in carrying on work in the army.

(c) The national-revolutionary movements in the Balkans, Poland, etc., play an extremely important part in the struggle against the imperialist war danger and in transforming imperialist war into civil war. The struggle against the imperialist war danger in these countries must be linked up with the fight against the remnants of feudalism and against national oppression, and must be directed towards the development of the agrarian and national revolutions.

Hence, the establishment and expansion of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nations against capitalism and against the imperialist war danger is an exceedingly important task that now confronts the Communist Parties.

(d) A matter of decisive importance is the work among the youth, especially among the industrial youth. The greatest efforts must be exerted—not only by the youth organizations, but by all Communists—in combating bourgeois sport organizations, fascist organizations, military schools, etc., through which the bourgeoisie are training the youth for imperialist wars. Furthermore, bourgeois military training of the youth must also be combated. Where the military training of the youth is compulsory, the Communists should urge the young workers to accept it, but they must organize work for the political education of these young workers and for the disintegration of the bourgeois military organizations. Similar work must be carried on in the bourgeois voluntary military training organizations. For this purpose the Communist Party and the Young Communist League must send members into these organizations, but they must not urge the young workers to join them. Instead, they must urge the young workers to join, or form, Labor Defense organizations.

(e) Bearing in mind the important part women play in industry, especially in time of war, work must be carried on among the industrial working women and workingmen's wives. To combat the imperialist influence disseminated among working women through petty-bourgeois organizations and to organize the working women in trade unions and other proletarian mass organizations, are extremely important tasks at the present time in view of the threatening war danger. In this connection, special consideration must be given to the plans for the militarization of women and to the increasing influence which bourgeois pacifist, religious and nationalist organizations are exercising over working class women. Work among the women must no longer be neglected, and the idea that this work is solely the affair of the women Communists must be stamped out.

(f) Anti-militarist activity; work in the army and navy; work among the recruits and reservists and in *bourgeois defense organizations*, in which the proletarian element is strongly represented, must constitute an inseparable part of the general revolutionary mass activity of the Party, and must embrace the whole of the working class.

16. Lenin was of the opinion that "the only possible way of continuing revolutionary work after the outbreak of war is the creation of an illegal organization." But, an illegal organization is also necessary in the anti-war struggle before war breaks out. There is still considerable confusion of mind concerning this important task in the struggle against war, and serious neglect in its practical fulfillment. In some Communist Parties the definitely opportunist view prevails that the conduct of anti-war activity is the business only of the youth, or of a special organization, while activity within the army is regarded as not being absolutely essential. Such views must be vigorously combated, and the work must be taken up immediately, in the spirit of the instructions given by Lenin. In this connection, we must:

(a) Enlarge the number of Party factory nuclei which, under given circumstances arising from the persecution of the employers and the police, must go underground. The preparations for the transference to underground conditions when the contingency arises, must be undertaken now.

(b) Make preparations for guaranteeing the proper functioning of the leading bodies of the Party, of the communications apparatus and of the Party press, in the event of the necessity arising for going strictly underground.

While never for a moment ceasing to utilize all available legal possibilities, the Communist Parties must already at the present time devote the greatest energy and attention to these tasks. If they fail to do this the persecution that must set in at the moment of the outbreak of war—a foretaste of which we have already in a number of countries today—will inevitably destroy the Party organization, and with it, the principal base of the revolutionary struggle against war.

17. The Communist Parties must bend all their work to the central task of preparing, winning over and organizing the masses for the struggle against imperialist war. The struggles of the proletariat and of toilers generally against the intensification of exploitation and oppression—in matters of wages, the working day, taxes, rent, social services, political disfranchisement, victimization and the intensification of the Fascist menace—must not be confined to the demands arising out of these struggles, but must be linked up with the determined struggle against imperialist war policy.

All the important questions of foreign policy, of armaments, of the introduction of new weapons of war, etc., must be brought before the masses of the workers and utilized for the organization of revolutionary mass action. In this struggle, the Communist Party, giving due and sober consideration to its strength, must march boldly and determinedly at the head of the masses. It must organize demonstrations and strikes against the war policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and, at the proper moment, put to the masses the question of the general strike and of still sharper methods of struggle.

2. *The Struggle During Imperialist War*

18. The political program of the Communists in an imperialist war is the program worked out and applied by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin in its heroic struggle against the last imperialist war. The main points of this program may be summarized as follows:

(a) The rejection of imperialist "national defense" in this war. To enlighten the workers and peasants as to its reactionary character. Strongly to combat all tendencies in the labor movement which openly, or covertly, justify this war.

(b) Defeatism, *i. e.*, to work for the defeat of the home imperialist government in this war.

(c) Genuine internationalism, *i. e.*, not "international" phrases and formal "agreements," but revolutionary defeatist work to be carried on by the proletariat in all the belligerent countries, for the overthrow of their home bourgeoisie.

(d) To transfer the war between the imperialist States into proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism—this transformation to be achieved by means of revolutionary mass action in the rear, and fraternization at the front.

(e) A "democratic" or "just" peace cannot result from an imperialist war without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the proletariat in the most important belligerent States. Therefore, "peace" cannot be the central slogan during imperialist war; the central slogan must be "proletarian revolution." It is the bounden duty of Communists strongly to combat all peace phrasemongering; for at a certain moment in the war, this can be utilized by the bourgeoisie as an extremely important ideological weapon to prevent the imperialist war from being transformed into civil war.

Communists must not confine themselves merely to conducting propaganda in favor of this program; they must rouse the masses of the workers to fight for it, by applying the tactics of the united proletariat front from below.

19. "Transform the imperialist war into civil war" means primarily, *revolutionary mass action*. The Communists resolutely repudiate all so-called "means" of combating war that hamper the development of revolutionary mass action. Consequently, they repudiate individual actions that have no connection with revolutionary mass actions or that fail to contribute to their development. Communists combat the propaganda in favor of the "against the war" prescriptions that are recommended by the petty-bourgeois elements in the labor movement. Proscriptions like "refusal to bear arms," "refusal to shoot," etc., are still circulated widely among the masses today, and many workers seriously believe in their efficacy. As a matter of fact, these prescriptions are meaningless and harmful. The Communists must tell the workers that the struggle against war is not a single and simultaneous act, and that revolutionary mass action on the part of the workers and poor peasants, in the rear and at the front, for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is the only proper means of combating war, to which all other means must be directed. While combating the above-mentioned prescriptions for individual action, which can only hinder mass action, the Communists must at the same time rouse the workers to display a spirit of revolutionary heroism in the struggle against imperialist wars.

20. The Communists' attitude towards the *question of the general strike against war* is determined by the same point of view, *viz.*, the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. Already in 1907, Lenin, in opposing Herve, *repudiated* the general strike slogan as a "panacea" to be applied regardless of the concrete situation and divorced from the general class struggle of the proletariat. In 1922, on the basis of experiences in the world war, he formulated his position still more definitely. In his instructions to the delegation to the Hague Peace Congress, he said:

"It is impossible to 'reply' to war with a general strike, just as it is impossible to reply to war with 'revolution,' in the simple and literal sense of the word."

This holds good to this day. But while Communists repudiate the slogan of "reply to war with a general strike," and warn the workers against harboring such illusions, which can only injure the real struggle against war, they do not by any means abandon the weapon of the general strike in the struggle against war, and sharply condemn any suggestion to do so as an opportunist deviation. Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations, strikes in munition works, transport strikes, etc.), the general strike—as the supreme form of the mass strike movement—is an extremely important weapon, and as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. This transformation, however, does not depend upon the will of the Party alone. It presupposes the existence of a revolutionary situation, the capacity of the proletariat for mass action, etc. These conditions do not as a rule prevail at the very beginning of the war; they develop in the course of the war. But even in war time the general strike does not come like a bolt from the blue. It comes on the rising tide of revolutionary mass action (demonstrations, partial strikes, etc.) and as a result of the persistent preparation, which the Communists must make, and which may entail heavy sacrifices. Of course, a general strike in war time will lead to revolutionary results much more rapidly than in peace time; but it is by no means easier to prepare for and organize it in war time than

in peace time. On the contrary, in war time the bourgeoisie will take determined counter-measures to prevent it. They will call the strikers to the colors, militarize the factories, etc. Communists, therefore, cannot in war time, confine themselves to abstract general strike propaganda. As in peace time, they must carry on daily revolutionary work in the factories and trade unions. They must champion the economic demands of the workers and link up these demands with anti-war propaganda; organize revolutionary factory councils; capture the subordinate trade union organizations; eliminate the social-patriotic elements from these organizations, and, when they have been captured, elect new executives parallel with the reformist executives, and despite the will of the latter, organize, lead and extend partial strikes, etc. The general strike must not be an abstract watchword. It must be the aim and the outcome of our general practical activity. That being the case, the revolutionary proletariat must be ready, in the event of a general strike, firmly to steer a course towards transforming the strike into an armed rebellion, if conditions are propitious for that.

21. From the same standpoint of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, the Communists take their stand with regard to the slogan of *refusal of military service* (boycott of war) advocated by certain "radical" pacifists and "Left" Social Democrats. The Communists fight against this slogan for the following reasons:

(a) The idea that imperialist war can be rendered impossible by a call for the refusal of military service, by calling upon those liable for military service to refuse to answer the call for mobilization is as illusory as the idea of "replying to war with a general strike." Propaganda in favor of this prescription merely serves to *weaken* the genuine revolutionary struggle against war.

(b) Even if a "mass boycott" were at least partially successful, the result would be that the most determined and class-conscious workers would remain outside the army. Systematic revolutionary work in the army—one of the most vital tasks in the struggle against war—would then be impossible.

Lenin was absolutely right, therefore, when in 1922, on the basis of experience of the world war, he wrote: "Boycott the war, is a stupid phrase. The Communists must participate in every reactionary war."

But Lenin's instructions regarding the Communists' attitude towards the boycott (the refusal of military service) as a means of combating war, does not mean that the Communists must urge the masses of workers to join the bourgeois armies. It means that the Communists, while strongly combating the harmful and illusory boycott slogan, must agitate for revolutionary work and organization in the bourgeois army, for the arming of the proletariat and for the transforming of imperialist war into civil war.

Therefore, when the question of joining the bourgeois army or refusal of military service (boycott) is raised, the Communists must advise the workers and poor peasants to reject the refusal of the military service slogan, to avail themselves of the opportunity to learn to use arms, to carry on revolutionary work in the army and, at the proper moment, to turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie.

In the event of a big mass movement arising at the moment of outbreak of war in favor of refusing military service, the Communists must join that movement to give it a revolutionary character; they must put forward concrete demands and slogans of action in the direction of revolutionary mass action against imperialist war and utilize the movement as much as possible for the purpose of revolutionizing the masses. But even in such an event, the Communists must combat the boycott ideology and the pacifist boycott slogan. They must speak out quite frankly about the inadequacy of refusal of military service as a mean of combating war, and make it clear to the masses that the only correct way of combating the imperialist war is to transform it into civil war. Strenuous propaganda must be conducted urging the necessity for carrying on revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies.

If the general situation is favorable for it, Communists must utilize such mass movements for the formation of guerilla forces, and for the immediate development of civil war. This applies especially to countries where strong national-revolutionary movements exists. In such countries the Communists, on the declaration of war—especially war against the Soviet Union—or in the course of the war, if the situation is favorable, must issue the slogan of national-revolutionary rebellion against the imperialists and for the immediate formation of national-revolutionary guerilla forces.

22. In countries where the system of compulsory military service does not exist, the government, at the beginning of the war, will launch a wide recruiting campaign for volunteers, and if it deems it necessary, will introduce com-

pulsory military service. In such countries also, the Communist Parties must set themselves the aim of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. But in pursuing this aim the Communists must also fight against the bourgeois recruiting campaign for volunteers and fight against the introduction of compulsory military service. Under no circumstances, however, must they foster the illusion that the war can be prevented or stopped by refusing to join the army or by opposing the introduction of compulsory military service and that, therefore, revolutionary work in the army is superfluous. It must be made clear to the masses that the struggle against conscription is only of secondary importance compared with the fight against the imperialist war itself. Revolutionary work in the army must be organized and openly advocated.

23. An extremely important point in the matter of transforming imperialist war into civil war is revolutionary work at the front. In this, the Communists must not confine themselves merely to propaganda, but must issue definite slogans of action corresponding to the concrete situation.

(a) In connection with the economic demands and complaints of the soldiers, collective refusal, or sabotage of service, and certain forms of soldiers' and sailors' strikes should be applied.

(b) The most important slogan of action at the front is the slogan of *fraternization*. The purpose of fraternization is to unite the worker and peasant soldiers in the opposite lines of trenches against their officers. Experience in the last world war has shown that mass fraternization inevitably leads to class differentiation in the armies and to armed conflicts between soldiers and officers. The Communists in the army must organize fraternization and give it a clear, political color, particularly in regard to the question of peace and the organization of the revolutionary forces in the army.

3. *The Proletarian Civil War Against the Bourgeoisie.*

24. The imperialist war of 1914-1918 was, in a number of countries in Eastern and Central Europe, transformed into civil war, which, in Russia, ended in the victory of the proletariat. The lessons of the October Revolution are of paramount importance in determining the attitude of the proletariat towards war. They show: (1) that in their imperialist wars the bourgeois must place weapons in the hands of the workers, but that in critical military situations, defeats, etc., they lost command over the mass armies; (2) that a real and sustained struggle against this war implies that work must be carried on to revolutionize the masses of the soldiers, *i. e.*, work in preparation for civil war, and (3) that the ground for civil war must be thoroughly prepared by the proletariat and the Party.

The civil wars in Germany in 1920 and 1923, in Bulgaria in 1923, in Esthonia in 1924, and in Vienna in July, 1927, prove that proletarian civil war may not only break out in times of bourgeois imperialist wars, but also in the present "normal conditions" of capitalism; for present-day capitalism intensifies the class struggle to an acute degree and at any moment may create an immediate revolutionary situation. The proletarian uprisings in Shanghai in March, 1927, and in Canton in December, 1927, contained important lessons for the proletariat, especially in the nationally oppressed colonial and semi-colonial countries. Events in Shanghai particularly, show how proletarian uprisings can be utilized as a weapon in a national war against imperialism and its lackeys.

All this makes it incumbent upon the Communists, primarily in connection with struggle against imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars, to put the question of proletarian civil war openly to the masses and to study the lessons of the above-mentioned uprisings.

25. These lessons are:

(a) In regard to the necessary *conditions precedent* for rebellion. A revolutionary situation must prevail, *i. e.*, the ruling class must be in a state of crisis, for example, as the result of military defeat. The misery and oppression of the masses must be intensified to an extraordinary degree, and the masses must be active and ready to overthrow the government by revolutionary mass action. A tried and tested Communist Party, having influence over the decisive masses of the proletariat, must exist.

(b) In regard to the preparations for rebellion. The rebellion cannot be based solely on the Party; it must be based upon the broad masses of the working class. Of decisive importance is the preparatory work in the prole-

tarian mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions; to secure their active participation in the work of preparing for the rebellion, and the creation of special organizations for rebellion, which shall unite the masses. The question of rebellion must be put openly to the masses.

The rebellion must be based on the rising revolutionary temper of the entire working population, particularly of the semi-proletarians and poor peasantry.

Persistent and intensified work must be conducted for the purpose of disintegrating the bourgeois armies, which work, at the moment of the uprising, will assume the character of a struggle for the army.

Activities for organizing rebellion and military preparation must both occupy a prominent place in the work among the proletarian masses and among the toilers in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The time for launching the rebellion will be determined by the state of maturity of the objective and subjective prerequisites for it. The time can be fixed definitely only if the closest contact exists between the Party and the masses of the revolutionary proletariat.

(c) In regard to *carrying out the rebellion*. The rule must be: no playing with rebellion. The rebellion once launched must be vigorously prosecuted until the enemy is utterly crushed. Hesitation and lack of determination will cause the utter defeat of the revolutionary armed uprising. The main forces must be thrown against the main forces of the enemy. Efforts must be made to secure the superiority of the proletarian forces at the decisive moment at the decisive place, and without delay the rebellion must be carried over the widest possible territory. There is an art in rebellion; but rebellion is not purely a military problem, it is primarily a political problem. Only a revolutionary Party can lead a rebellion. On the outbreak of the rebellion the Party must subordinate the whole of its activity to the requirements of the armed struggle.

B. The Proletariat Defends the Soviet Union Against the Imperialists

26. Imperialist war against the Soviet Union is open, bourgeois, counter-revolutionary class war against the proletariat. Its principal aim is to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and to introduce a reign of white-guard terror against the working class and the toilers of all countries. The basis for the tactics of the proletariat in capitalist countries in the struggle against such a war is furnished by the Bolshevik program of struggle against the imperialist war, *i. e.*, transform the war into civil war. The methods and tasks of this struggle, prior to the outbreak of the war and during the war must, however, be adapted to the concrete conditions under which it was prepared for, and to its openly class character. The fact that, in this case, the "enemy" is not an imperialist power, but the proletarian dictatorship, introduces certain important modifications in anti-war tactics.

27. The propaganda tasks in connection with imperialist war and the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, stated *concretely*, are as follows:

(a) *Pacifism* is being transformed from a mere screen to conceal war preparations into one of the most important instruments for these preparations. Hence, it is necessary to intensify the campaign against pacifism and against its specific slogans; against the Soviet Union in the name of "civilization", and "peace"; against "realistic pacifism", which regards the Soviet Union and proletarian and colonial revolutions as a menace to peace; against "radical" pacifism, which, under the mask of opposition to "all war", strives to discourage defense of the Soviet Union.

(b) *Social Democracy* is passing to active counter-revolutionary preparation for war against the Soviet Union. Hence, it is necessary to intensify the campaign against the Social Democratic leaders of the Right *as well as* of the "Left", and also against their Trotskyist and anarcho-syndicalist hangers-on. Above all, the slogans with which these will try to justify war against the Soviet Union such as: "Fight for democracy against dictatorship"; "degeneration"; "kulakization"; "the Soviet system is approaching the Thermidor stage"; the legends they spread about "Red imperialism"; the slogan of "Neutrality" in the event of war, etc., must be exposed and discredited in the eyes of the masses.

28. The international working class, and the toilers generally, look to the Soviet Union as their champion, and their attitude towards the Soviet Union is one of growing sympathy. Bearing this in mind, and also that the broad masses of the workers will understand much better than in 1917 that the next imperialist war against the Soviet Union will be open class war; that

the masses of the toilers are now wiser from the experience that they had of the first imperialist war and that the vanguard of the proletariat now has a strong revolutionary organization in the shape of the Communist International, it may be safely asserted that the opportunities for fighting against war are far greater now than they were in previous times, and consequently that there is every reason for adopting bolder tactics.

(a) The possibilities of preventing war against the Soviet Union by intensifying class struggles to the point of revolutionary, mass action against the bourgeois governments are much greater at the present time than the possibilities for such action were in 1914. An example of revolutionary action was given by the British workers in 1920, when, by forming Councils of Action, they forced their government to abandon their intention of declaring war against the Soviet Union.

(b) The conditions favorable for transforming a war against the Soviet Union into civil war against the bourgeoisie will be much more speedily created for the proletariat than in an ordinary imperialist war.

(c) Therefore, although the Communists in capitalist countries must reject the phrase "Reply to war by general strike," and have no illusions whatever about the efficacy of such phrases, nevertheless, in the event of war against the Soviet Union becoming imminent, they must take into consideration the increased opportunities for employing the weapon of mass strikes and the general strike, prior to the outbreak of war and during the mobilization.

(d) In the event of an attack upon the Soviet Union the Communists in oppressed nations, as well as those in imperialist countries, must exert all their efforts to rouse rebellion or wars of national liberation among the national minorities in Europe and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against the imperialist enemies of the Soviet State.

29. In view of the fact that the "enemy" in such a war is the Soviet Union, *i. e.*, the fatherland of the international proletariat, the following changes must be made in tactics as compared with the tactics employed in "purely" imperialist war:

(a) The proletariat in the imperialist countries must not only fight for the defeat of their own governments in this war, but must actively strive to secure victory for the Soviet Union.

(b) Therefore, the tactics and the choice of means of fighting will not only be dictated by the interests of the class struggle at home in each country, but also by considerations for the outcome of the war at the front, which is a bourgeois class war against the proletarian State.

(c) The Red Army is not an "enemy" army, but the army of the international proletariat. In the event of a war against the Soviet Union, the workers in capitalist countries must not allow themselves to be scared from supporting the Red Army and from expressing this support by fighting against their own bourgeoisie, by the charges of treason that the bourgeoisie may hurl against them.

30. Although the proletariat in imperialist countries is not bound by the duty of "national defense", in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, however, national defense is an unflinching revolutionary duty. Here, the defenders are the armed proletariat supported by the poor peasantry. The victory of the October Revolution gave a Socialist fatherland to the workers of the world, *viz.*, the Soviet Union. Defense of the Soviet Union is a matter of class interest for the international proletariat as well as a debt of honor. In 1919-1921, the Soviet Government was able to defeat the interventionist forces of fourteen States, among which were the most powerful imperialist States, because the international proletariat intervened on behalf of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. by revolutionary mass action. A renewed imperialist attack on the Soviet Union will prove that, in spite of all the preparations made for this attack and in spite of the counter-revolutionary efforts of the Social Democrats, this international proletarian solidarity still exists.

The proletariat's allies in the defense of the U. S. S. R. are: (1) The rural poor and the mass of the middle peasants; and (2) the national revolution and liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies.

31. The international policy of the U. S. S. R. is a *peace policy*, which conforms to the interests of the ruling class in Soviet Russia, *viz.*, the proletariat, and to the interests of the international proletariat. This policy rallies all the allies of the proletarian dictatorship around its banner and provides the best basis for taking advantage of the antagonisms among the imperialist States. The aim of this policy is to guard the international revolution and to protect the work of building up Socialism—the progress of which is revolutionizing the

world. It strives to put off the conflict with imperialism as long as possible. In regard to the capitalist States, to their mutual relationships and to their relationships with their colonies, this policy implies: opposition to imperialist war, to predatory colonial campaigns, and to pacifism, which camouflages these campaigns.

The peace policy of the proletarian State certainly does not imply that the Soviet State has become reconciled with capitalism, as the Social Democratic and their Trotskyist allies declare in order to discredit the Soviet State in the eyes of the international proletariat. This policy is the Leninist policy of the proletarian dictatorship. It is merely another—and under present conditions—a more advantageous form of fighting capitalism; a form which the U. S. S. R. has consistently employed since the October revolution.

32. The proletariat in the Soviet Union harbors no illusions as to the possibility of a durable peace with the imperialists. The proletariat knows that the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union is inevitable; that in the process of proletarian world revolution, wars between proletarian and bourgeois States, wars for the emancipation of the world from capitalism, will *necessarily* and *inevitably* arise. Therefore, the primary duty of the proletariat, as the fighter for Socialism, is to make all the necessary political, economic and military preparations for these wars, to strengthen its Red Army—that mighty weapon of the proletariat—and to train the masses of the toilers in the art of war. There is a glaring contradiction between the imperialists' policy of piling up armaments and their hypocritical talk about peace. There is no such contradiction, however, between the Soviet Government's preparations for defense and for revolutionary war and a consistent peace policy. Revolutionary war of the proletarian dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy "by other means."

C. The Proletariat Supports and Conducts Revolutionary Wars of Oppressed Peoples Against Imperialism

33. In the course of the last two years national revolutionary wars of the oppressed colonies and semi-colonies, which Lenin predicted in 1916, have changed from a theoretical postulate into a world historic fact. Examples of such wars are: the war in Morocco against French and Spanish imperialism; the rebellion in Syria; the wars in Mexico and Nicaragua against United States imperialism in the revolutionary Canton war against Hong Kong in 1925; finally, the Chinese Northern Expedition in 1926-1927. National revolutionary wars will play an important role in the present epoch of world revolution. The proletariat must therefore devote the closest study to the experiences and lessons of these wars, especially of the Chinese Northern Expedition of 1926-1927.

In that campaign the Chinese proletariat rightly supported the South against the Northern militarists and the imperialists who backed them—notwithstanding the fact that the Southern forces were commanded by the bourgeoisie. The Chinese proletariat not only desired and worked for the defeat of the counter-revolutionary government of North China, but also fought against the wavering and hesitation of the bourgeoisie in the South, against the latter's compromising policy and subsequent treachery, and fought for a revolutionary leadership of the campaign and for the hegemony of the proletariat in the war. This general line, which was proposed to the Chinese Communists by the Comintern, corresponded to the position taken up by Marx and Engels towards the national wars in the last century and to the teachings of Lenin.

34. Nevertheless, the Chinese Communist Party committed a number of grave mistakes, from which the Communists of all oppressed nations have important lessons to learn. In this war, the duty of the Communist Party of China was to take full advantage of the revolutionary situation prevailing at the time to establish its own proletarian class army, and to extend the military organization and training of the workers and peasants in order to pave the way for the proletariat's struggle for the leadership of the revolution. Although the objective conditions at the time of the Northern Expedition were favorable for the Communist Party, the latter refrained from utilizing the military and political apparatus of the Kuomintang for the purpose of conducting its work in the army, and made no attempt to create its own armed forces. The Communist Party devoted itself entirely to maneuvering with the higher Kuomintang command and failed to concentrate on the work of propaganda and organization among the masses of the soldiers, or on mass recruiting of workers and peasants

for the army for the purpose of changing its character. It failed to recognize the revolutionary significance of arming the workers and peasants and did not devote sufficient attention to the work of preparing for and leading peasant guerilla warfare.

35. While supporting a national-revolutionary war, the proletariat determines its tactics on the basis of a concrete analysis of each given national war, the role of the various classes in it, etc. Thus, Marx' tactics in 1848, when he issued the slogan of a war against Tsarism, differed from his tactics in 1870, in the Prussian war against Napoleon III. During the Northern campaign, the Chinese Communists rightfully entered into a temporary alliance with the national bourgeoisie, as long as they fought against imperialism and as long as the Communists were able to carry on their work of exposure in the national-revolutionary camp. The tactics of the German Communists in 1923, when they were confronted by the problem of national defense against the invasion of French imperialism, were necessarily different. The German Communists had to combine national defense with a struggle for the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie, which was incapable of playing a revolutionary role. This is the attitude the Chinese Communists must now take up towards the national struggle against Japanese intervention. They must combine revolutionary national defense with the struggle to overthrow Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang bourgeoisie, and to establish the revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

It must be stated, however, that the national wars in which the proletariat in the fight against imperialism may enter into temporary alliance with the bourgeoisie, are becoming more and more rare, because, out of fear of the workers' and peasants' revolution, the bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries is becoming reactionary and is accepting the bribes of the imperialists. A new type of national war, in which the proletariat alone can play the leading role, is coming more and more to the front. This applies also to the national wars of the Latin American countries against the United States' imperialism. The tendency for national wars and rebellions to become transformed into proletarian wars and rebellions, or wars and rebellions led by the proletariat—a tendency which Lenin predicted already in 1916—has notably increased.

36. In view of the numerous oppressed nationalities and national minorities existing in a number of the States in Europe, set up by the Versailles Treaty, the question of national revolutionary war will come up prominently, also in Europe, particularly in relation to the task of transforming imperialist war into civil war. Poland and Roumania cruelly oppress with a bloody hand the White Russian, Ukrainian and Bessarabian populations in their territories, who look longingly towards their Soviet fatherland. In Czechoslovakia and in the Balkan countries, in Italy, in France, Spain, Belgium, and Great Britain (Ireland), there are also oppressed nationalities. The Communist Parties must support the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and the national minorities in all these countries, lead them in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and unreservedly champion their right to self-determination, which must include the right to complete separation. In the event of an imperialist war, or an anti-Soviet war being declared. The Communists, in the course of carrying out this policy, must prepare themselves, and the nationally oppressed masses, for national revolutionary rebellions, of wars, against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

37. The teachings of Marx and Lenin and the experience of national wars in recent years, indicate the following tasks and tactics for the proletariat in wars of national liberation:

(a) The support the proletariat renders in these wars and the temporary alliance which—in certain cases—it enters into with the bourgeoisie, must under no circumstances imply the abandonment of the class war. Even when the bourgeoisie, for a long time, fights side by side with the proletariat against the imperialists, it still remains the enemy and strives to utilize the proletariat for its own aims.

(b) Therefore, the proletariat must not simply accept the policies and slogans of the bourgeoisie, but must act independently, advance its own political program and slogans and set up its own revolutionary organizations (Party, trade unions, workers' militia, proletarian military movements). The Communists must prepare the masses for the inevitable treachery of the bourgeoisie, take the strongest measures to retain the proletarian positions, do everything possible to hinder the bourgeoisie in its efforts to achieve its own class aims, and prepare for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

(c) In national wars in which the bourgeoisie, or the bourgeois government plays a counter-revolutionary role (as is the case in the struggle which the Chinese workers and peasants are now carrying on to prevent the imperialists' dismemberment of China), the Communists must work for the overthrow of the bourgeois government under the slogan of national defense.

38. The question of national wars in countries where class differentiations are undeveloped, *i.e.*, in Morocco, the Druses, Syria and Arabia, must be similarly formulated. Among such people, the patriarchal and feudal chiefs and rulers play a role similar to that played by the bourgeoisie in the more advanced colonial countries. Temporary co-operation with these chiefs and rulers is permissible in revolutionary struggles against imperialism, but there is always the danger that they will be bought over by the imperialists, or that they will subordinate the struggle for liberation to their own caste interests. The national wars of these peoples must therefore be linked up with the struggle against feudalism, or against the feudal rulers, and for the overthrow of feudalism.

39. The tasks of the *international* proletariat in connection with wars of liberation of oppressed peoples, and with imperialist expeditions for the suppression of the national revolutionary movements and revolutions—with a few concrete exceptions—are the same as in imperialist wars against the Soviet Union, *viz.*, (a) to fight against wars of oppression by intensifying the class antagonisms with a view to transforming this war into civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie. (b) Consistent application of defeatist tactics towards the imperialist country and its armies; to fight for the victory of the oppressed nation and to support its armies. (c) To resist, primarily by means of revolutionary mass action, the despatch of warships and munition transports to the colonies by the imperialists; to oppose the extension of the period of military service for soldiers fighting in wars against the colonies, etc.; to oppose increases in war budgets and the granting of loans by the imperialists to the counter-revolutionary governments and militarists in the colonies; to fight against imperialist war preparations in concession territories and on railways and inland waterways in the colonies. (a) To take measures to counteract the butcheries perpetrated by the imperialists in the colonies and the support which they render to the native counter-revolutionary governments in suppressing the masses of the toilers.

40. The tactics to be adopted in the present struggle against intervention in China differ from the tactics adopted in the struggle against intervention at the time when a section of the Chinese bourgeoisie, and of the Kuomintang, still played a revolutionary role. The internecine wars of the various native military rulers, in the main, are an expression of the conflicts that prevail among the various imperialist powers over the partition of China. All the warring classes, which represent various factions of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, are counter-revolutionary. In view of the present situation in China, the international proletariat must combine its active struggles in defense of the Chinese workers and peasants with exposing the counter-revolutionary role which all bourgeois governments and militarists play in China as the tools of imperialism. Support in the struggle against imperialism must be given *only* to the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution. The slogan of going over to the side of the oppressed nation cannot be applied, at the present time, to the Chinese bourgeois armies. Despite this change in tactics, the struggle against intervention must *under no circumstances* be allowed to subside. The majority of the Communist Parties came to the conclusion that the change in tactics means a weakening of the struggle against intervention, and in this they committed a grave error.

III. THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ARMY

41. One of the most serious mistakes the Communist Parties have committed hitherto, is that they regarded the war question from the abstract, purely propagandist and agitational point of view, and that they did not devote sufficient attention to the army, which is the decisive factor in all wars. Unless the significance of the revolutionary policy in the war question is explained to the broad masses, and unless work is carried on in the army, the struggle against imperialist war and attempts to prepare for revolutionary wars will never reach beyond the stage of theory.

For the most part, this mistake is due to the bad legacy inherited from the Second International, which, while never ceasing to declaim against imperialist wars, never carried on any work in the armies. Indeed, it described Karl Liebknecht as an "anarchist" because he demanded that such work be carried on. Instead of carrying out a revolutionary war policy, and instead of working

in the armies, the Second International advocated the "abolition of standing armies," and their substitution by a "national militia." The slogan: "national militia," which was suitable for the period in which national States were struggling into existence in Europe, had some revolutionary significance in connection with the demand for the abolition of standing armies, so long as Tsarism and Absolutism represented a menace to revolution (up to the end of the 19th century). But with the growth of imperialism, this slogan became inadequate and finally became a chauvinistic slogan (Hyndman in 1912). The resuscitated Second International abandoned the demand for a "national militia" only in order to subordinate itself entirely to the political interests of the bourgeoisie in the various States. In France, under the guise of supporting the old slogan of a "national militia," the Second International is advocating an imperialist "national army"; in Germany and Great Britain, on the pretext of advocating disarmament, it is supporting mercenary volunteer armies. The principle proclaimed by the Second International of "freedom for each nation to select the form of military organization it desires" is tantamount to freedom to repeat the events of August 4th. Meanwhile, the Social Democratic flunkys of the bourgeoisie are conducting a campaign of slander against the Red Army and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. and are spreading legends about "Red militarism."

42. As against this counter-revolutionary military policy, which serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, the Communists advance a revolutionary military policy, which serves the interests of international proletarian revolution. Of course, no hard and fast rules can be laid down as to the position to be adopted in regard to all armies in general. The proletariat must determine its attitude towards the army in accordance with the class and the policy the particular army serves. It is not the military system, or the form of organization of the army in any given State that matters so much as the political role that army plays, *i. e.*, imperialistic, nationalist or proletarian. The Communist Parties must follow the precepts of Marx and Engels who, in the epoch of great national wars, opposed the petty bourgeois democratic utopia of militia and advocated universal military service, the democratization of existing armies and their conversion into revolutionary armies. After the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels advocated the destruction of the bourgeois State and in the military question the dissolution of standing bourgeois armies and their substitution by the armed nation—these they regarded as the most important lessons to be learned from the Paris Commune from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution. The Second International distorted these precepts, but Lenin restored and developed them and drafted a military program of the proletarian revolution.

A. The Proletariat's Attitude Towards Armies in Imperialist States

43. In imperialist States the attitude of the proletariat towards armies is determined by the following:

No matter what their form of organization may be, armies are a constituent part of the bourgeois State apparatus, which the proletariat, in the course of its revolution, must not democratize, but break up.

In the light of this task, the organizational difference between standing armies and militia, between conscript armies and volunteer armies, etc., disappears. The slogan: "Not a man, not a penny for the army," *i. e.*, relentless struggle against bourgeois budgets, etc., holds good.

This attitude must be maintained equally towards standing armies and democratic militia, for both these forms of military organization represent the armed forces of the bourgeoisie held against the proletariat. Democratic partial demands, which the proletariat must under no circumstances abandon, assume an altogether different character from those advanced during democratic revolutions: their purpose must be not to democratize armies, but to disintegrate them.

The adoption of a uniform attitude towards the army *in principle*, does *not mean* that the important differences in the systems of defense and military organization in the respective States must be ignored, for these differences are extremely important from the point of view of practical work.

44. Although imperialist armies are a part of the bourgeois State apparatus, nevertheless, owing to mutual rivalries and wars among the capitalist States, modern armies are tending more and more, directly or indirectly, to embrace the whole nation and to militarize it ("the armed nation", the militarization

of women, military training of the youth, etc.). This tendency subsided temporarily at the end of the world war, but at the present time, on the eve of a new war, it is manifesting itself very strongly (United States, France, Poland). The immediate results of this tendency are, however, that the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—between the exploiters and the exploited—are being reflected in the armies, between the officer-class and the "common people". In the words of Engels, mass militarization results in the disintegration of all armies from within. Hence, Communists must not "boycott" bourgeois armies, but must join them and take revolutionary control of this objective process of internal disintegration.

The bourgeoisie is exerting every effort to create a reliable army by drilling, stern discipline, by isolating the soldiers from the ordinary population, by prohibiting the soldiers from taking part in politics, and, in certain cases, even by giving them a privileged social position.

In recent years, particularly in those countries where formerly conscription prevailed, and even where it is still in vogue, the bourgeoisie have been adopting the system of recruiting mercenary armies from certain selected elements (Germany, France). But this does not relieve the bourgeoisie of the necessity to militarize the masses. It can succeed in this only by combining the mercenary troops with the "national armies" or else by establishing a militia type of military organization. It cannot stop the process of disintegration in the bourgeois armies: it can only retard this process and place severe obstacles in the way of revolutionary work in the army. For these reasons, the Communists are confronted with the important task of studying carefully the conditions created as a result of the measures adopted by the bourgeoisie and to counteract these measures by new methods of revolutionary work.

45. The proletariat's attitude towards imperialist armies is closely linked up with its attitude towards imperialist war. For that reason, defeatism, and the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into civil war indicate the manner in which the partial problems of the system of defense and military organization should be approached.

Bourgeois militia, universal military service, the military training of the youth, etc., were all at one time advocated by revolutionary democracy. At the present time, however, they serve as ordinary reactionary instruments for oppressing the masses and for preparing for imperialist wars. Consequently, they must be combated as strenuously as possible. This applies also to those countries where the bourgeoisie has abolished conscription and adopted the voluntary system (for example, in Germany). Although universal military service would facilitate revolutionary work and would provide the workers with opportunities for learning the use of arms, the Communists in imperialist countries must not demand the introduction of the system; they must oppose conscript armies in the same way as they oppose volunteer armies. The slogan: *Transform imperialist war into civil war*, indicates *how* the Communists must fight against measures for mass militarization (introduction of conscription). By militarizing the workers and training them in the use of arms, imperialism creates the prerequisites for the victory of the proletariat in the civil war. Hence, the revolutionary proletariat must not combat mass militarization with the arguments advanced by the pacifists. In conducting the struggle for revolution and for Socialism, we do not refuse to bear arms. The aim of our struggle is to expose the militarization the imperialists introduce for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

As against this sort of militarization we advance the slogan: Arm the proletariat. Simultaneously, the Communists must advance and give support to the partial demands of the soldiers which, in a concrete situation, stimulate the class struggle in the armies and strengthen the alliance between the proletarian and peasant soldiers and the workers outside the ranks of the army.

46. The partial demands are approximately as follows:

1. *Demands in Connection with the System of Defense.*

Dissolution of mercenary forces; dissolution of standing and principal military units;

Disarming and dissolution of the gendarmerie, police and other special armed forces for civil war;

Disarming and dissolution of fascist leagues;

Concrete demands for the reduction of period of military service;

Introduction of the territorial system military service;

Abolition of compulsory residence in barracks; soldiers committees;

The right of labor organizations to train their members in the use of arms, with the right to the free selection of instructors.

The fact that the reduction of the period of military service in some countries is being planned and carried out by the capitalist governments themselves, has given rise to doubts as to whether we should put forward such a demand. But the reduction of the period of military service, *taken by itself*, under certain circumstances, does not mean the strengthening, but the weakening of the military system. Consequently, this demand can be put forward as a general partial demand in relation to conscript armies under the following circumstances:

(1) That a distinct defeatist line is maintained; (2) complete dissociation from analogous partial demands advanced by the Social Democrats; (3) that the illusion that this is a step towards the abolition of militarism is combated. It goes without saying that partial demands must always be concrete, *i. e.*, that they must be put forward in such a form and at such a time that *the masses will understand them and support them*, and that they will help to revolutionize the masses. In those cases where a reduction of the period of military service is being planned by the capitalist governments, or is demanded by the Social Democrats, a fight must be put up against the measures that are usually adopted simultaneously with this for the purpose of strengthening the bourgeois system (militarization of the whole population, the organization of strong cadres of professional soldiers, etc., etc.). The pseudo-democratic program of reducing the period of military service must be countered by a defeatist program of partial demands.

In the case of volunteer, mercenary armies, the demand should not be for the reduction of the period of military service, but for the right to leave the service whenever the soldier desires.

2. Demands in Connection With the Legal Rights and Economic Position of the Soldiers.

- Increased pay for soldiers;
- Improved maintenance;
- The establishment of stores committees composed of soldiers' representatives;
- Abolition of disciplinary punishments;
- Abolition of compulsory saluting;
- Severe penalties for officers and non-commissioned officers inflicting corporal punishment on private soldiers;
- The right to wear mufti when off duty;
- The right to be absent from barracks every day;
- Furlough, and extra pay while on furlough;
- The right to marry;
- Maintenance for soldiers' families;
- The right to subscribe to newspapers;
- The right to organize in trade unions;
- The right to vote; the right to attend political meetings.

The fact that in numerous imperialist countries a considerable percentage of the armies are recruited from among oppressed national minorities, whereas the officers either entirely or for the greater part belong to the oppressing nation, provides very favorable ground for revolutionary work in the army. Consequently, among the partial demands we advance in the interests of the masses of the soldiers, should be included demands corresponding to the needs of these oppressed nationalities (for example, military service in their home district; the use of the native language in drilling and instruction, etc.).

47. The demands of both the above-mentioned categories (only a few of which have been enumerated) must not only be put forward in the army, but also outside of it—in parliament, at mass meetings, etc. Propaganda in support of these demands will be successful only if they bear a concrete character. In order that they may do so, it is necessary:

(a) To have a close acquaintance with the army, with the conditions of service, with the needs and demands of the soldiers, etc., which can only be acquired by maintaining close personal contact with the army.

(b) To give consideration to the system of defense in the given States and to the situation in regard to the military question at the given moment.

(c) To take into consideration the morale of the army and the political situation in the country at the given moment. For example, the demand for the election of officers, as a rule, can be advanced only when the army has reached an advanced stage of disintegration.

(d) To link up closely political demands with the principal slogans of the Communist Party—arming the proletariat, proletarian militia, etc.

These demands will have revolutionary significance only if they are linked up with a distinct political program for revolutionizing the bourgeois army.

Special attention must be paid to organizing the soldiers for the protection of their interests, in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, prior to their being called up for service (recruits' leagues, mutual aid clubs), during the period of military service (soldiers' councils) and also after the conclusion of military service (revolutionary ex-servicemen's leagues). It must be the special task of the trade unions to maintain contact with their members in the army and to help them to form the above-mentioned organizations.

48. The conditions for revolutionary work in volunteer armies differ from the conditions for such work in conscript armies. In volunteer armies it is usually much more difficult to carry on agitation in support of partial demands like those mentioned above. Nevertheless, the work must be undertaken. The fact that in a majority of cases volunteer armies are recruited from among the proletariat (the unemployed) and from among the poor peasants, provides a social base for mass work among the soldiers. The forms of this work must be carefully adapted to the social composition and the special features of the troops. Strenuous agitation must be carried on among the masses against the special forces the bourgeoisie organize for class struggle against the proletariat (gendarmes and police), and especially against their volunteer forces (the fascists). The reformists who talk loudly about the "public utility" of these forces, about the "national police," and about fascist "equality," must be relentlessly combated with particular energy, and every effort must be made to rouse a passionate hatred among the people towards these forces and to expose their real character. But every effort must be made to stimulate social differentiation even among these forces and to win over the proletarian elements in them.

49. Revolutionary work in the army must be linked up with the general revolutionary movement of the masses of the proletariat and poor peasantry. If an immediate revolutionary situation prevails, and if the industrial proletariat is beginning to establish Soviets, the slogan, Establish soldiers' councils, assumes immediate practical importance and facilitates the work of uniting the masses of the soldiers with the proletariat and the poor peasantry in their struggle for power.

Wherever circumstances permit, the Communists must try to organize the masses of the soldiers in volunteer armies under the slogan of soldiers' councils, and mobilize them for the fight against the officers and the bourgeoisie. Where the social composition of certain units do not permit of this being done, the Communists must demand the immediate disarming and dissolution of such military units.

B. The Military Question During the Proletarian Revolution

50. The main slogans upon which the democratic partial demands are based are: disarm the bourgeoisie; arm the proletariat.

The arming of the proletariat assumes various forms at various stages of the revolution. In the period prior to the seizure of power, and in the first period after the seizure of power, it takes the form of a proletarian militia—a militia of the toilers, the Red Guard, and also Red Guerilla detachments. The Red Army is the form of military organization of the Soviet Government, *i. e.*, it is the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The demand for a proletarian militia (a militia consisting of toilers, a workers' and peasants' militia) in an imperialist country is merely another way of formulating the demand for arming the proletariat and can be put forward only in the inevitable transitional stage in the military policy of the proletarian revolution, in the period prior to the organization of the Red Army. Where there is no immediate revolutionary situation, this slogan can have only a propagandist significance. Nevertheless, it may become an immediately practical slogan in the fight against fascism.

At all events, the demand for a proletarian militia, or for a militia of the toilers, can only be put in the form of a direct appeal to the proletariat and not as a demand upon the bourgeois government. That being the case, this demand should be made to governments, or to parliaments, only in exceptional circumstances (for example, where there is a Social-Democratic government, or where there is a Social-Democratic majority in parliament, or among the masses). Under such circumstances, the demand must be put forward only as a means for exposing the Social-Democratic Party.

The Red Guard is an organ of the rebellion. It is the duty of the Communists to agitate for the establishment of such a Red Guard and to organize it when an immediate revolutionary situation arises.

51. Under no circumstances must it be forgotten that the existence of a proletarian militia, or a Red Guard, in imperialist countries, under a bourgeois State and in a state of "peace" is absolutely impossible.

The proletarian militia is the armed organization of the proletariat fighting for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or, an organ of the proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of suppressing the exploiters. This distinguishes our slogan of proletarian militia from the reformist plans for establishing yellow "workers' defense corps," consisting of specially selected, ignorant, or bribed proletarian elements. The latter kind of "labor defense corps" was used for the purpose of disrupting and restraining the proletariat in the struggle in the Ruhr in May, 1923, and after the Vienna uprising in 1927. It is the duty of the Communists strenuously to combat these despicable maneuvers of the Social-Democrats.

52. A distinction must be made between the militant slogan of workers' militia, proletarian militia and Red Guard—to be established prior to the capture of power, and which represent the rudiments of the Red Army—and the forms of militia which must arise after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and consolidated, in the period when the State and classes are dying out. In order to protect itself against imperialism, the proletariat must have a strong, disciplined, well-armed and efficient Red Army. Under present conditions, this function can be fulfilled only by a standing army representing the corps of the armed mass of the toiling population. To demand from the dictatorship of the proletariat, when it is surrounded by a capitalist environment, the immediate and complete transition to the militia system, is petty bourgeois and the counter-revolutionary stupidity. The more or less complete introduction of the militia principle in its pure form without any weakening of military power will be possible only when the productive forces have been completely developed, when Socialism has been fully established and the masses have been thoroughly trained in the spirit of Communism. Only when the proletarian revolution has been victorious in a number of big capitalist States will the proletarian government (as the Eighth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. has declared) be in a position to substitute the standing Red Army by a class militia.

At all events, the spirit, discipline and system of organization of the defense force of the dictatorship of the proletariat must bear a distinctly class character. Elements belonging to the exploiting class must not be permitted to serve in the ranks.

C. The Proletariat's Attitude Towards Armies in Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries

53. With the opening of the period of national revolutions and wars of oppressed nations against imperialism, the military question assumed decisive importance in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is true of countries which are, or have been, in a state of war with imperialism (China, Morocco, Syria, Nicaragua), as well as those countries in which open war is not yet being conducted (India, Egypt, Mexico, the Philippines, Korea). Clearly, the military question in relation to national wars against imperialism must be formulated differently from that in relation to imperialist States.

54. It must not be forgotten that two altogether different types of armies exist in these countries at the present time. On the one hand we have national armies (which are not always revolutionary armies), and on the other hand, we have imperialist armies (which are either expeditionary forces despatched from the home country, or armies consisting of natives of other Colonial countries, or else armies recruited in the given colonial country). In China we have both types of armies and also an example of how national armies become practically converted into imperialist armies. After Chiang Kai-Shek's coup, the Southern national army became transformed into an army practically serving imperialist aims. Obviously, the attitude of the proletariat and of the revolutionary toiling masses towards these two types of armies must be different. With regard to the national armies, the military program of Marx and Engels of 1848-1870, *i. e.*, the democratization of these armies for the purpose of converting them into revolutionary armies, must be applied with certain modifications. In regard to the imperialist armies, we can apply only the defeatist program, *i. e.*, disintegration from within. In the event of special officer units or bourgeois class military

organizations existing, efforts must be made to isolate and liquidate them, *i. e.*, the program which must be applied in imperialist countries must be applied here.

From the point of view of tactics there exists a third type of army in colonial and semi-colonial countries in addition to the two types already mentioned, *i. e.*, the army commanded by the imperialists, and in which a struggle is proceeding between the national movement and the imperialists (India, Egypt, Indo-China, Syria, Algiers, Tunis, etc.).

In such cases, the elements of both programs must be combined according to concrete circumstances, *i. e.*, the defeatist program must be applied to the armies, or certain units of these armies, which are under the command of the imperialists, and at the same time the slogans of the armed nation (militia) and a national army must be advanced.

The slogan for a national army must be advanced when the concrete situation is suitable for it and put forward in such a way as to prevent it being misused by the imperialists and their flunkies (complete independence of the army from the imperialists, organization of the army on the widest democratic basis, election of officers, etc.).

The slogan: Withdraw the imperialist armies from the colonies; withdraw the imperialist cadres and officers from native armies, must be advanced in the colonies as well as in the home countries.

55. In order to determine the attitude to be taken towards the military system in colonial and semi-colonial countries, consideration must be given to the political role being played by the given country at the given moment, in the decisive stages of the international revolution, *i. e.*, whether it is an ally or a foe of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese revolution, etc. On the whole, the proletariat, and the revolutionary masses among the oppressed nations, must demand the democratic system of armaments in which all the toilers are able to learn the use of arms, which will improve the defense of the country against imperialism, secure the influence of the workers and peasants in the army, and facilitate the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution.

Unlike the position in regard to the imperialist States, the slogans: universal military service, the military training of the youth, a democratic militia, a national army, etc., must be included in the revolutionary military programs in colonial and semi-colonial countries. In the present historical epoch, however, the tactics of the national revolutionary movement must be subordinated to the interests of the world proletarian revolution. Revolutionaries cannot advance such a program in oppressed countries which are themselves oppressors and act as the vassals of the imperialists in a war against proletarian, or national revolutions. In such countries Communists must unflinchingly combine their propaganda in favor of revolutionary war for the defense of other revolutionary countries, and their propaganda in favor of a revolutionary military policy, with a defeatist position in relation to the given war or army. Such a position must be taken up at the present time in those provinces in China which are under the rule of Kuomintang generals.

56. In laying down the military program for oppressed countries, consideration must be given to the stage of economic and political development of those countries.

(a) In those countries in which the democratic revolution has not yet been accomplished, the slogan of the armed nation (national militia) must be adopted, particularly in those countries where the class rupture between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not yet very strongly expressed (Syria, Morocco, and Egypt). This slogan must be linked up with democratic demands directed against feudalism and the feudal and bourgeois officers. In countries in which class differentiation is strongly expressed, but where the bourgeois revolution has not yet been accomplished, for example, in Latin-American countries, this slogan must bear the class character of a workers' and peasants' militia.

(b) In countries passing through the stage of democratic revolution, the slogan for militia will prove inadequate and must therefore be expanded into the slogan: Organize a revolutionary army. This, of course, does not prevent the militia slogan from being advanced at the same time, particularly in preparing for rebellion. It must be noted that arming the proletariat does not contradict the demand for the armed nation; in fact, the armed proletariat is a fundamental part of the armed nation. While participating in the general organizations of the armed nation, it is absolutely essential to set up special, proletarian, armed units, commanded by officers elected by these units.

(c) In countries passing from the stage of democratic revolution to proletarian revolution, the military program of the Communists in imperialist countries may be adopted, with certain concrete modification.

The slogan proletarian militia (a militia of the toilers, a workers' and peasants' militia) takes the place of the demand for a democratic militia. When, in the process of the revolution in the colonies, the question of armed seizure of power arises, the question of organizing a Red Army must be brought up simultaneously with the organization of Soviets. The old, revolutionary, democratic forms of army organization must be substituted by class forms, dictated by the proletarian revolution.

57. In the fight against imperialism, for the carrying out of a national-revolutionary military policy, it is absolutely necessary to conduct systematic agitational and propagandist work among the colonial armies. Communists and national revolutionaries must therefore carefully study the various types of colonial armies and devise effective methods for working among the various types. As the case of China shows, work in badly-disciplined and badly-paid native mercenary troops frequently has many chances of success.

In such cases, the partial demands may be somewhat similar to those enumerated above for imperialist States, but here, too, a careful study must be made of the concrete circumstances (class composition of the army, morale of the troops, economic conditions, etc.). Special attention must be paid to the formulation of the demands of the native troops, and to combating ill-treatment of the native troops by the white officers.

The character of the work that Communists must carry on in national armies will differ from that in other types of armies, but it is extremely important that this work should be done as the experience of the national war in China in 1926-1927 has shown. In this case, the task of the Communists is to organize nuclei throughout the whole of the army; to make it a more conscious instrument in the fight against imperialism; in the interests of the national revolution to fight against the unreliable elements among the officers, and where the command is not yet in the hands of the Communists, to subject the command to the control of the soldiers by the application of wide revolutionary democracy. It must always be borne in mind that the system of electing officers prevailed in the army of the Convent during the French revolution, and that the army achieved great victories, whereas the absolutely undemocratic system of organization of the Southern armies in China in 1926-1927 greatly facilitated the treacherous turn taken by the bourgeoisie and their generals.

IV. THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT AND THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

58. Imperialism at the present time encounters serious obstacles in its ideological and organizational preparations for new imperialist counter-revolutionary wars, *etc.*, the instinctive hostility to war aroused among the broad masses of the population, particularly among the workers, the peasants and the working women, since the last world war. For that reason, imperialism is compelled to make its preparations for war under the cloak of pacifism. At the same time, pacifism is acquiring a new objective significance as the ideology and the instrument in world imperialism's struggle against the progressing world revolution and its stronghold, the U.S.S.R. Herein lie the objective significance and the fundamental aim of the disarmament proposals and conferences initiated by the imperialist States, and particularly of the "work" of the League of Nations in this sphere: the discussions on "security"; the proposal to establish arbitration courts; the pacts for the "outlawry of war," etc. The purposes of all these pacifist schemes, treaties, and conferences are: (a) to camouflage imperialist armaments; (b) to enable certain great powers to maneuver against each other for the purpose of securing, by treaties, a reduction in their rivals' armaments, while at the same time to increase their own military power (c) to enable the great powers to reach temporary agreements guaranteeing their domination over the weak and oppressed countries; (d) to carry out ideological and political mobilization against the Soviet Union under the cloak of pacifist slogans, or direct preparation for war.

For this reason, to fight against the disarmament swindle and pacifism is one of the fundamental tasks in the struggle against imperialist war at the present time.

A. The Social-Democratic Disarmament Program and Leninism

59. The principal instrument in the imperialist disarmament farce is Social-Democracy, which sows among the masses illusions about the possibility of disarmament and abolishing war without overthrowing imperialism. Among the Social-Democrats there are two tendencies on the question of disarmament, both of which, however, are tendencies of bourgeois pacifism.

One of these tendencies, the herald of which Kautsky became already in 1911, "discovers" non-existent objective forces of capitalism, which are alleged to be operating in the direction of disarmament and the abolition of war. This tendency represents the policy of co-operating with the "Left" bourgeoisie for the purpose of limiting armaments, concluding international agreements between the imperialists for preventing, or altogether "outlawing" war, etc. Already, in 1916, Lenin described this tendency as "absolutely bourgeois pacifism." In 1914-1918, these views comprised the ideology of the "Center"; but when the world war came to an end and the imperialist governments began to resort to pacifist maneuvers, it became the policy of the leaders of the Second International. This policy is supported by the Right Wing as well as by the majority of the "Left" Social Democrats. It is presented as the policy of "realist" pacifism, but it in no way differs from the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

With this policy is associated the "organized capitalism" theory, according to which, capitalism, in the present imperialist stage, itself develops the objective factors for abolishing war from the realm of the "civilized world," etc. It is also associated with the theory of "ultra-imperialism," of imperialist "alliances," "pacts," and international cartels as a means for removing imperialist antagonisms. As a matter of fact, imperialism reveals no tendency whatever towards the abolition of war. On the contrary, all the facts which the "realist" pacifists enumerate for the purpose of lulling the masses, are symptoms of the preparations of imperialist war on the largest possible scale, of wars in which, not individual States, but whole groups of allied States, will be involved against each other.

A United States of Europe, or a United States of the World is a utopian dream under the capitalist system. But even if such could be established they would inevitably be reactionary, because they would represent an alliance for the suppression of the proletarian revolution and of the national liberation movements of colonial peoples. All the tendencies within this main tendency (for example the Pan-European movement) are out and out reactionary.

60. The adherents to the second tendency come out as "radical," or "revolutionary" pacifists, and demand complete disarmament, not only of the bourgeoisie, but also of the proletariat, *i. e.*, they reject the slogan of arming the proletariat. At the time of the imperialist war, this slogan was adopted by a number of revolutionary internationalists, who found no other way of expressing their honest desire to abolish militarism. It was not a revolutionary slogan, however, for it failed to take into account, or completely rejected, the necessity for arming the proletariat and for civil war; objectively, it was an expression of the desperation of the petty bourgeoisie. Lenin's criticism of this slogan expressed itself in 1916, holds good to this day, and must be employed even more sharply today, notwithstanding the fact that the number of those who support this slogan is now extremely insignificant. The October Revolution has proved to every honest revolutionary the absolute necessity for arming the proletariat. To substitute the slogan of disarming the proletariat for the slogan of arming the proletariat, can serve at the present time only as a counter-revolutionary slogan. For that reason the Communists must take great pains to explain the true position to those workers who sympathize with the slogan of disarming, particularly in the smaller countries, and to fight as strenuously as possible against the "Left" leaders, who advocate it. This applies also to the theory that international guarantees and "arbitration courts" can abolish war. Such institutions are merely soap-bubbles, which burst at the very first serious conflict, or else serve as instruments in the hands of the more powerful imperialist robbers.

There is only one point on which both Social-Democratic tendencies can agree on questions of disarmament and pacifism, and that is, that the principal obstacle to disarmament are the countries where "there is no democracy," *i. e.*, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R.

B. The Soviet Disarmament Proposals

61. Already in the theses of the Eighth Plenum of the E. C. C. I., emphasis was laid on the point that the international proletariat must take up an altogether different position in principle towards the Soviet Union's point of view on the question of disarmament from the position it must take up towards the hypocritical proposals for disarmament advanced by the capitalist States. In view of the exceptional importance of this question in the fight against pacifism, it must be very clearly presented and explained to the masses.

The proposals for general and complete disarmament submitted by the Soviet Government to the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament called by the League of Nations in November, 1927, differ radically in aim, sincerity and objective significance from the phrases and schemes submitted by the imperialists and their Social-Democratic flunkeys.

The aim of the Soviet proposals is not to spread pacifist illusions, but to destroy them; not to support capitalism by ignoring or toning down its shady sides, but to propagate the fundamental Marxian postulate, that disarmament and the abolition of war are possible only with the fall of capitalism.

The Soviet Government called upon the imperialists who talk cynically about disarming, actually to disarm; it tore down the pacifist masks from their faces. It goes without saying, that not a single Communist thought for a moment that the imperialists would accept the Soviet disarmament proposals. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government's proposals were not hypocritical, they were made in all sincerity, because they in no way contradict the domestic and foreign policy of the workers' government, whereas, imperialist "disarmament" phrasemongering contradicts the policy of bourgeois States—the policy of plunder and oppression. The Soviet Government represents the dictatorship of the proletariat in the interests of the majority of the population, who had been exploited for centuries. The Soviet Government does not conduct a policy of plunder and oppression; its policy is a peace policy, in the interests of the international proletariat.

The Soviet Union's proposals differ from the bourgeois and Social-Democratic proposals also in their *objective significance*. They do not serve as a screen to conceal a policy of aggression; they do not express the desperation of the petty bourgeoisie; they express one of the aims of Socialism, which the revolutionary proletariat will achieve after it has achieved victory all over the world.

62. In their opposition to the Soviet disarmament proposals, the Social-Democrats resorted to the most venomous means and utilized the slogans supplied to them by Trotskyism. They tried to discredit the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Government in the eyes of the masses by declaring them to be a "revision of Leninism," a transition to "Thermidor," etc. Enough has been stated above to prove that this is despicable slander. After the Soviet proposals for complete disarmament were rejected, the Soviet Delegation, in March, 1928, submitted a second plan, which provided for partial disarmament and for a gradual reduction of land and naval forces. This was not a concession to pacifism. On the contrary, it served to expose more completely the attitude of the great powers towards the small and oppressed nations. The Soviet Government's position on the question of disarmament is a continuation of Lenin's policy, and a consistent application of his precepts.

C. The Proletariat's Fight Against Pacifism

63. The workers in the Soviet Union, having defeated the bourgeoisie in civil war and having established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, may adopt a new method in their fight against pacifism—that venomous tool of imperialism—namely, to propose general disarmament to the imperialists. But the proletariat which is still fighting for power in capitalist States, cannot employ such a method. It would not be a revolutionary act for the proletariat in these countries to propose to, or demand disarmament from their bourgeoisie and their flunkeys; it would merely mean the substitution of the slogan of arm the proletariat for the slogan of disarm the proletariat; it would mean the rejection of civil war and of Socialism. Hence, Communists must strenuously combat the wrong conclusions drawn from the Soviet Government's disarmament proposals—conclusions which contradict the revolutionary sense of this program—and must ruthlessly condemn such a deviation in their own ranks.

64. The difference between the methods of combating pacifism employed by the proletariat in the Soviet Union and those adopted by the working class in capitalist countries does not mean that there is a contradiction between the two; nor does it follow that Communists in capitalist countries must not make use of the Soviet Government's declaration on disarmament in carrying on agitation among the masses. On the contrary, the disarmament policy of the Soviet Government must be utilized for purposes of agitation much more energetically and to a wider extent than has been done hitherto. However, they must not be utilized as a pretext for advancing similar demands in the capitalist countries, but as a means: (1) for recruiting sympathizers for the Soviet Union—the champion of peace and Socialism, (2) For utilizing the *results* of the Soviet disarmament policy and its exposure of the imperialists in the effort to eradicate all pacifist illusions and to carry on propaganda among the masses in support of the only way towards disarmament and abolition of war, *viz.*, arming of the proletariat, overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the proletarian dictatorship.

V. DEFECTS IN THE WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND THEIR TASKS

65. The Eighth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. called attention to a number of errors committed by the Communist Parties and to the defects in their work, and laid down a number of special and concrete tasks to be fulfilled by all the Sections of the Comintern in the fight against war.

The opinion expressed by the Eighth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. still holds good. Since the Eighth Plenum we have gained more experience, and from this the Sixth Congress draws certain conclusions in relation to the future activities of the Communist Parties.

66. The principal defect from which all the Sections of the Communist International still suffer, is their underestimation of the danger and inevitability of war. This is clearly seen from the fact that none of the Sections displays sufficient energy in carrying out of the decisions of the Eighth Plenum. The two greatest events in recent times—the British note to Egypt, and Japan's war in China, passed unobserved, as if they were minor, altogether unimportant incidents. In view of the rapid swing of the masses to the Left, which indicates that the masses sense the danger of war—the Communists stand in danger of trailing behind the working class, instead of leading it in the fight against war. Many Sections of the Comintern are influenced by the bourgeois and Social-Democratic propaganda for "peace," "disarmament," and "international arbitration"; they are not concerned with the imminence of the war danger, and speak about war as something very remote.

The underestimation of the danger of war, particularly of war against the Soviet Union, manifests itself in the failure to understand concrete facts and events which are symptomatic of the preparations now being made for war. When Comrade Rakovsky was recalled, the French comrades failed for a long time to understand the significance of this incident as a decided step on the part of France on the road of diplomatic preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The Party in Yugo-Slavia admits that it did not understand how imminent the danger of war was in the Italo-Yugoslav conflict. Several of the Communist Parties in the Baltic countries did not immediately understand the real significance of the concrete measures that are being taken for the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc of the Baltic States (for example, the negotiations for a Customs Union between Esthonia and Latvia). All these mistakes, which were subsequently admitted and rectified by the respective Parties, prove how extremely dangerous it is to ignore the measures being taken for the preparation of war. The Parties must maintain constant vigilance and watch the concrete forms which the war danger is assuming.

67. One of the principal defects in the Parties' work against war is their excessively abstract, schematic, and even shallow attitude to the war question.

Certain of the Sections confine their activities to speeches in parliament and at public meetings, in which speeches the question of war is usually left in the background. Our Parties have not yet learned to combine the parliamentary struggle against war with work outside of parliament for the purpose of popularizing our demands (the work of the Czecho-Slovak Communists in connection with the St. Gothard affair and the despatch of arms to China, consisted of mild protests in parliament and in the columns of the press). International problems must not be separated from war problems, but both are a part of the general class struggle and must be linked up with class conflicts at home, particularly with conflicts in enterprises engaged solely in the production of war material.

The mechanization of the armed forces and the militarization of industry are directly connected with war and call for strenuous activity in these branches of industry as well as in the trade unions and other labor organizations connected with them. So far, there is little to show that the Communist Parties have commenced to take up these elementary tasks seriously.

68. The abstract manner in which the war problem is regarded is shown by the failure of the Parties to take up a definite position on the question of war policy. Sometimes the Parties either fail altogether to react, or react too late, to the anti-militarist tricks of the Social-Democrats, which frequently find support among the masses (for example, the campaign conducted by the Social-Democrats in Germany in which they posed as being "opponents of war on principle"). Sometimes the Communist Parties try to evade the concrete problems of war politics by employing general phrases and repeating abstract propaganda slogans, instead of taking up practical tasks.

This applies particularly to army questions. In this a tendency is observed to evade the question of fighting for concrete partial demands and reforms which would actually weaken militarism (such as, reduction of period of military service, the question of the composition of volunteer armies, etc.). *The fight for reforms* is left entirely to the Social-Democrats, against whom no genuine proletarian political program on the army question—a program for weakening militarism and of practical proposals for the arming of the workers—is put forward.

Only a few sections have taken the necessary organizational measures for conducting systematic anti-militarist work. The work among soldiers and seamen in countries which are very important from the point of view of war danger is very unsatisfactory. The *mass character of this work*, its use as a means for carrying on agitation and propaganda among the soldiers, are not understood. In some countries, anti-militarist activity among the youth is conducted on too restricted a basis, while no attempt is made to establish an adequate organizational base among the masses of the soldiers. The fact that work *among sailors* is not carried on with sufficient energy in imperialist countries shows that the role of the navy in a future war is underestimated. In no country has systematic use been made of family influence upon the men serving in the army or the navy, and upon recruits.

69. Almost in all countries is observed a failure to properly appreciate the enormous importance of carrying on work among the peasants, among national minorities and in the colonies. The closest attention must be devoted to all these spheres of work.

Anti-militarist work in the rural districts must not be conducted solely by means of a few casual campaigns, parades, demonstrations, etc. Planned and systematic work must be carried on and linked up with the immediate demands of the toiling peasantry. A special task is to work among the peasant youth. It is imperatively necessary to devote special attention to the establishment of connections between the villages and the peasant soldiers in the army, by means of correspondents, soldiers on furlough, etc. Experience in such work will be of enormous value in the event of war.

In our work among *national minorities*, we must more determinedly than hitherto, champion the demands of the oppressed nations, fight against the tyrannical actions of the imperialist government against them, and guide the work of the national revolutionary organizations.

The Communist Parties must maintain permanent contact with the Communist organizations and trade unions in the respective colonial countries. They must render every support, by means of mass action, to the revolutionary movements in the colonies.

The Communist Parties of all countries must devote special attention to the setting up of non-Party organizations like the League for the Struggle Against Imperialism and to the question of establishing a united front between the proletariat in capitalist countries and the national liberation movements in subject countries for the struggle against war.

70. The fight *against fascism* has not up till now received sufficient attention from many of the Sections. The greatest initiative must be displayed in this connection, both in regard to the ideological struggle, as well as in regard to revolutionary mass actions against fascism. In this, not only should attention be given to avowedly fascist organizations but also to semi-fascist tendencies and organizations existing under the guise of democratic, or Social-Democratic bodies (like the "Imperial Flag," in Germany; the Social-Fascist tendencies of development in the higher ranks of the Social-Democratic and trade union

bureaucracy; factory Fascism, etc.). The fight against Fascism in all its forms must be closely linked up with the fight against imperialist war.

71. We are witnessing at the present time a fresh wave of bourgeois propaganda in favor of "peace" and "disarmament" and for the "outlawry of war." Hitherto, the fight against this sort of pacifism has not been conducted with sufficient energy, and the same may be said in regard to the fight against the Social-Democratic propaganda against the alleged "Red Imperialism" of the Soviet Union and "Bolshevism as a factor making for war." The exposure of the real character of the League of Nations which is playing a decisive part in the work of creating pacifist illusions among the masses of the people, has not been carried on systematically or with sufficient energy.

In the majority of cases, the very important Communist task arising from the results of the Geneva Conference, *viz.*, to combine the struggle against war with propaganda for the proletarian dictatorship and arming of the proletariat, was forgotten. In some countries, utterly pacifist mistakes were committed which were expressed in the advocacy of the slogan of disarmament.

72. The majority of the Communist Parties, after the Eighth Plenum failed to devote sufficient attention to popularizing the proper Leninist method of fighting against war among the members of the Party. Neither in the theoretical journals, nor in the ordinary Party press were the fundamental problems connected with the fight against war adequately discussed; nor were the concrete partial demands connected with this fight properly elucidated. The latter must be noted as a particularly grave defect in the Parties' work, for in many cases these problems were extremely urgent, and the Social-Democratic press devoted fairly considerable attention to them.

The work of the Parties suffers also from a lack of ideological clarity on all these problems. Certain comrades (in France, Switzerland and in Austria) raised the question of "national defense" in the event of war with Italy. Others advocated a complete "boycott" of military training camps (in America). All these examples of deviation, although subsequently rectified by the leading Party bodies, show how necessary it is to conduct, in the Party ranks, as well as among the masses, serious and extensive propaganda work on the question of the war danger and the methods of combating it.

73. The principal agitational tasks in the struggle against the war danger, and particularly against the provocation and preparation for war against the Soviet Union are as follows:

(a) In view of the imminence of the war danger, the principal and central agitational slogans must be: "Defense of the Soviet Union," "Support the revolutionary struggle in colonial and subject countries," "Fight against imperialist war."

(b) Agitational work must be steadily directed towards the exposure of the predatory strivings of various imperialist groups in all countries. It must be particularly directed against the American imperialists; against British imperialists, who are leading the preparations for war against the Soviet Union; and against the British and Japanese imperialists who are leading the military intervention in China. The demand must be made for the publication of all secret treaties and secret military alliances.

(c) The Social-Democratic proposal for "limited armaments," their defense of the Geneva Protocol, and of compulsory arbitration, must be criticized and exposed.

(d) An energetic campaign of exposure must be carried on against "industrial peace," class collaboration, neutral (non-political) unions and "company unions" advocated by the reformist trade union leaders, and which, in fact, are measures in the preparation for war.

(e) Work must be immediately commenced to explain to the workers why they must stand for the defeat of their imperialist country in the coming war. The slogan "transform imperialist war into civil war," must already become the leading idea in our propaganda, before imperialist war breaks out.

(f) All the Communist Parties must conduct the fight against the imperialist partition of China by means of wide mass campaigns, and by combating the special military and political measures initiated by the Great Powers. This fight is closely linked up with the fight against the danger of new imperialist wars.

74. The most important measures to be taken, the majority of which have already been indicated in the Theses of the Eighth Plenum, are the following: Women's and children's demonstrations on the routes taken by troops on the way to the front and places of embarkation, and also women's, children's and disabled soldiers' demonstrations outside parliaments. Anti-war agitation in

proletarian and petty bourgeois women's organizations, the convening of women delegate conferences under anti-imperialist war slogans; the calling of meetings of working women outside factory gates and in working class districts from which delegates shall be elected; to utilize the existing and to set up new women delegate conferences, which must serve as permanent bodies for conducting campaigns against imperialist war. The tactics of the united front and work in "Hands Off Russia" committees must be conducted more effectively than hitherto. Moreover, trade unions must be persuaded to affiliate to these committees. A fight must be conducted along the whole line against Fascism, which is one of the armed units of the counter-revolution. Wherever possible, mass organizations, like the German Red Front Fighters League, must be set up. Anti-Fascist and anti-war work must be carried on in sport organizations. Existing class war victims' organizations (Disabled Soldiers' Leagues, War Widows' Organizations, etc.) must be utilized and strengthened for the purpose of fighting against imperialist war. The Young Communist League, in close contact with the Communist Parties, must carry on strenuous work among the working and peasant youth, from among whom the soldiers are recruited. Existing proletarian teachers', parents' and pupils' organizations and Communist children's groups must also be utilized. New children's organizations must be established for the purpose of combating imperialist influences in the schools.

75. The task of preparing the Communist Parties themselves is one of first class importance. The spreading of a profounder consciousness of international solidarity among the Sections of the Comintern is a necessary condition precedent for the preparedness of the Communist Parties for war.

The closest possible contact must be established between all the Sections before the outbreak of war, and every means must be employed to maintain these contacts throughout the whole course of the war.

The terror against the Communist Parties, and the revolutionary movements as a whole, that will accompany the mobilization, will assume unparalleled intensity. Thousands of Communists and revolutionary workers, whose names have been listed beforehand, will be put away in concentration camps. The imperialists will not only try to destroy the legal Communist Parties but the whole apparatus and leadership of the underground Parties as well.

The Communist Parties must immediately set to work to prepare to meet this situation. The legal Communist Parties must exert every effort to prepare for the timely transition to underground conditions. The underground Parties must make preparations to adapt their leadership and their organization to conditions of a worse terror than prevails at present. Timely preparations must be made for the changing of organizational methods and for changing the organizational contacts from top to bottom. Party members must be prepared beforehand for the new situation that will arise in connection with the mobilization and the opening of hostilities.

76. The Sixth World Congress recalls to the minds of all Communists what Lenin said about the fight against war being by no means an easy matter. It urges upon the Parties to subject themselves to thorough self-criticism and systematically to verify what has been done up till now in the fight against the war danger and for preparing the Party for the struggle during the war. It enjoins them ruthlessly to bring to light and immediately to rectify all mistakes that have been committed.

The Sixth Congress calls upon all the Sections to give the struggle against war a more international character and to take preparatory measures for the international co-ordination of revolutionary action in order that they may be in a position at the required moment to carry out important international mass action against imperialist war.

EXHIBIT No. 92

[Source: Chapter IV from Foundations of Leninism, by Joseph Stalin, a booklet published by the International Publishers, New York: 1954; pages 45-58. In an edition of 100,000]

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IV. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

FROM this theme I will take three main questions: (1) the dictatorship of the proletariat as the instrument of the proletarian revolution; (2) the dictatorship of the proletariat as the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie; (3) the Soviet power as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(1) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the Instrument of the Proletarian Revolution.

The question of the proletarian dictatorship is above all a question of the basic content of the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, its movement, its sweep and its achievements acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the weapon of the proletarian revolution, its organ, its most important stronghold which is called into being, first, to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and to consolidate its achievements; secondly, to lead the proletarian revolution to its completion, to lead the revolution onward to the complete victory of socialism. Victory over the bourgeoisie and the overthrow of its power may be gained by revolution even without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the revolution will not be in a position to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie, maintain its victory and move on to the decisive victory for socialism, unless at a certain stage of its development it creates a special organ in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as its principal bulwark.

"The question of power is the fundamental question of the revolution." (Lenin.) Does this mean that the only thing required is to assume power, to seize it? No, it does not. The seizure of power is only the beginning. For a number of reasons, the bourgeoisie overthrown in one country for a considerable time remains stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it. Therefore, the important thing is to retain power, to consolidate it and make it invincible. What is required to attain this end? At least three main tasks confronting the dictatorship of the proletariat "on the morrow" of victory must be fulfilled. They are:

(a) to break the resistance of the landlords and capitalists overthrown and expropriated by the revolution, and to liquidate every attempt they make to restore the power of capital;

(b) to organise construction in such a way as will rally all toilers around the proletariat and to carry on this work in such a way as will prepare for the liquidation, the extinction of classes;

(c) to arm the revolution and to organise the army of the revolution for the struggle against the external enemy and for the struggle against imperialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary in order to carry out and fulfil these tasks.

"The transition from capitalism to communism," Lenin says, "represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters will inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this *hope* will be converted into *attempts* at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters—who had not expected their overthrow, who never believed it possible, who would not permit the thought of it—will throw themselves with tenfold energy, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundred-fold into the battle for the recovery of their lost 'paradise' on behalf of their families who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the 'common herd' is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to 'common' work). . . . In the wake of the capitalist exploiters will be found the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, to whose vacillation and hesitation the historical experience of every country for decades bears witness; one day they march behind the proletariat, the next day they will take fright at the difficulties of the revolution, become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers; they become irritable, they run about, snivel and rush from one camp to the other." (*The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky.*)

Now the bourgeoisie has reasons for making attempts at restoration, because for a long time after its overthrow it remains stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it.

If the exploiters—Lenin says—are vanquished in only a single country, which, of course, is the typical case since a simultaneous revolution in a number of countries is a rare exception, they *still remain stronger* than the exploited. (*Ibid.*)

Wherein lies the strength of the overthrown bourgeoisie?

First, "In the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie." (*"Left-Wing" Communism*, p. 9).

Secondly, in the fact that "for a long time after the revolution, the exploiters will inevitably retain a number of enormous and real advantages: they will have money left (it is impossible to abolish money all at once), some

movable property, often of considerable value; there remain their connections, their organising and administrative ability and the knowledge of all the secrets of administration (of usages, of procedure, of ways and means, of possibilities); there remain their superior education, their kinship to the highest ranks of the technical personnel (who live and think like the bourgeoisie); there remains their immeasurable superiority in the art of war (this is very important), etc., etc." (*The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky.*)

Thirdly, "In the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small-scale production*. For unfortunately, very, very much of small-scale production still remains in the world, and small-scale production *gives birth* to capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. . . ." For "the abolition of classes not only means driving out the landlords and capitalists—that we accomplished with comparative ease—it means also *getting rid of the small commodity producers*, and they *cannot be driven out or crushed*; we must live *in harmony* with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated, but this can be done only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organisational work." (*"Left-Wing" Communism*, pp. 9, 28.)

That is why Lenin declares: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against the *more powerful enemy*, against the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow," that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—*sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative*—against the forces and traditions of the old society." (*Ibid.*)

It need hardly be emphasised that there is not the slightest possibility of accomplishing these tasks in a short period of time, within a few years. We must, therefore, regard *the dictatorship of the proletariat*, the transition from capitalism to communism, not as a fleeting period replete with "super-revolutionary" deeds and decrees, but *as an entire historical epoch full of civil wars and external conflicts*, of persistent organisational work and economic construction, of attacks and retreats, of victories and defeats. This historical epoch is necessary not only in order to create the economic and cultural prerequisites for the complete victory of socialism, but also in order to enable the proletariat, first, to educate itself and become steeled into a force capable of governing the country; secondly, to re-educate and remould the petty-bourgeois strata along such lines as will assure the organisation of socialist production.

Marx said to the workers: "You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and conflicts of peoples, not only to change the conditions, but in order to change yourselves and to make yourselves capable of wielding political power."

Developing Marx's thought still further, Lenin goes on to say: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat we will have to re-educate "millions of peasants and petty proprietors, hundreds of thousands of employes, officials and bourgeois intellectuals"; to subordinate "all these to the proletarian state and to proletarian leadership"; to overcome "their bourgeois habits and traditions . . ." just as much as it will be necessary ". . . to re-educate in a protracted struggle, on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarians themselves, who do not abandon their petty-bourgeois prejudices at one stroke, by a miracle, at the behest of the Virgin Mary, at the behest of a slogan, resolution or decree, but only in the course of a long and difficult mass struggle against mass petty-bourgeois influences." (*"Left-Wing" Communism*, pp. 92-93.)

(2) *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the Domination of the Proletariat over the Bourgeoisie*

From the foregoing, it is quite obvious that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a mere change of personalities in the government, a change of "cabinet," etc., leaving inviolate the old order of things economically as well as politically. The Mensheviks and opportunists of all countries, who fear dictatorship like the plague, and who, in their trepidation, palm off the concept "conquest of power" for the concept "dictatorship of the proletariat," habitually reduce the meaning of "conquest of power" to a change of "cabinet," or to a new ministry composed of people like Scheidemann and Noske, MacDonald and Henderson taking over the helm of the state. There is hardly any need to explain that these and similar cabinet changes have nothing in common with the dictatorship of the proletariat or with the conquest of real power by a real proletariat. With the MacDonalds

and Scheidemanns in power, and the old bourgeois order of things allowed to remain, their governments, so to speak, cannot be anything but an apparatus serving the bourgeoisie, a screen to hide the sores of imperialism, a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the oppressed and exploited masses. Capital needs such governments to screen it, when it finds it inconvenient, unprofitable or difficult to oppress and exploit the masses without the aid of such a blind. Of course the appearance of such governments is a symptom that "all is not quiet on Shipka Hill" * (*i. e.*, among the capitalists). Nevertheless, governments of this complexion necessarily remain camouflaged capitalist governments. The government of a MacDonald or a Scheidemann is as far removed from the conquest of power by the proletariat as the earth from the sky. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a mere change of government, but a new state, with new organs of power, both central and local; it is the proletarian state which has arisen on the ruins of the old state, the state of the bourgeoisie.

The dictatorship of the proletariat does not arise on the basis of the bourgeois order; it arises while this order is being torn down, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, in the process of the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, during the process of socialisation of the principal instruments and means of production, in the process of violent proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolutionary power based on violence against the bourgeoisie.

The state is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. *In this respect* the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in essence, from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian state is an instrument for the suppression of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, there is an *essential* difference between the two, which is, that all class states that have existed heretofore have been dictatorships of an exploiting minority over the exploited majority, whereas the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the exploited majority over an exploiting minority.

To put it briefly: *the dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses.* (Cf. Lenin, *State and Revolution*.)

From this two fundamental deductions may be drawn.

First deduction: the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be "complete" democracy, a democracy for all, for rich and poor alike; the dictatorship of the proletariat "must be a state that is democratic *in a new way* (for* the proletariat and the poor in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (against* the bourgeoisie)." (*State and Revolution*, Little Lenin Library, Vol. 14, p. 31; *Collected works*, Vol. XXI, Book II, p. 177.) The talk of Kautsky and Co. about universal equality, about "pure" democracy, about "perfect" democracy and the like, are but bourgeois screens to conceal the indubitable fact that equality between exploited and exploiters is impossible. The theory of "pure" democracy is the theory of the upper stratum of the working class which is tamed and fed by the imperialist plunderers. It was invented to hide the sores of capitalism, to camouflage imperialism and lend it moral strength in its struggle against the exploited masses. Under the capitalist system there is no true "freedom" for the exploited, nor can there be, if for no other reason than that the buildings, printing plants, paper supplies, etc., indispensable for the actual enjoyment of this "freedom," are the privilege of the exploiters. Under the capitalist system the exploited masses do not, nor can they, really participate in the administration of the country, if for no other reason than that even with the most democratic system under capitalism, the governments are set up not by the people, but by the Rothschilds and Stinneses, the Morgans and Rockefellers. Democracy under the capitalist system is *capitalist* democracy, the democracy of an exploiting minority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat is real "freedom" for the exploited and real participation in the administration of the country by the proletarians and peasants possible. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is *proletarian* democracy—the democracy of the exploited majority based upon

*A Russian saying carried over from the Russo-Turkish War. Severe fighting was taking place at Shipka Hill in which the Russians were suffering severe losses; but Russian Headquarters in their *communiqué* reported: "All quiet on Shipka Hill."—*Ed.*

*My italics.—J. S.

the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority.

Second deduction: the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot come about as a result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy; it can come only as the result of the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, of the bourgeois army, of the bourgeois civil administration and of the bourgeois police.

In their *Civil War in France*, Marx and Engels wrote: "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." (International Publishers, p. 37.)

In his letter to Kugelmann (April 12, 1871), Marx wrote that the task of the proletarian revolution must "be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to *smash* it, and that is essential for every real people's revolution on the Continent." (*Letters to Dr. Kugelmann* [International Publishers], p. 123.)

Marx's qualifying phrase about the Continent gave to the opportunists and Mensheviks of all countries a pretext to cry aloud that Marx admitted the possibility of the peaceful evolution of bourgeois democracy into a proletarian democracy at least in certain countries which do not come within the European continental system (England, United States). Marx did in fact concede that possibility, and he had good grounds for doing so in regard to the England and the United States of the seventies of the last century, when monopoly capitalism and imperialism did not yet exist and when these countries, owing to the special conditions of their development, had as yet no developed militarism or bureaucracy. That is how matters stood before developed imperialism made its appearance. But later, after a lapse of thirty to forty years, when a state of affairs in these countries had undergone a radical change, when imperialism was developing and was embracing all capitalist countries without exception, when militarism and bureaucracy appeared in England and the United States also, when the special conditions of peaceful development in England and the United States had disappeared—then the qualification in regard to these countries could no longer apply.

Lenin said: "Today, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this exception made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America, the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty' in the whole world, in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have today plunged headlong into the all-European dirty, bloody morass of military bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything underfoot. Today, both in England and in America, 'essential for every real people's revolution' is the *break-up, the shattering* of the 'ready-made' state machinery (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)." (*State and Revolution*, Little Lenin Library, p. 34; *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Book II, p. 180.)

In other words, the law of violent proletarian revolution, the law of destruction of the machinery of the bourgeois state as a condition precedent for such revolution, is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries of the world.

Of course, in the remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the most important capitalist countries and if the present capitalist encirclement gives way to a socialist encirclement, a "peaceful" course of development is quite possible for some of the capitalist countries whose capitalists, in view of the "unfavourable" international situation, will consider it advisable "voluntarily" to make substantial concession to the proletariat. But this supposition deals only with the remote and possible future; it has no bearing whatever on the immediate future.

Lenin is therefore right in saying: "The proletarian revolution is impossible without the violent destruction of the bourgeois state machine and its replacement by a *new one*." (*The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*.)

(3) The Soviet Power as the State Form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the suppression of the bourgeoisie, the break-up of the bourgeois state machine and the displacement of bourgeois democracy by proletarian democracy. That is clear. But what organisations are to be employed in order to carry out this colossal work? There can hardly be any doubt that the old forms of proletarian organisation which grew up with bourgeois parliamentarism as their base are not equal to this task. What are the new forms of proletarian organisation that can serve as the grave-digger of the bourgeois state machine, that are capable not only

of breaking this machine, not only of replacing bourgeois democracy by proletarian democracy, but also of serving as the foundation of the state power of the proletariat?

This new form of organisation of the proletariat is the soviets.

In what lies the strength of the soviets as compared with the old forms of organisation?

In that the soviets are the most *all-embracing* mass organisations of the proletariat, for they and they alone embrace all workers without exception.

In that the soviets are the *only* mass organisations that take in all the oppressed and exploited workers and peasants, soldiers and sailors, and for this reason the political leadership of the mass struggle by the vanguard, by the proletariat, can be most easily and most completely exercised through them.

In that the soviets are the *most powerful organs* of the revolutionary mass struggle, of mass political demonstrations and of mass uprising; they are organs capable of breaking the omnipotence of finance capital and its political accessories.

In that the soviets are the direct organisations of the masses themselves, *i. e.*, they are the *most democratic*, and therefore the most authoritative organisations of the masses, that provide them with the maximum facilities for participating in the building up of the new state and its administration; they develop to their fullest extent the revolutionary energy, the initiative and the creative faculties of the masses in the struggle for the destruction of the old system, in the struggle for the new proletarian system.

The Soviet power is the unification and the crystallisation of the local soviets into one general state organisation, into a state organisation of the proletariat which is both the vanguard of the oppressed and exploited masses and the ruling class—it is their unification into the republic of soviets.

The essence of the Soviet power is the fact that the most pronounced mass and revolutionary organisations of precisely those classes that were oppressed by the capitalists and landlords now constitute the "*permanent and sole* foundation of all state power, of the entire state apparatus"; that "precisely those masses which in the most democratic bourgeois republics" enjoy equal rights according to the letter of the law, but "in fact, by a thousand tricks and machinations were prevented from participating in political life and from exercising their democratic rights and liberties, are now constantly, imperatively drawn into participation, and, moreover, into *decisive* participation in the democratic administration of the state." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 13, Russian edition.)

For this reason the Soviet power is a *new form* of state organisation different in principle from the old bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary form—a *new type* of state adapted, not to the task of exploiting and oppressing the toiling masses, but to the task of completely emancipating them from all oppression and exploitation and to the tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin rightly says that with the appearance of the Soviet power "the epoch of bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism has come to an end and a new chapter in world history has commenced; the epoch of proletarian dictatorship."

What are the main characteristics of the Soviet power?

They are that the Soviet power has a most pronounced mass character and is the most democratic of all state organisations possible while classes continue to exist; for, being the arena of the bond and co-operation of the workers and exploited peasants in their struggle against the exploiters, and basing itself in its work on this bond and co-operation, the Soviet power by this very fact represents the rule of the majority of the population over the minority, it is the state of that majority, the expression of its dictatorship.

That the Soviet power is the most international of all state organisations in class society, for, by extirpating every kind of national oppression and basing itself on the cooperation of the toiling masses of the various nationalities it facilitates the amalgamation of these masses into a single union of states.

That the Soviet power by its very structure facilitates the leadership of the oppressed and exploited masses by the vanguard of these masses, *i. e.*, the proletariat—the most compact and most class conscious nucleus of the soviets.

"The experience of all revolutions and of all movements of the oppressed classes, the experience of the world socialist movement teaches us," says Lenin, "that only the proletariat is able to unite the scattered, backward strata of the toiling and exploited population and to lead them." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 14, Russian edition.) The structure of the Soviet power facilitates the practical application of the lessons to be drawn from this experience.

That the Soviet power, by combining the legislative and executive functions in a single state body and replacing territorial electoral divisions by units of production, *i. e.*, factories and workshops, thereby directly connects the workers and the labouring masses in general with the apparatus of state administration and teaches them how to administer the country.

That only the Soviet power is capable of releasing the army from its position of subordination to bourgeois command and of converting it from an instrument of oppression of the people, which it is under the bourgeois order, into an instrument for the liberation of the people from the yoke of the bourgeoisie, both native and foreign.

That "only the Soviet state organisation can definitely destroy at one blow the old, *i. e.*, the bourgeois-bureaucratic and judicial apparatus." (*Ibid.*)

That the Soviet form of state alone, by drawing the mass organisations of the toilers and of the exploited into constant and unconditional participation in the administration of the state, is capable of preparing the ground for the dying out of the state which is one of the basic elements of the future stateless communist society.

The republic of soviets is thus the political form, so long sought and finally found, within the framework of which the economic emancipation of the proletariat and the complete victory of socialism is to be accomplished.

The Paris Commune was the embryo of this form; the Soviet power is its development and culmination.

That is why Lenin says that: "The republic of soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies is not only the form of a higher type of democratic institution . . . but is also the *only form* capable of ensuring the least painful transition to socialism." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, p. 131, Russian edition.)

EXHIBIT No. 93

[Source: The Communist, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America; August, 1934, Vol. XIII, No. 8, page 799. An excerpt from an article entitled "The Leninist Party as Leader of the Struggle Against Imperialist War," by H. M. Wicks]

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History has put the question: Either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; hence the chief slogan of the Communist International is *Soviet Power*.

An even here, in the still most strongly entrenched imperialism in the world, the workers are more insistently raising the issue of general strike, thereby registering a higher stage of struggle, which, with correct leadership, can go forward from defensive struggles to attacks against the capitalist system itself.

But while including the general strike as a weapon against imperialist war, Communists do not fall into such errors as raising the slogan of "reply to war with a general strike". To do so would create illusions. But along with the growth of revolutionary mass actions, such as demonstrations, strikes in basic industries, munitions works, waterside, rail transport, etc., the general strike—as the supreme form of the mass strike movement—can be a mighty weapon, and "as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. But even in war time the general strike does not come like a bolt from the blue. It comes on the rising tide of revolutionary mass action (demonstrations, partial strikes, etc.) and as a result of the persistent preparation, which the Communists must make, and which may entail heavy sacrifices". (Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.)

Finally, in all our activity against imperialist war, we must always refute the pacifist illusion that wars can be abolished under capitalism, and keep before the masses the Leninist position as set forth in the Sixth World Congress resolution against war:

"War is inseparable from capitalism. From this it follows that the 'abolition' of war is possible only through the abolition of capitalism, *i. e.*, through the overthrow of the class of bourgeois exploiters, through the proletarian dictatorship, the building of socialism, the elimination of classes. All other theories and proposals, however 'realistic' they may claim to be, are nothing but a deception calculated to perpetuate exploitation and war."

EXHIBIT No. 94

[Source: Excerpts from the Communist, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America, August, 1934, Vol. XIII, No. 7, pages 752, 753. From an article entitled "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War," by V. I. Lenin, pages 751-754]

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4. The betrayal of Socialism by a majority of the leaders of the Second International (1889-1914) signifies the ideological and political collapse of that International. The fundamental reason for this collapse is the actual prevalence in it of petty-bourgeois opportunism, the bourgeois nature and the danger of which have long been pointed out by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. The opportunists had long been preparing the collapse of the Second International by renouncing the Socialist revolution and substituting for it bourgeois reformism; by rejecting the class struggle, which at certain moments necessarily turns into civil war, and preaching instead the collaboration of classes, by preaching bourgeois chauvinism and defense of the fatherland, under the cloak of patriotism, and rejecting the elementary truth of Socialism, expressed long ago in *The Communist Manifesto*, that the workers have no fatherland; by confining themselves in the struggle against militarism to a sentimental philistine point of view instead of recognizing the necessity of a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries against the bourgeois of all countries; by making a fetish of the necessity of utilizing bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois legality, forgetting that in times of crisis illegal forms of organization and propaganda are imperative.

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7. The slogans of Social-Democracy must now be: First an all-embracing propaganda of the Socialist revolution, to be extended also to the army and the area of military activities; emphasis to be placed on the necessity of turning the weapons, not against the brother wage slaves of other countries, but against the reaction of the bourgeois governments and parties in each country; recognition of the urgent necessity of organizing illegal nuclei and groups in the armies of all nations to conduct such propaganda in all languages; a merciless struggle against the chauvinism and patriotism of the philistines and bourgeoisie of all countries without exception.

EXHIBIT No. 95

[Source: The Communist, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America, February, 1934, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pages 131-144]

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FASCISM, THE DANGER OF WAR AND TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

The development of the general crisis of capitalism, after the end of the relative stabilization that was noted by the last (XII) Plenum of the Executive Committee, Communist International, has already shaken the capitalist system to a far-reaching degree all over the world.

While the U. S. S. R., the bulwark of the international proletariat and of the oppressed nations, is developing its socialist construction and raising its power to a higher and higher level, the economy of the capitalist world is falling to pieces. The noose of poverty, ruin, and hunger is tightening. The bourgeoisie is furiously intensifying its economic means of exploitation by methods of fascist violence, by robbing the toiling classes and by predatory wars against other nations. But at the same time the revolutionary indignation of the toiling masses and their readiness to overthrow the intolerable yoke of the exploiting classes are growing more and more.

The tremendous strains of the internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, as well as of the international antagonisms, testify to the fact that

the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis have matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolution and wars.

I.—Fascism and the Maturing of the Revolutionary Crisis

1. Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital. Fascism tries to secure a mass basis for monopolist capital among the petty-bourgeoisie, appealing to the peasantry, artisans, office employees and civil servants who have been thrown out of their normal course of life, and particularly to the declassed elements in the big cities also trying to penetrate into the working class.

The growth of fascism and its coming into power in Germany and in a number of other capitalist countries mean:

(a) That the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital are growing.

(b) That the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy in general.

(c) That, moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics (the struggle against the proletariat) as well as in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redistribution of the world).

(d) That, in view of this, capital is compelled to pass to open terrorist dictatorship within the country and to unrestrained chauvinism in foreign politics, which represents direct preparation for imperialist wars.

Fascism Born in the Womb of Bourgeois Democracy

Born in the womb of bourgeois democracy, fascism in the eyes of the capitalists is a means of saving capitalism from collapse. It is only for the purpose of deceiving and disarming the workers that social-democracy denies the fascization of bourgeois democracy and makes a contrast between the democratic countries and the countries of the fascist dictatorship in principle. On the other hand, the fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The possibility of averting it depends upon the forces of the fighting proletariat, which are paralyzed by the corrupting influence of social-democracy more than by anything else.

2. While the general line of all bourgeois parties, including social-democracy, is towards the fascization of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the realization of this line inevitably gives rise to disagreement among them as to forms and methods of fascization. Certain bourgeois groups, particularly the social-fascists, who in practice stick at nothing in their acts of police violence against the proletariat, urge the maintenance of parliamentary forms when carrying through the fascization of the bourgeois dictatorship. The fascists, however, insist on the full or partial abolition of these old, shaken forms of bourgeois democracy, on carrying through fascization by means of the establishment of open fascist dictatorship and by a wide application of both police violence and the terrorism of fascist gangs. Having come to power, fascism pushes aside, splits and disintegrates the other bourgeois parties (for instance, Poland), or dissolves them (Germany and Italy). This striving of fascism for political monopoly intensifies the discord and conflicts in the ranks of the ruling classes which follow from the internal contradictions in the position of the bourgeoisie who are becoming fascized.

Social-Democracy Main Prop of Bourgeoisie

3. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has unmasked *German Social-Democracy* before the whole world. From the bloody crushing of the proletarian revolution in 1918, through an uninterrupted chain of treachery and strike-breaking, through all the coalition governments, the savage police massacres of revolutionary workers, voting for Hindenburg as the "lesser evil," to servile endeavors to cooperate openly with the fascist gangs—such is the record of German social-democracy, the leading party in the Second International.

German social-democracy was and still remains the banner-bearer of all the parties of the Second International which follow the steps of German social-democracy.

Social-democracy continues to play the role of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open fascist dictatorship. In fighting against the revolutionary unity of the proletariat and against the U.S.S.R., it helps the bourgeoisie to prolong the existence of capitalism by splitting the working class. In the majority of countries, however, it is already in the process of disintegration. The radicalization of the social-democratic workers intensifies the squabbles among the leading circles of the social-fascists. Avowed neo-fascist groups are arising; "left" fragments break away and try to patch together a new two-and-one-half international. Trotsky, the lackey of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, is unsuccessfully trying to prevent the social-democratic workers coming over to the side of Communism by his despicable attempts to form a fourth international, and by spreading anti-Soviet slanders. On the basis of the sharp antagonisms between the imperialist countries, the international organization of social-democracy is disintegrating. The crisis of the Second International is a fact.

Finance Capital Cannot Restore Stabilization of Capitalism

4. The economic policy of the financial oligarchy for overcoming the crisis (the robbery of the workers and peasants, subsidies to the capitalists and landlords) is unable to restore the stabilization of capitalism; on the contrary, it is helping still further to disintegrate the mechanism of capitalist economy (disorganization of the money system, of the budget, state bankruptcies, a further deepening of the agrarian crisis), and to sharply intensify the fundamental contradictions of capitalism.

In this situation, all the capitalist countries are developing their war industries to unprecedented dimensions, and are adapting all the principal branches of industry, as well as agriculture, to the needs of war. The "demand" thus created for means of extermination and destruction, combined with open inflation (U.S.A., Great Britain, and Japan), super-dumping (Japan), and hidden inflation (Germany) has in the past year caused an increase in output in some branches of industry in a number of countries (particularly iron, steel, non-ferrous metals, the chemical and textile industries). But this whipping up of production for non-productive purposes, or the speculative leaps in production on the basis of inflation, is accompanied by stagnation or a fall in production in a number of other branches (machine construction, building, the production of articles of consumption), and in the near future cannot but lead to the still greater disturbance of state finances and to a still further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

The furious struggle for foreign and colonial markets has already assumed the form of an actual international economic war.

Social-Democracy's Wrong Estimate of the Crisis

5. Therefore, the social-democratic estimation of the present world situation as one in which capitalism has succeeded in consolidating its position, in which it is already on the path towards overcoming its general crisis, is completely wrong. As distinguished from the first wave of the fascization of capitalist states which took place at the time of the transition from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilization, the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilization to a revolutionary crisis, which determines other perspectives of development of fascism and the world revolutionary movement of the toilers.

Even the most savage terror which the bourgeoisie employs, in order to suppress the revolutionary movement, cannot, in the conditions when capitalism is shaken, for long frighten the advanced strata of the toilers and restrain it from taking action; the indignation which this terror has aroused even among the majority of the workers who followed the social-democrats, makes them more susceptible to Communist agitation and propaganda. When the bourgeoisie reorganizes its tottering dictatorship on a fascist basis in order to create a firm, solid government, this, in the present conditions, leads to the strengthening, not only of its class terrorism, but also of the elements which disrupt its power, to the destruction of the authority of bourgeois law in the eyes of the broad masses, to the growth of internal friction among the bourgeoisie and to the acceleration of the collapse of its main social support—social-democracy. Finally, when the bourgeoisie tries, by an aggressive war policy, to strengthen its foreign position, it intensifies extremely international antagonisms and the danger for capitalism which arises from them.

The Maturing of the Revolutionary Crisis

6. It would, therefore, be a right opportunist error to fail to see now the objective tendencies of the accelerated maturing of a revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world. But the presence and operation of these tendencies, both economic and political, do not imply that revolutionary development is proceeding upwards by itself, or unhindered without resistance from counteracting forces. Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie. The question as to how soon the rule of bankrupt capitalism will be overthrown by the proletariat will be determined by the fighting preparedness of the majority of the working class, by the successful work of the Communist Parties in undermining the mass influence of social-democracy.

In the present situation, in conditions when antagonistic class forces are strained to the utmost, the growth of the revolutionary mass movement in individual capitalist countries can have a constant or level character even less than before. In *China* there is a war, intervention and revolution. In *Japan* there is the growth of the forces of revolution and the mobilization of the military fascist forces on the eve of great class conflicts. In *Spain* there is the clash between revolution and counter-revolution. In the U. S. A. there is a wave of mass strikes of the workers and indignation among the farmers against the bourgeois program for overcoming the crisis. In *Germany*, the revolutionary hatred of the proletariat is growing at the present moment in less open forms. There, enormous revolutionary energy is being accumulated among the masses and a new revolutionary upsurge is already beginning. The strained situation in Germany sharpens to the extreme the class relations in the neighboring countries—in *Czecho-Slovakia*, *Austria*, the *Baltic* countries, as well as in the *Scandinavian* countries, in *Holland*, *Belgium*, and in *Switzerland*. In *Poland* the mass strikes of the workers are accompanied by big revolutionary actions in the Polish rural districts. In *Bulgaria*, in spite of the terror, the majority of the working class solidly follows the Communist Party. In *Rumania* there is a big strike of railwaymen, with barricade fighting.

At the same time, the main stronghold of the world proletariat, the powerful *Land of the Soviets*, the land of the victorious working class which is making the present year into the last year of economic difficulties, raising the well-being of the toiling masses to a new and higher level by its great socialist victories, serves as an inspiration to the toilers of all countries in their revolutionary struggle.

II.—The Imperialist Preparations for a New World War

The growing uncertainty of the bourgeoisie as to the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis only by the intensified exploitation of the toilers of their own countries, has led the imperialists to put their main stake on war. The international situation bears all the features of the eve of a new world war.

Soviet China a Big Factor of World Revolution

1. The flames of a new world war are flaring up in the Pacific. The Japanese militarists, spurred on by the profound internal crisis which the bourgeois-landlord monarchy is undergoing, are continuing the predatory war against China, and with the aid of the Kuomintang are subjugating Northern China and are preparing a blow against the Mongolian People's Republic. British imperialism is stretching out its hand to the southeastern provinces of China, Tibet, Szechwan, while French imperialism is stretching out its hand towards Yunnan. The fascist military clique of Japan is acting as the battering ram against the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China. The American, Japanese and British imperialists are behind the Kuomintang in its sixth campaign against the only people's government in China, against the Chinese Soviets. The victories of the Soviet revolution in China, the partisan war in Manchuria, the growth of the revolutionary forces in Japan and of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, create a new front in the rear of the imperialists. The Soviet revolution in China has become a big factor of the World Revolution.

Unleashing Counter-Revolutionary War Against U. S. S. R.

2. The Japanese militarists are calling to the German fascists and the British imperialists to unleash a counter-revolutionary war *against the U. S. S. R.*, from

the East and from the West. Pursuing a policy of continuous provocation against the U. S. S. R. and contemplating the seizure of Soviet territory, the fascist militarists of Japan are acting as an outpost in a counter-revolutionary war against the Land of the Soviets. At the same time, German fascism is inviting the international bourgeoisie to purchase its national-socialist mercenaries to fight against the U. S. S. R., intriguing with British, Italian and Polish imperialists (the German-Polish negotiations). The British imperialists at the present time have taken the place of the French as the chief organizers of an anti-Soviet war.

The Soviet Union has achieved considerable successes in the unswerving and firm policy of peace it has pursued in the interests of all the toilers (a number to pacts of non-aggression, a number of new recognitions, the definition of the aggressor, the forced raising of the embargo of Great Britain). The Land of the Soviets is the only bulwark of peace and of the independence of the weak states against the attacks of the predatory imperialists. By its proletarian policy, it is winning more and more the confidence of the toilers of the whole world and of the oppressed nations. Retarding the outbreak of a new war by the gigantic growth of its power, the U.S.S.R. invokes upon itself a new wave of hatred on the part of the most reactionary and aggressive groups of the imperialists.

Fascist Germany Chief Instigator of War in Europe

3. The fascist government of Germany, which is the chief instigator of war in Europe, is provoking trouble in Danzig, in Austria, in the Saar, in the Baltic countries and in Scandinavia, and on the pretext of fighting against Versailles, is trying to form a bloc for the purpose of bringing about a new bloody carving up of Europe for the benefit of German imperialism. Imperialist blocs, headed either by France or Italy, or by Britain, which intrigues behind their backs, are being feverishly reorganized around the keypoints of imperialist contradictions. Europe has become a powder-magazine which may explode at any moment.

British and American imperialists, availing themselves of the war alarm in Europe and the events in the Far East, are increasing their preparations for a decisive imperialist struggle for world hegemony in the Atlantic and in the Pacific.

Social-Democracy in Support of Imperialism

4. In this situation *social-democracy* sticks at nothing in the support of the imperialist interests of its own bourgeoisie and combines this support with service to international capital against the U.S.S.R.

Japanese social-democracy and the trade union leaders, following General Araki, proclaim the civilizing mission of Japanese imperialism in Asia and justify the predatory conquests of their bourgeoisie in China on the grounds of the "interests of socialism". In England the National Laborites, in conjunction with the Conservatives, are pursuing the predatory policy of British imperialism; the Labor Party, deceiving the workers by its pseudo-opposition to the government, is striving after ministerial posts in order to continue what, in fact, is the same imperialist policy. The French Socialists (as well as the social-democrats of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, etc.), carrying out the "sacred unity of the nation" under the slogans of "defense of democracy", and "defense against German fascism", actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany. The German social-democracy openly voted in the Reichstag for the national front of German fascism, which is preparing for a military adventure.

At the same time, the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are adapting their policy to the situation of the eve of war, trying to safeguard the interests of their own bourgeoisie and to ensure that the main blow will be directed at the U.S.S.R.; they hypocritically ask this by expressing readiness to reply to war by a general strike and a boycott, but they declare in advance that they will do so only against the government that will be declared the aggressor by the League of Nations. They pretend to be leading a boycott against goods from fascist Germany, but they persecute the workers who really carry out this boycott. Under the slogans of pacifism and of a fight against war and fascism, they act as pioneers in working up public opinion in the capitalist countries in favor of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the laud of victorious socialism. The great historical task of international Communism is to mobilize the broad masses against war even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism. Only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war.

III. The Tasks of the Communist Parties

In the conditions of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, when the bourgeoisie is trying to divert the ferment, the discontent and the indignation of the masses into the channel of *fascization and war* in order to strengthen its dictatorship, the main task of the Communists is to direct this mass movement towards the fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes.

A. The Fight Against Fascist Ideology

The Communists must:

Daily and concretely expose chauvinism to the masses in every country and oppose it by proletarian internationalism; in the imperialist countries come out determinedly for the independence of the colonies, for the liberation of the dependent nations from all national oppression; in the keypoints of national antagonisms Communists must struggle against imperialist occupation and violence, for the right of self-determination (Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia, etc.), coming out in all these regions, and also in Austria and Danzig, against the chauvinism of their national bourgeoisie and against incorporation in the hangmen's "third empire" of German fascism.

Widely popularize the solution of the national question in the U. S. S. R. and the tremendous economic, social and cultural successes achieved by the peoples which were liberated by the October Revolution.

B. The Fight Against the Fascization of the Bourgeois Governments and Against War

In the fight against the fascization of the so-called "democratic" countries, the Communist Parties must first of all brush aside the fatalist, defeatist line of the inevitability of a fascist dictatorship and imperialist war and also the opportunist underestimation of the tempo of fascization and the threat of imperialist war, which condemn the Communist Parties to passivity.

In carefully explaining the economic and political slavery which the fascist dictatorship is bringing to the toilers, showing the masses that the fascists are not socialists and are not bringing in a new order, but are lackeys, lickspittles of capital, the Communists must rouse the masses in time for the defense of the trade unions, of the labor press, of the workers' clubs, of the freedom of strike and of workers' meetings, organizing protest demonstrations, strikes, and setting up fighting self-defense detachments to resist the terrorist gangs.

In the fight against the fascist dictatorship, the Communists must:

(a) Taking as the starting point the defense of the *every-day* economic and political interests of the toilers, rouse the masses against the fascist dictatorship which deceived the workers, the peasants and the urban toilers; expose the demagogy and all provocations of fascism (the burning of the Reichstag, the faking of the Reichstag elections, etc.), stirring up strikes and leading the proletariat up to mass political strikes; (b) Penetrate all the *fascist mass organizations* and also carry on revolutionary work in the forced-labor camps; while fighting against the revolutionary workers leaving the fascist trade unions individually, but not calling upon the workers to join the fascist trade unions, the Communists must utilize all mass movements as well as all manifestations of discontent shown by the masses in the fascist trade unions in order to form and consolidated *independent class trade unions*, while at the same time continuing their revolutionary work inside the fascist organizations; (c) Expose in the eyes of the *peasants* the policy which fascism pursues in the interests of the landlords and the kulaks, illustrating this by concrete examples from their own farm life; join the mass fascist organizations in the rural districts in order to split off the toiling peasants; organize the *agricultural proletariat* in independent trade unions which are to serve as the main lever for the whole work in the rural districts.

In fighting *against war*, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, concentrate their forces in each country, at the *vital parts of the war machine* of imperialism.

In addition to increased agitation, the Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organization of *mass action* (increasing the work among the railwaymen, seamen and harbor workers, preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organizing demonstrations against military maneuvers, etc) and must *intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy*.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all the workers and the toilers of the world self-sacrificing to defend the U. S. S. R. against the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists, and to defend the Chinese revolution and its Soviet power from imperialist intervention.

C. Against Social-Democracy and for a United Front from Below

In their fight against *social-democracy*, the Communists must prove to the workers that the new bankruptcy of social-democracy and the Second International was historically inevitable. While carefully exposing to the masses and refuting the hypocritical and treacherous sophistries of social-democracy, the Communists must win over the social-democratic workers for active revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Parties.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. fully approves the appeal for a united front issued by the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., and the position of the Political Secretariat, E. C. C. I., in the correspondence with the British Independent Labor Party. Social-democracy, which split the working class by its treachery at the time of the imperialist war and the October Revolution, has in all countries, in accordance with directives of the Second International, refused the offers made by the Communist Parties for united working class action, and sabotaged the united anti-fascist and anti-war movements created in Amsterdam and Paris, and in the face of fascism and war, striven to deepen the split in the ranks of the proletariat.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all Sections of the Communist International persistently to fight for the realization of a united militant front with the social-democratic workers,—in spite of and against the will of the treacherous leaders of social-democracy.

The Plenum fully approves the resolution of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. of April 1, 1933, on the situation in Germany and the political line pursued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Thaelmann, before and at the time of the fascist coup. The Plenum notes the heroic Bolshevik struggle waged by the Communist Party of Germany against the fascist dictatorship.

IV. The Tasks of Mass Work and the Strengthening of the Communist Parties

The fulfilment of these fundamental tasks demands the genuine reorganization of the whole of the *mass work* of the Communist Parties, especially the work in the factories and trade unions, which still represents their weakest sector. In the situation when the toilers are in a state of great ferment, the Communists, while taking into account the moods of the masses, must formulate *slogans and demands* in such a way as to make them arise from the present level of the movement; at the same time they must show the workers the revolutionary way out. This means:

a) That the content and language of *agitation and the press* must henceforth be addressed to the broadest strata of the proletariat and the toilers, showing the face of the Communist Parties in both agitation and in mass actions (demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions).

b) *Securing within the shortest time possible a decisive turn to the work in the factories*, concentrating the forces of the Party organization in the decisive enterprises and raising the political level of the leadership given by the factory nuclei to the daily class struggles.

c) Putting an end to the opportunist, defeatist neglect of *trade union work* and in particular work inside the reformist trade unions and the mass fascist and Christian trade unions, in accordance with the directives given by the Twelfth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on work inside the trade unions.

d) Really developing *mass work among the unemployed*, carrying on an untiring fight for social insurance, for all kinds of municipal relief.

e) Intensifying revolutionary work in the rural districts, opposing the landlord-kulak slogan of a "united countryside" by the class slogans of the toilers and by the agrarian program of the Soviet revolution; at the same time, developing the fight for all the partial demands of the peasantry, at the same time opposing the kulak demands which conflict with the interests of the proletariat and the village poor; obtaining a foothold (trade unions of agricultural workers, peasant committees) among the farm laborers, poor peasants and the semi-proletarian elements of the villages; to win over the basic masses of the small and middle peasants.

f) Increasing the mass work among women, at the same time promoting and training even now, a body of active Party women, who, during the war, could in a number of cases replace mobilized comrades.

g) Putting an end to the narrowness of the Y. C. L. and really turning it towards the masses of working youth, struggling against the compulsory government system of fascization and militarization. The Communist Parties must give every possible help to the Y. C. L. in developing the work inside the mass bourgeois and reformist youth organizations (cultural, sporting, etc.) and in the formation of Y. C. L. cells in the factories.

Discipline and Fighting Fitness

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. sets before all Communist Parties as most important tasks the carrying out of regular and constant check-ups on the strengthening of their ranks, of preparing to go underground, of tightening up the discipline and fighting fitness of every Party organization and of every member of the Party.

The whole situation demands that the Communist Parties prepare in good time cadres for underground work, that they seriously tackle the question of combatting provocateurs, that they combine the methods of strict secrecy with securing the best contacts with the masses and avoiding the schematic structure and work of the underground organization.

Only the concentration of all the efforts of the Party organizations on forming underground factory nuclei and intensifying the work of the Communist fractions in all of the mass organizations can ensure contacts with the masses and also the maximum secrecy and efficiency.

In carrying out these tasks, the Communists must utilize all legal possibilities to develop mass work, and to link up legal and illegal work.

The XIII Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all sections of the Comintern to ruthlessly root out opportunism in all its forms, and above all, right opportunism (Remmele, Neumann, the defeatists in other countries in their estimate of the prospects of the German revolution), without which struggle the Communist Parties will not be able to lead the working masses up to the victorious struggles for the Soviet power.

V.—For a Revolutionary Way Out of the Crisis—For a Soviet Government

1. The Communist Parties must, with all resoluteness, raise before the masses the task of the revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Against the quack recipes of the fascists and the social-fascists for saving decayed capitalism, the Communists must prove to the masses that the ills of capitalism are incurable. Therefore, the Communists, while defending in every way the demands of the toilers, must untiringly disclose to the masses who are suffering from starvation and exploitation the whole truth, viz, that their catastrophic conditions will grow worse and worse under the blows of the continuous offensive of capitalism, until the toilers succeed in uniting their forces for a counter-blow and the crushing of bourgeois rule.

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the October Revolution, via the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, of the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stocks of goods of the capitalists, the lands of the landlords, the church and the crown.

Living Example of Soviet Union

2. It is necessary increasingly to popularize the living example of the Land of the Soviets and to explain to the toilers and the exploited masses in all capitalist countries how Soviet economy, freed from the anarchy of the crisis

of capitalism, is in the position to develop unhindered the productive forces on the basis of a socialist plan; how the Soviet workers and all the toilers are vitally interested in this development and in its rapid *tempo*; how the Soviet proletarian state, which is at the same time the organization of the power of the proletariat as well as the dominating productive organization of society, constantly increases the social wealth and thereby the welfare of all the toilers, whereas every bourgeois state, being a social economic parasite, devours and exhausts the economic forces of the people.

It is necessary to unfold before the toilers of each country a program which, basing itself on the experience of the great triumphs of the Soviet workers and collective farmers on all fronts of the class struggle and socialist construction, should, while making allowance for the peculiar conditions of the different countries, show *what the Soviet Power will give them in their own country*. At the same time it is necessary to emphasize in particular the abolition of unemployment and the elimination of uncertainty for the morrow under the Soviet power; the constant improvement in the conditions of labor, and social insurance, along with the reduction of the working day; the liberation of the toilers of the countryside from all the remnants of feudalism and from all bondage; the provision of land for the landless peasants and those having little land; the support given to the poor peasants and the assistance rendered to the peasant cooperative societies and collective farms; the throwing open of all the doors of cultural development to the working class youth and to all the toilers, etc.

The Soviet power, which is based on the mass organization of the workers and semi-proletarians, offers the possibility of the wide and real enjoyment of democracy by all the toiling masses who were formerly oppressed by capitalism.

The Soviet power is the state form of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Soviet power is the state form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants, which ensures the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution (China, etc.).

It is democracy for the toilers, but a stern dictatorship against exploiters.

Chief Slogan Is Soviet Power

3. It is necessary with all insistence to raise the question of *power* in the mass work of the Communist Parties. The Chief slogan of the Communist International is: *Soviet power*.

The example of the U. S. S. R. is the example of *Bolshevism*. Only *this* example shows the way out, and the way to save the exploited and oppressed in all the imperialist and colonial countries.

The example of Bolshevism is the example of proletarian internationalism. The victory of the socialist revolution is possible only by strengthening the international ties of the revolutionary proletariat. The way of Bolshevism is the way of uniting the proletarian forces of all nationalities and races, it is the way of their joint struggle hand in hand with the proletariat against the oppressors and exploiters.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. obliges all Sections of the Communist International to be on their guard at every turn of events, and to exert every effort without losing a moment for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the impending decisive battles for power.

EXHIBIT No. 96

[Source: The Communist, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America. August, 1934, Vol. XIII, No. 8, pages 755-772]

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FOR A BOLSHEVIK ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

By Alex Bittelman

"The international situation bears all the features of a new world war." (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

In the twenty years after the outbreak of the first world imperialist war, capitalism has brought humanity to the threshold of a new world war. In the war of 1914-1918, the American bourgeoisie, under Wilson, resorted to the swindle of "the war to end war", war "to make the world safe for democracy". For this gigantic fraud and crime, the Second International, the Socialist Parties and the

reformist bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. hailed Wilson as a new Messiah that would lead the world out of the wilderness of war and oppression. Only the Bolsheviks pointed out the imperialist nature of the first world war; only they mobilized the masses to fight against it by transforming it into civil war against capitalism, the U.S.S.R. being the undying monument of the Bolsheviks' success and their loyalty to proletarian internationalism. In the United States, as in the rest of the world, it was only the extreme Left Wing of the Second International, led by the Bolsheviks, that was waging a revolutionary fight against the first world imperialist war. It was the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America, headed by Charles E. Ruthenberg, the group that later founded the Communist Party of this country, that salvaged the grain of proletarian internationalism out of the semi-pacifist and semi-opportunist St. Louis anti-war resolution (and even this was brazenly betrayed by the official S.P. leadership), undertaking to mobilize the American masses for a revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war. Though weak and inconsistent, because it did not proceed from a complete Bolshevik position, the anti-war struggles led by the Left Wing were the only manifestation of proletarian internationalism in the United States.

War in the Making

The whole capitalist world is intensively preparing for war. Nothing shows this better than the feverish race in armaments in all imperialist countries, the search for regroupings and war alliances, the rapid fascization of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agency. "The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land of victorious Socialism." (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.L.) Only one country in the whole world, the U.S.S.R., the country where the working class rules, consistently fights for peace.

It is already fully obvious that the Geneva Conference of the League of Nations has suffered a complete collapse as a conference for *disarmament*. And whose responsibility is that? It is the responsibility of the entire capitalist world which does not want to disarm or reduce armaments, but on the contrary is feverishly arming for war. Most especially must the responsibility be placed squarely at the door of the military-fascist clique of Japan that is waging a brigand war against the Chinese people and is preparing for war against the Soviet Union; the fascist murderers of Germany who are likewise preparing for this counter-revolutionary war, exchanging signals with their Japanese friends; the criminal war incendiaries of England who lead the sabotage of the peace proposals of the Soviet Union; the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital in the United States and in all other imperialist countries.

The Peace Policy of the Soviet Union

It is necessary to recall that it was the Soviet Union which, in pursuance of its consistent and proletarian peace policy, had repeatedly challenged the capitalist world to make good its demagogic talk and—disarm. At the very beginning of the Disarmament Conference meetings in Geneva, Comrade Litvinov proposed a plan for total and complete disarmament. This was not accepted. The Soviet Union then proposed a plan for partial disarmament, which met the same fate. But these proposals were not in vain. They served to focus the attention of the toiling masses in the capitalist world upon the increasing danger of war manifested in growing armaments and aggravated by it. They served further to demonstrate before the toiling masses of all countries the peace policy of the Land of Socialism in contrast to the imperialist war policies of the lands of capitalism. In this way the repeated disarmament offers of the Soviet Union served to strengthen both the struggle of the Soviet Union for the maintenance of peace and the anti-war, anti-imperialist struggles of the workers and toilers in the capitalist world.

The eve of the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the first world imperialist war is characterized by a most complex and alarming world situation in which the aggressive forces of world imperialism are growing, regrouping and placing the question of war on the order of the day. In this situation the Soviet Union has made another effort to retard the outbreak of a new world war. Developing further its policy of concluding non-aggression pacts with its immediate neighbors, the Soviet Union seeks to bind the rest of the capitalist world to similar pacts, and as many of the capitalist countries as can

be pressed into mutual assistance pacts, in order to create as many obstacles as possible to the outbreak of a new world war, to retard and delay it as much as possible. With supreme clarity and cogency Comrade Litvinov urged this policy upon the capitalist world at the recent meeting of the General Disarmament Commission in Geneva. His proposal to transform the Disarmament Conference into a Permanent Peace Conference for the prevention and retardation of war, to lay aside for the present the hypocritical talk of the capitalist governments on disarmament, since it had been abundantly proved that none of them thinks of disarming, and to concentrate on binding together for mutual assistance all those States which have cause to fear aggression by others and which, for one reason or another, do not want the outbreak of war at the present time,—these proposals have already served to clarify before the masses the world situation. They threw a glaring light on the war danger spots and on those imperialist forces and States that are pressing hardest at the present time for a new criminal world war, for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. The impotently malicious attack of German fascism upon these proposals of the Soviet Union, the similar attitude of the Japanese military-fascist clique, and the opposition of British imperialism spoken in Geneva through Simon, "advocate of German fascism" (*Pravda*), clearly indicate the location of those imperialist forces that are now driving to a new war, to a counter-revolutionary war against the Socialist fatherland of the world proletariat and of all toilers.

It goes without saying that the possibility and effectiveness of the peace policies of the Soviet Union result first and foremost from the giganticly increased strength of the Socialist fatherland, on the one hand, and the growing revolutionary movement of the masses in the capitalist world, on the other. This is fundamental, and it is this growing strength of the Socialist sector of the world that calls forth the increasing hatred of the capitalist world and its provocative maneuvers against the Soviet Union. At the same time, the effectiveness of the Soviet peace policies is made possible also by the sharpening contradictions within the imperialist camp. The sharpening of these imperialist contradictions (French-German, British-U.S.A., U.S.A.-Japanese, the contradictions around Austria and in Southeastern Europe generally, etc.), out of which grows the danger of war and of an attack upon the U.S.S.R., has also led to a split in the anti-Soviet camp. Speaking of the line-up in the imperialist camp from the point of view of Litvinov's recent proposals in Geneva, *Pravda* wrote: "There are countries at present in the capitalist world which strive actively towards war and are openly preparing an attack upon the U.S.S.R." Germany and Japan are foremost among these. "There are countries which, though reluctant to be drawn into war themselves but which are in fact paving the way for war, are pushing forward and encouraging the war incendiaries." England is at the head of these, and the most reactionary circles of American monopoly capital incline in the same direction. "And, finally, there are countries which are now not interested in war, would like to avoid it, and therefore are agreed to collaborate with those who are interested in strengthening peace" (*Pravda*, May 31, 1934). Chief among these latter countries are France and the Little Entente.

The Place of American Imperialism in the War Line-up

Where does the government of the United States stand in this line-up? The first thing to take note of is the feverish preparations of American imperialism for war. "It has embarked on a naval race with its main imperialist rivals, Great Britain and Japan. The army has been further mechanized, and the world's largest air fleet provided for, coast defense has been strengthened, army cantonments throughout the country have been provided; and the C.C.C. has served as a trial mobilization and training ground for a great army, both for imperialist war and for civil war against the workers at home, as openly admitted by Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of War, Woodring" (Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.). Neither the pacifist demagoguery of the Roosevelt government nor its empty talk of the "good neighbor" can hide the fact that the struggle of American imperialism against its chief imperialist rival, Great Britain, has sharpened and continues to sharpen all along the line, and that the U.S.A.-Japan imperialist contradictions are becoming more acute, especially in China but also beginning to develop in South America. The outstanding fact is that, behind the brazen peace-demagoguery of the New Deal, Yankee imperialism is intensively preparing for war to secure world hegemony

against British imperialism and to settle accounts with Japanese imperialism. More than ever it is becoming clear that the Roosevelt New Deal, hailed by the Socialist Party as "a step to socialism" and by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as "a genuine partnership of labor and capital" is a weapon for a more rapid fascization of the rule of the U.S. bourgeoisie and for imperialist war preparations.

The New Deal had recognized the Soviet Union because, in the face of the tremendous power and international significance of the latter due to the historic successes of Socialist construction and the consequent rise of the sympathies and support of the American masses for the Soviet Union and its peace policies, any other policy would be utterly ridiculous and harmful for American imperialism itself. It is hardly necessary to prove that the class antagonism between the Socialism of the U. S. S. R. and the capitalism of the U. S. A. has not been in the least weakened by this recognition but, on the contrary, is increasing and bound to increase with the growing successes of the Socialist world and the deepening general crisis of the capitalist world. But can it be said that at this *present historical conjuncture* American imperialism belongs to those countries in the imperialist line-up that agree to collaborate for the strengthening of peace? No, there are no signs of that. "While extending recognition to the U. S. S. R., United States imperialism continues to furnish munitions and war supplies to Japan, and tries to provoke a war between Japanese imperialism and the U. S. S. R. for the purpose of weakening both its chief imperialist rival in the Pacific, as well as the country of Socialism—the workers' fatherland" (Eighth Convention of the C. P. U. S. A.). Is this a sign of a peace policy? No, quite the contrary, it is an act and policy of imperialist war provocation and, more particularly, against the Soviet Union. Or, take the conduct of the U. S. delegation, under Davis (Morgan's messenger boy), at the recent session of the General Disarmament Commission in Geneva. Confronted with the *new methods* for the strengthening of peace and retardation of war, submitted by Comrade Litvinov on behalf of the Soviet Union, and in accord with the dearest wishes of the toiling masses all over the world, on the one hand, and with the opposition to these proposals in the Commission, led by Simon, the spokesman of British imperialism and advocate of German fascism and Japanese military-fascist brigandage, on the other hand, what did Davis and the U. S. delegation do? Did they show any signs of leaning in the direction of those imperialist powers which, like France, etc., show willingness to collaborate with the U. S. S. R. in the strengthening of peace at the present time? No, not at all. Through all the disarmament and peace camouflage of Davis' speeches, he and the U. S. delegation were leaning definitely in the direction of Simon and British imperialism, *i. e.*, in the direction of those imperialist countries which, while reluctant to be drawn into war themselves, are in fact paving the way for war and are encouraging the war incendiaries to go ahead—especially to go ahead against the Soviet Union.

We know, of course, and that must be made very clear to the masses, that French imperialism, the watchdog of the Treaty of Versailles, is not one iota better than English or German; that the only reason French imperialism has changed its position from one of chief organizer of the anti-Soviet war to one of rapprochement with the U. S. S. R. is because it sees now in the maintenance of peace its chief salvation and because the Soviet Union is the most important factor working for the strengthening of peace. No doubt, French imperialism gains certain advantages from its policy of rapprochement with the U. S. S. R.; but so do we, the world revolutionary movement and the Socialist fatherland. No doubt, postponement of war enables the bourgeoisie of those countries that work for it (France, etc.) to prepare the war better and to push further the process of fascization; but the same postponement enables the Soviet Union to press forward and higher with its Socialist construction and to become *more powerful*; the same postponement of war enables the Communist Parties in the capitalist world to gain time for better preparation of the proletariat for the decisive struggles, and under increasingly favorable objective conditions, since the general crisis of capitalism is increasingly intensifying, the revolutionary crisis is maturing, and the imperialist contradictions are sharpening. "Time is on our side, if only we do not remain passive" (Kuusinen, Report to the Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.).

It goes without saying that if the policy of the Roosevelt government were to veer around to the position of collaborating with the U. S. S. R., for the

present historical moment, for the strengthening of peace, as it well may under the impact of the revolutionary anti-war struggle of the masses, and since U. S. imperialism does not yet feel itself prepared for war, this would in no way indicate a turn of U. S. imperialism to a peace policy. It would mean, as it does in the case of French imperialism, a turn to a policy that seeks to gain time for the better preparation for war and for pressing further the fascization of the rule of the American bourgeoisie. And from such an eventuality there is only one conclusion to be drawn for the proletariat of the U. S. and its vanguard, the Communist Party, namely, to utilize the time thus gained from the retardation of war *for more intense mobilization of the forces of the American proletariat and its allies for decisive battles against American capitalism.*

We must never fail to explain and emphasize that a bourgeois policy of maintaining peace *for a given time differs radically and on principle* from the consistent and Bolshevik peace policy of the U. S. S. R. To take an example: the policies of the U. S. S. R. and of the U. S. towards Japan. The U. S. S. R. pursues towards Japan, as towards all other States, a consistent and honest policy of peace. This policy arises and is dictated by the principles of proletarian internationalism upon which the Soviet State rests, principles that are mortally opposed to all kinds of imperialist conquest and oppression, this policy is dictated by the needs of Socialist construction which, again, are of international importance for the toiling masses all over the world; and, finally, this policy serves the interests of the maturing world revolutionary crisis "if only we do not remain passive". The ridiculous assertions of the bourgeoisie and its social-fascist agents led by Trotzkyism, that the Soviet peace policy is dictated by its "weakness", has been exploded conclusively by Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C. P. S. U., and this lying assertion has not been much in evidence since. This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. has no "quarrels" with the military-fascist clique of Japan. The proletariat and the collective peasants and all toilers of the U. S. S. R. have one big fundamental "quarrel" with Japanese imperialism as one link in the chain of world imperialism: it is the "quarrel" between Socialism and capitalism as two rival world systems, between proletariat and capitalists, between national independence and foreign imperialist domination. It is the class struggle on the international arena. This struggle the U. S. S. R. seeks neither to bridge nor conciliate, but, on the contrary, it seeks the solution of this struggle, together with the proletariat and its allies in the capitalist world, in the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, in the victory of the world revolution. It is precisely for this reason that Japanese imperialism, and world imperialism, seek the destruction of the U. S. S. R. Hence the revolutionary policy of defense of the Socialist fatherland.

The Brazen "Peace" Demagegy of Imperialism in Contrast to the Proletarian Internationalist Peace Policy of the U. S. S. R.

On the other hand—the "peace" policy of Yankee imperialism towards Japan. Can it hide the imperialist ambitions of American capitalism in China? Can it hide the determination of Yankee imperialism to secure mastery of the Pacific? These are the "quarrels" of U. S. imperialism with Japanese imperialism. And what is their nature? They are not class quarrels but imperialist quarrels, they are the rivalries of two imperialist brigands over the dismemberment and rape of China, over the robbery and exploitation of the peoples of the Pacific regions. And how can this "quarrel" be solved? Capitalism, and imperialism especially, knows only one way—imperialist war. And this is what U. S. imperialism (and Japanese) is preparing for. Consequently, the "peace" policy of Yankee imperialism towards Japan is not a peace policy at all; it is thoroughly hypocritical and dishonest. Treaties, pacts and agreements between these two imperialist brigands may be negotiated and even concluded as long as both continue to feel unprepared for the final showdown; but all the while, both are feverishly preparing for it as the only solution of their contradictions.

Thus we see the fundamental difference between the Bolshevik peace policy of the U. S. S. R. and the hypocritical playing-around-with-peace policies of the U. S. The former follows from the proletarian internationalism of the growing Socialist system, based on the power of the U. S. S. R. and the anti-war struggles of the toiling masses in the capitalist world, as well as upon the sharpening contradictions between the imperialist powers; the latter follows from the decaying capitalist system and the sharpening inner and outer contradictions

of U. S. imperialism. The former seeks to retard the outbreak of war for the sake of the growing Socialism and the maturing world revolutionary crisis; the latter seeks to hide imperialist aggression and war preparations, all the while cultivating the criminal proposition of a counter-revolutionary war against the U. S. S. R.

War as the Capitalist Way Out of the Crisis

"The growing uncertainty of the bourgeoisie as to the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis only by the intensified exploitation of the toilers of their own countries, has led the imperialists to put their main stake on war" (Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.). This uncertainty has increased since the Thirteenth Plenum, and also in the U. S. The depression, into which the economic crisis has passed at the expense of the workers, farmers, and the toiling masses of the colonies, has turned out precisely as Stalin has shown, "not an ordinary depression" but a "depression of a special kind which does not lead to a new boom and flourishing industry". The trend of business in the U. S. since the high point of the "recovery" in July, 1933, passed a zigzag course of sporadic ups and downs; and while the downs do not reach the lowest point of March, 1933, neither do the ups tend to come up to the highest point of the depression of July, 1933. Regular employment—especially in capital goods industries—has increased inconsiderably, and the increase that took place was in the main an extension of the "stagger" system, *i. e.*, at the expense of the standard of living of the working class as a whole. The disparity between prices of industrial and agricultural products continues to grow unfavorably to the farmers. The agricultural crisis shows no signs of abating, but, on the contrary, is getting worse, through the added factor of the disastrous drought which is netting new profits to the rich farmers, banks and speculators while resulting in the further ruination of masses of toiling farmers. This inevitably narrows down the home market still further and makes the general question of markets even more acute. Hence U. S. imperialism is losing patience and confidence in its ability to find a way out of the crisis except by means of war, for which the New Deal is feverishly preparing.

This is seen in the *increasing aggressiveness* of Yankee imperialism in the struggle for markets and spheres of imperialist exploitation, manifesting itself in all parts of the world, chiefly in conflict with British imperialism. We see it also in the particular stranglehold with which the New Deal is fastening the yoke of Yankee imperialism upon the Caribbean countries (the Yankee imperialist preserve) and the desperate push to the conquest of South America. Let no one be deceived by the good neighborly phrases of the Roosevelt administration. The abrogation of the so-called Platt Amendment for Cuba, forced from Roosevelt by the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution in Cuba led by the Communist Party of that land, does not abolish any of the economic, political and military positions of U. S. imperialism in Cuba. Under cover of the "magnanimous gesture" of giving up some of the old formal rights of the Platt Amendment (a gesture also dictated by the fear of the growing anti-Yankee movement in South America), the Roosevelt government is attempting through its puppet governments (Mendieta, etc.), through economic pressure and through military-naval domination, to fasten Yankee imperialist rule upon the island even more securely than heretofore. This is being done, not only in order to make the sweat and blood of the Cuban toiling masses help solve the crisis of U. S. capitalism, but also to strengthen the position of U. S. imperialism for war. We see these war preparations of Yankee imperialism also in the Philippines where, under cover of demagogic and fraudulent promises of independence, the New Deal seeks especially to destroy the revolutionary organizations of the masses (trade unions, peasant leagues, etc.), and in the first place the Communist Party—the leader of the fight for complete national independence and against imperialist war. We see the war preparations, finally, in the support (financial and military) rendered by Yankee imperialism to Chiang Kai-Shek for the counter-revolutionary war against the Chinese Soviets, admittedly the only force in China capable of unifying the country and strengthening the cause of peace in the Far East and in the whole world.

It would be a grave error to assume that the intensive preparations for war by U. S. imperialism signify in any way a slackening of the capitalist offensive upon the workers, toiling farmers, Negroes, and the toiling masses generally, at home. This is what the New Deal and its social-fascist apologists would want

the masses to believe, namely, that war preparations mean more work, better wages and a better life for everybody. The facts speak louder than words. The New Deal feverishly prepares for war abroad and *at the same time* wages merciless war against the toiling masses at home. Roosevelt and the 73rd Congress have done their utmost to raise the profits and to insure the capital values of the monopolies at the expense of the standard of living of the widest masses of workers and toiling farmers, while perfecting more and new instruments for crippling the fighting ability of the masses and their organizations. Only the most militant struggle against the capitalist offensive and the New Deal of hunger, fascization and war, with the determination manifested by the rank and file in Toledo, Minneapolis, on the Pacific Coast, etc., can expect to cope with the sharpening attacks of the New Deal upon the workers, the toiling farmers, the Negroes and all exploited. What is still lacking to make this new fighting spirit of the masses more effective, to develop it into a wider counter-offensive against the New Deal, is a revolutionary leadership at the head of the masses, more effective revolutionary mass work of the lower organizations of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade union movement.

As the stupefying effects of the New Deal demagoguery are beginning to wear off, and the mass actions of the workers assume ever more political consciousness and aggressiveness, the Roosevelt government and its N. R. A. exhibit more and more clearly their character of fascization and war preparation. Force and violence against the fighting masses are increasingly taking first place in the methods of the capitalist offensive. All efforts of the bourgeoisie, its government, and the social-fascists are directed towards preventing and, in fact, outlawing, the organization of the workers into unions free from boss and government control. Supported by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the Socialist Party leadership, the New Deal maneuvers desperately to take away from the workers the right to strike and picket, imposing all sorts of schemes for compulsory mediation and arbitration, all the while resorting to methods of open civil warfare against the strikers who refuse to be "persuaded" into surrender and slavery by the spokesmen of the New Deal and its social-fascist partners. Violence against the Negroes is growing. The ground is being prepared for the outlawing of the Communist Party and all revolutionary mass organizations, the signal for that having been openly given by the Roosevelt administration through its chief "ideologist", professor Moley. The poison gases of chauvinism, nationalism, and Americanism are being spread widely to enhance the process of fascization and war preparation carried out for monopoly capital by the New Deal. New and more brazen methods of fascist demagoguery (Roosevelt's new promises of security and insurance) are being resorted to in order to check the growing disillusionment of the masses and to hide the sharpening capitalist offensive and its war preparations.

Our Slogans for August First

August First must be made a day of widest mass actions of all forms against the New Deal of Hunger, Fascization and War. Consequently, the chief slogans for these mass actions are: "Fight Against Imperialist War and the Counter-Revolutionary War Against the U. S. S. R. Support the Revolutionary Peace Policies of the Soviet Union. For the Defense of the Soviet Union and Soviet China. Further the Militant Struggle Against the Hunger, Fascization and War Measures of the N. R. A. Fight for the Right to Organize, Strike and Picket. Fight Militantly for All Workers' Rights. Not a Cent for Bosses' War, All War Funds for Unemployment Relief and Insurance. For the Immediate Enactment of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill and the Bill for Negro Rights and to Suppress Lynching. Against the Fascization and Militarization of the Youth in the C. C. C. Oust the Army Officers from the C. C. C. Young Workers and Students, White and Negro, Young Socialists and Communists, Unite in Struggle Against Fascism and Imperialist War. Draw the Women into the Anti-War Struggle. Organize Factory and Neighborhood Women's Committees Against War and Fascism. Workers and Farmers, Negro and White, Native and Foreign-Born, Unite in Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Counter-Revolutionary War Against the Soviet Union. Stop the Shipment of Munitions to Japan and Latin America. Halt the Money and Wheat Loans to the Murderous Government of Chiang Kai-Shek, the Flunkey of Imperialism. For the Immediate and Unconditional Independence of all U. S. Colonies and Dependencies. Support the Anti-Imperialist Agrarian Revolution in Cuba. For a United Front From Below Against War and Fascism. Against

the Treacherous Socialist Party Leadership, the A. F. of L. Bureaucracy, the Muste Leadership and All "Left" Social-Fascists and Their Renegade Supporters. Support the Courageous Struggle of the German Proletariat and Its Communist Party Against the Fascist Dictatorship and the War Incendiaries. Fight for the Liberation of the Leader of the German Proletariat, Ernst Thaelmann."

The fight for the freedom of Ernst Thaelmann is an outstanding phase of the anti-war struggle. It is a fight against the chief incendiaries of imperialist war—Hitler fascism—the spearhead of imperialism against the Soviet Union on its western frontier. It is a fight for all the imprisoned anti-fascists in Germany and for the saving of the life of the leader of the only party in Germany—the Communist Party—which is organizing the masses against Fascism and war. Let the present and first crisis of fascist rule in Germany, brought about by the stormy awakening of the masses deceived by it and by the glorious struggle of the Communist Party, serve as an impetus to our fight for the freedom of Thaelmann.

Bring the Anti-War Struggle into the Basic Factories

In organizing the August First mass actions, we must check up on whether or not, and to what extent, we have been carrying out the following most important decision of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.:

"In fighting *against war*, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, and concentrate their forces in each country at the *vital parts of the war machine of imperialism*.

"In addition to increased agitation, the Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organization of *mass action*, preventing the shipment of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organizing demonstrations against military maneuvers, etc., and must *intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy*."

Here we must utilize the experiences of the Party and of the revolutionary trade union movement in the latest national action—May Day—and in the more outstanding subsequent strike movements and struggles. From these we find, as was already pointed out by the Party, that the weakest mass actions on May Day were observed in the centers of the basic industries, this being the result primarily of our "still weak position in the factories and slowness in carrying through the program of concentration" (*The Communist*, June, 1934). Therefore, the question must be raised again: how do we expect to be able to carry on a Bolshevik struggle against war, how do we propose to prevent the shipment of munitions and troops and to hinder the execution of orders for belligerent countries, and, in general, to attack "the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism", with the still existing slowness in the carrying out of the program of concentration? It will do little good merely to repeat that this program must be carried out with infinitely greater speed if, at the same time, we take no organizational and political measures to insure that this will actually be done. Consequently, it is necessary, not only to clarify more sharply the political importance of the program of concentration, but also to check up the capability and fitness of our cadres in the strategic points of concentration and to make sure that the most proven, experienced and courageous *mass workers and leaders* occupy these positions. In the preparation of the August First anti-war mass actions, such check-up of the cadres and correct placing and concentration of our forces is one of the most important political and organizational tasks. Only this can insure the bringing of the anti-war struggle into the most important factories of the basic industries.

In Toledo, for example, we have had a brilliant demonstration of the growing readiness of the workers to accept our slogans and fight for them militantly, to adopt the methods of mass struggle advocated by our Party and the T. U. U. L. and to welcome the Party's support and leadership. This is an achievement which will not be obscured by any amount of bourgeois "Red scare" tactics and Musteite cowardly slander. But this achievement only brought out in greater relief the fact that the Party and the revolutionary trade union movement were not entrenched in the factories, especially the large ones, and that the building of the revolutionary oppositions in the reformist unions was badly neglected, where it was not plainly obstructed. The lesson from this is simple: frequent and systematic check-up of our cadres, elimination of those who are not wholeheartedly for the Party line or are, for any other reason, unfit to win the masses for this line, and the systematic promotion of those who are for the line and able to put it *into effect* among the masses. This lesson must be applied thor-

oughly in the preparation and organization of the August First anti-war mass actions.

We must also check up, and draw the necessary conclusions from the work of organizing in the factories groups of the American League Against War and Fascism. The work of building up branches of the League in the neighborhoods, and among the non-proletarian masses is of the highest importance. But the program of concentration demands precisely the giving of the chief attention to the factories, especially those producing ammunition, to the marine workers, railroads, transport generally. No District or Section of the Party that does not provide for the building of factory groups of the League will be in a position to register even moderate advance of the anti-war work now being developed around August First.

It is necessary especially to guard against the conception that such special activities and national actions as Anti-War Day somehow "interfere" with the daily revolutionary activities of the Party among the masses. Wild and non-Bolshevik as such a conception is, it still finds place among us. It was one of the factors accounting for the weaknesses of May Day. Such conceptions arise primarily from inability to connect in a Leninist way, both agitationally and organizationally, the economic demands of the masses with the political demands and slogans, the local struggles with their national implications and significance. It is, in other words, the inability to raise correctly the daily struggle of the workers to higher levels; an inability that produces especially bad results when coupled with weak revolutionary mass work in the factories. The fight against the above misconceptions is, therefore, primarily a fight for bringing the anti-war struggle into the factories, a fight for raising the daily struggles of the masses to higher political levels (against war, fascism, the N. R. A., etc.), always "taking as a starting point the defense of the *everyday* economic and political interests of the toilers" (Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.).

Learning from our May Day (and other) experiences, we must draw the Negro masses into the anti-war struggles more effectively than heretofore. The Party's influence among the Negro masses is high and rising. Our Negro program and our historic leadership in the Scottsboro fight are primarily responsible for that. But "they do not see that in the factories, in the trade unions, and among the unemployed, we take up sufficiently the fight for their needs. . . . We have not yet reached the masses of the Negro workers with the Left-wing organizations" (*The Communist*, June, 1934). The winning of the Negro masses for the anti-war struggle, especially the Negro proletariat in the large and basic enterprises and the Negro farmers, is an outstanding task of the August First action.

A determined effort must also be made to bring the toiling farmers (particularly the youth) into the anti-war struggle. The general radicalization of the toiling farmers, the spread of the Party's influence among them, create favorable conditions for our anti-war program among the toilers of the countryside.

The building of the Party, with especial emphasis on organization in the shops, and of the revolutionary trade union movement, is an organic part of the August First action. No advances in the field of anti-war struggle, as in all other, can be considered real and lasting, if they are not crystallized in growth of Party membership, new nuclei, the growth and strengthening of old ones, the building of T. U. U. L. groups, the building of oppositions in the reformist unions, and the building of the Party press, especially the *Daily Worker*. Organizational results and the building of *Daily Worker* circulation—these must be placed in the forefront of our August First preparations.

For the United Front Against War and Fascism—for the Struggle Against Social-Fascism

It is beyond dispute that our fight for the united front from below is making headway. We see it in the American League Against War and Fascism. We see it in the strikes and strike movements (West Coast, Toledo, steel, etc.). But we are still just at the beginning. We are still suffering from a certain fear to step boldly into the masses of non-Party as well as Socialist workers, to fight and win them for the united front from below; we also suffer from the tendency to "top-combinations" as a substitute for the united front from below and for a merciless struggle against social-fascism of all colors and hues.

The tremendous impetus given to our struggle for the united front by the Austrian and French events, by the glorious conduct of the Communist, Dimitroff,

at the Leipzig trial, by the courageous revolutionary fight against Hitler fascism of our German brother Party under Thaelmann, and, on the other hand, by the black treacheries of social-democracies,—this impetus to our united front has forced the Socialist Party of America to bring forward its “Lefts” in order to check the drift to the united front and to Communism. Obviously, Panken, O Neal and Abe Cahlan would not do *as the face* of the Socialist Party in this situation of growing radicalization; some less compromised social-fascists are necessary to keep the workers from Communism, that is, social-fascists who are able to play skilfully with revolutionary phrases and thus continue to deceive the workers among whom the “old guard” can no longer show their faces. The mushroom growth of “Left” social-fascism (Muste & Co., the new leadership of the S. P., etc.) confirms the rapid trend of the masses in our direction, which the American bourgeoisie expects to check with the help of its “Left” social-fascist agents; it also shows the growing disintegration of social-fascism. Our answer to this is: a bolder fight among the widest masses for the united front from below and merciless struggle against social-fascism of all varieties, especially the “Lefts”.

The “new” Thomas leadership of the S. P. to which the “Revolutionary” Policy Committee has abjectly capitulated, promises that “they will meet war . . . by massed war resistance organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions . . . and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for socialism” (Declaration of Principles of Detroit Convention of the S. P.). Sounds very revolutionary. But, to begin with, let us recall the fate of the famous anti-war resolution of the Stuttgart Congress of the pre-war Second International. Thanks to amendments of Lenin and Luxemburg, that resolution contained some very definite and binding revolutionary anti-war obligations for the Socialist Parties. But none of these parties, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party of Russia, waged a revolutionary anti-war struggle *prior to* the outbreak of the war, because they were eaten up with opportunism and class collaboration. Inevitably, these parties, upon the outbreak of war, continuing their class collaboration with the imperialist bourgeoisie, *betrayed the obligations assumed under the Stuttgart resolution*. The Thomas “Left” leadership purposes to repeat the same crime, with this important addition, that, through S. P. support of the New Deal, the “Militants” are *already* assisting U. S. imperialism to prepare for war and for the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. Let us also recall the fate of the St. Louis anti-war resolution of the Socialist Party. Again thanks to the pressure of the Left Wing, that resolution contained some few, but definite, revolutionary anti-war obligations. But these were flagrantly betrayed by the official leadership of the Socialist Party. Now, seeing the growth of anti-war feelings among the masses and the headway of the Communist struggle for a united front against war and fascism, the S. P. puts forward its “Left” face, makes revolutionary promises, in order to hamper the struggle of the masses *today and every day for the retardation of war*, in order to obstruct the Bolshevik struggle *against war preparations* which alone can lay the basis for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war.

Thomas and Co. promises “to meet” the coming war with a general strike, but . . . there are two significant qualifications: (1) “as far as practicable”, and this will be decided by the well-known “revolutionary firm” of Thomas and Co.; (2) even if practicable, the general strike must be one of “labor unions” which, knowing the collaboration of the S. P., and also its new leadership, with the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., means a general strike against war *with the permission of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy*. Can there be anything more brazenly fraudulent than this?

But there are some more questions which we must put to the S. P. membership and the workers in general. Thomas promises a fight against war, but he (the S. P.) offers no real program of struggle against the war-making machinery of the N. R. A. and the New Deal. What is the conclusion from that? Thomas wants the workers to believe that the S. P. is becoming a party of proletarian internationalism and anti-war struggle; but he and the S. P. continue to sabotage and combat and vilify the American League Against War and Fascism which is the only united front organization earnestly striving to mobilize the masses to fight against war. What is the name for such activities? Thomas promises (the Declaration of Principles) that “they will unitedly seek to develop trustworthy instruments for the peaceable settlement of international disputes and conflicts”. As it stands, it is fraudulent bourgeois pacifism

because it wants to deceive the workers into believing that imperialist war can be abolished just by "seeking to develop" instruments of peace. However, we must ask this: if you gentlemen of the "new" S. P. leadership, are so much interested in the maintenance of peace, why do you keep quiet about the proletarian peace policies of the U. S. S. R.? Why did you not endorse and support these peace policies which, based as they are upon the tremendous power of a Socialist State of 170 million people, supported by millions upon millions of toilers in the capitalist world, constitute one of the most powerful factors for the maintenance of peace? Who will believe that Thomas and Co. are "seeking peace" *even in the sense* in which certain bourgeois governments are "seeking peace" at the present time (the French, for example), when this "Left" S. P. leadership did not even find it necessary to endorse the peace struggles of the U. S. S. R.? No one in his senses can believe a word of these promises. The S. P. and its new leadership take the same position in the present international situation (eve of war) as the United States Department of State, as Roosevelt, as Yankee imperialism. And this is seen nowhere as clearly as in the attitude of both to the struggle of the U. S. S. R. for the retardation of war. Both sabotage and obstruct the peace policies of the Socialist Fatherland. In the face of these indisputable facts, can there be any other name for the S. P. new "Declaration of Principles", and for the Thomas-R. P. C. leadership, but fraud and deceit? The S. P. collaboration with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy reaffirmed at the Detroit convention in the face of the rapid fascization of this bureaucracy, is additional proof of the fascization (and disintegration) of the S. P., its more intense participation in the war preparations, and for the counter-revolutionary war against the U. S. S. R., only covered by a "new" leadership and new "Left" maneuvers.

We must go to the widest masses of workers, farmers, and Negroes with our Bolshevik anti-war policies and program, exposing mercilessly the counter-revolutionary position of social-fascism. We must build tirelessly the united front from below against the New Deal program of War, Hunger and Fascization.

"The great historical task of international Communism is to mobilize the broad masses against war even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism. Only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war" (Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.). To enhance, deepen and widen the Bolshevik struggle against war is the special task of the August First action. In this struggle, we frankly seek and work for the triumph of the proletarian revolution in the United States and the establishment of a Soviet government in this country.

A Soviet government in the United States would signify the beginning of the end of world capitalism. It would signify the beginning of the end of imperialist war danger and imperialist war.

A Soviet government in the United States would at once set free all the nations and countries now oppressed and dependent on Yankee imperialism, in the Black Belt of the South (the Negroes), in the Carribean, South America, the Philippines, China, etc., thus gaining the powerful support of millions of toilers for its proletarian internationalism and peace policies.

A Soviet government in the United States, following the example of the first Soviet Republic, would make it clear to the whole world that it breaks fundamentally and forever with the imperialist policies and territorial aggrandizement of the overthrown bourgeoisie, abrogating all imperialist privileges enjoyed now by this bourgeoisie. At the same time the Soviet Government of the United States would organize all the forces of the country for the defense of the Soviet Power against imperialist intervention. For then, and only then, for the first time in the history of this country, will the United States have become a fatherland for the proletariat and all toilers.

A Soviet government in the United States, joined in fraternal alliance with the U. S. S. R. and actively supported by the toiling masses of all the remaining capitalist countries, would constitute such an impregnable power that the last dying efforts of imperialism to provoke war would be rapidly liquidated, together with the remaining capitalist governments; and the World Soviet Republic, building a world Socialist economy, would soon become a reality.

EXHIBIT No. 97

[Source : The Communist, September, 1934, Vol. XIII, No. 9, pages 862-874]

FIFTEEN YEARS OF OUR PARTY

By Max Bedacht

September 1 marks fifteen years of life of the Communist Party of the United States—fifteen years of growth and of struggle.

Our Party was born in Chicago on September 1, 1919. It was born twins. In Machinist Hall on Ashland Boulevard the Left wing delegates to the Socialist Party convention formed the *Communist Labor Party*. In Smolny Hall, on Blue Island Avenue, a convention called by the Left wing Council organized the *Communist Party*. This division in the ranks of the American revolutionists was caused by a lack of clarity about the tasks of a revolutionary party.

The revolutionary movement in the United States suffered in its early stages from a great deal of formalism. When members of the First International and friends of Marx and Engels planted the first seeds of scientific Socialism in America, they also planted that seed of abstractness. Both Marx and Engels repeatedly complained about this tendency in their letters to these friends.

The comparatively favorable conditions under which American capitalism developed, tended to foster strong capitalist illusions that were planted deeper and were maintained for persistently in the American proletariat than in any other working class. The American working class became, in a sense, the "aristocracy of labor" of the world proletariat. While in the capitalist countries of Europe the workers as a whole had already quite a definite conception of their class position, the American worker still cherished his capitalist and democratic illusions.

The first bearers of the seed of scientific Socialism in the United States did not sufficiently succeed in presenting Marxism as a guide to action. For them it was mostly a series of formulae about class divisions, class struggles, historical materialism, etc. Thus, the teachings of Marx and Engels remained without clear relation to the immediate troubles and problems of the American workers. They remained generalities, and, as such, could not decisively influence the thoughts, the aims and the actions of the American workers. Yet the opportunities and the needs for such influence were very great despite the ideological backwardness of the American workers. The history of the American working class records an almost uninterrupted series of militant battles. The battles for the eight-hour day in 1886, the struggles of the steel workers in Homestead in 1892, the great steel strike in 1919, and the class battles of the American workers today, have demonstrated that the American workers have on various occasions not permitted their illusions to stand in the way of their efforts to solve their immediate problems.

Revolutionary Socialism having no solid roots among the American working masses, the rise of petty-bourgeois radicalism in the beginning of the 20th century found no difficulties whatever in making the Socialist Party its party. The very abstractness of the revolutionists allowed the muck-rakers to pass off as revolutionary realism their petty-bourgeois criticism of big capital. These petty-bourgeois ideologists, from Upton Sinclair to Charles Edward Russell, condemned revolutionary principles as foreign importations, and advanced their petty-bourgeois "Socialism" as the real thing. They dominated the Socialist movement and gave color and content to Socialist agitation, propaganda, and theory in the United States.

The First Steps Toward the Formation of Our Party

The sharpening of the class struggles on the eve of and during the World War gave impetus to the ever-existing Left wing of revolutionists in the Socialist Party. But the lack of a clear Bolshevik understanding in its ranks caused serious divisions in this Left wing. Some who least understood the problems of the proletarian revolution in America denied the need for struggle to solve the immediate problems of the American workers; they based their propaganda and tactics on the assumption that armed insurrection was the order of the day. This tendency found considerable response in the foreign language sec-

tions. In the West, especially among the strong section of the migratory workers, syndicalist tendencies showed themselves. There the opportunist social-democratic contention that the revolution would be made by the ballot caused a strong anti-political reaction. These workers, who are deprived of a vote by residential qualifications, were unwilling to have themselves disqualified as active revolutionists. Another group in the Left wing thought that the ideological backwardness of the American workers is not a problem of class-struggle action but of "education". They wanted to prepare the revolution in the class-room. They refused to see that the class-room for the proletariat is the class struggle. Then there were those who had some Marxist understanding of the problems, but were incapable of applying Bolshevik tactics. They did not see that the ranks adhering to the various Left wing tendencies were fundamentally healthy militant opponents of capitalism. They did not see that the Communist Party in America would have to be built up out of these elements by clarifying their conception and by defeating ideologically and removing the petty-bourgeois and opportunist leaders of their groups.

This lack of ideological unity of the Left wing led to organizational divisions. It caused a split in the Left wing Council and finally led to the formation of two parties.

Socialist Party Leadership Expels Majority

At the time of the St. Louis Convention of the Socialist Party, in April, 1917, the radicalization within that party had grown to a point that the Hillquit-Berger leadership found it necessary, in spite of their bitter opposition to it, to accept its anti-war resolution. That was the only means with which they could trick the Party into reelecting them as leaders. But that very trick contributed to the further enlightenment of the workers in the Party. The sabotage and betrayal of the anti-war decisions of the St. Louis Convention by these leaders led to a definite organizational crystallization of the Left wing within that Party. The Hillquit-Berger leadership then sought to maintain its control by expelling the majority from the Party. This is an interesting historic fact. It is especially a political illustration of the readiness to play dictators on the part of these last defenders of bourgeois democracy—the social-democratic leaders.

The Russian Revolution supplied the required ideological leadership to this crystallization of the Left wing in the S. P. Bolshevism in action, as the leader of the proletarian revolution in Russia, demonstrated to the revolutionists in this country the impertative need of Bolshevism as the guide of a revolutionary party. To build such a Bolshevik party became the conscious aim of the Left wing during 1918 and 1919. To formulate programmatically the aims of such a party was the purpose of the Left-wing conference in New York in June, 1919. The Conventions in Chicago in September, 1919, were called to establish such a Bolshevik party. But because of the reasons already given not one Communist Party was founded, but only two roots to one Party.

Bolshevik parties are not born; they develop. They arise and strengthen themselves out of the experiences of the struggles of the working class. Of course, the individual parties of the working class in the various countries do not depend entirely upon their own experiences. Proletarian struggles are international. The workers everywhere face the same enemy. The same problems arise for the workers everywhere. All these problems have local color, to be sure; but their origin is the same; their solution calls for the same fundamental measures. That is why experiences of a revolutionary party in any country become a lesson to the revolutionary proletarian parties everywhere. That is why international unity of the proletarian movement in theory and in action is an imperative necessity. That is why national and nationalistic division of the workers, as practiced by social-democracy, is the greatest asset to the power of the capitalists against the workers.

The international historic experiences of the working class are embodied in the science of the proletarian revolution. The Bolshevik Party of Russia was in 1919—and is now—a complete embodiment of this science. Its founder and leader, Lenin, was the first Bolshevik. Lenin developed the theory of Bolshevism. He developed it, in Comrade Stalin's words, as the Marxism in the epoch of the proletarian revolution. Basing himself on Marxism, which he further developed, Lenin crystallized the experiences of the fighting working class everywhere into the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution, into the science of Bolshevism.

With Leninism as a guide, our Communist Party in the United States could utilize from its very inception the experiences of the world struggles of the working class. It could shape its efforts to become a Bolshevik Party, with the Bolshevik Party of Russia as example.

The Communist International Leads

Six months before the formation of our Party, in March, 1919, upon the initiative of the Bolshevik Party of Russia, the Communist International was organized in Moscow. Since then "orders from Moscow" have been the favorite scare-crow used by bankrupt capitalism to shy away any tendency on the part of their workers to look for Bolshevik leadership in their struggles. Needless to say, "orders from Moscow", as formulated by bourgeois propagandists, are a ridiculous fiction. The Communist International is a world association of revolutionary proletarian parties. Its Executive Committee and its Congresses are a clearing house for the experiences and a coordinator of the proletarian struggles the world over. Its resolutions are the result of the deliberations of representatives of all these parties, and are crystallized out of the actions and struggles of all of these parties. The experiences, the problems and the struggles of the American Party, therefore, make as much toward the contents of the "orders from Moscow" as the contents of these "orders" make toward the policies of the American Party.

The formation of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party was greeted by the ruling class of the United States with a reign of persecution and terror. The leaders of the Left wing Council in New York were indicted and convicted on charges of criminal anarchism. The delegates to the convention in Chicago were indicted, and the delegates to the Communist Labor Party convention convicted on charges of criminal syndicalism. The delegates to the California State Convention of the Communist Labor Party were indicted in Oakland, and several of them were convicted. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General in the cabinet of President Wilson, carried through several national raids. The most effective of them took place on January 2, 1920, and netted some ten thousand arrests throughout the land. Mass deportations were resorted to. The homes of active comrades were broken into by guardians of the law. Literature was stolen by the police and carted away by the truckloads from workers' homes and from the headquarters of workers' organizations. Membership in the Communist Party was declared a crime. This persecution determined the character of the first chapter in the history of our Party. By steeling the advance guard of the working class, it facilitated the unification of the revolutionary element. This unification was finally achieved under the guidance of the Communist International, when the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party united into the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

Our Party tried to adapt itself to the reign of terror by organizing underground. Until then even the American revolutionists had shared some democratic illusions with the rest of the American workers. No thought had been given, no preparations had been made for the probable necessity of an illegal existence, which always faces the Party of the proletarian revolution. As a result, the first efforts of underground organization were in many instances, amateurish. On the whole, the mistakes made in these efforts led to serious political difficulties. Out of these difficulties arose within our Party the first determined struggle for Bolshevization.

Bolshevik Party Must Be a Mass Party

The need for the protection of the Party apparatus and its membership led to the hiding of the Party, not only from the authorities, but also from the workers. Yet, the most important prerequisite of the Party in the fulfillment of its duty to organize and lead the masses toward revolution is contact with the masses, is work among the masses.

As against this first Bolshevik need, a contrary theory developed within the Party. The Party was conceived of as a revolutionary officers' training school. This training was to be effected only through theory. The actual daily struggles of the workers were to be left to themselves. The future officers of the revolution were to earn their officers' spurs not as organizers and leaders of these daily struggles but by staying hidden for the purpose of abstract study, to emerge and take commanding positions only when the workers, through their own efforts, had arrived at the struggle for power.

This period of our Party ended with the second, Bridgeman convention in September, 1922. This convention was raided. Practically all of the leaders of the Party were indicted and arrested. That very arrest opened the eyes of our Party. It forced the Party to go to the masses. If the Party was to save itself, it had to become an organizer and leader of the working masses. Of course, it could be that leader and organizer also as an underground party. But to be any kind of a revolutionary proletarian party it had to be that leader and that organizer. Circumstances decide whether the Party is to be a legal or an underground Party. But under all circumstances the Party must be a mass party.

Discussions around these issues contributed greatly to making our Communist Party an American Bolshevik Party.

Even before this question was completely clarified, the Party had taken steps toward the establishment of a mass base. The first steps were taken toward the formation of an open party. First, the American Labor Alliance was organized. This rather narrow organism made room in December, 1921, for the Workers Party of America.

In the effort of our Party to establish the first roots in the working masses, the experiences of our international proletarian movement were of tremendous importance and value. As a result of discussing our problems with the leaders of other Communist parties and with the leaders of the Communist International, especially with Comrade Lenin, our Party leaders were corrected on many non-Bolshevik conceptions. Especially Lenin urged consistently that our Party study closely the problems of the American working class, that it organize the American workers, and that it root itself in American soil, and that it become an American Party.

The Party Learns Bolshevik Trade Union Work

This first period of our Party's existence was a period of serious struggles of the American working class. The need of reorienting the industries from war-time to peace-time set-up had caused an economic crisis. As in all crises, the capitalists at once made attacks on the living and earning standards of the workers. After the workers had paid with their blood for the war profits of the capitalists, they were expected to pay for their peace profits with hunger. The workers in the steel industry struck. The railroad workers developed serious battles to better their working conditions.

In spite of confused theoretical conceptions, our Party was fundamentally a party of fighting revolutionary workers. These workers were in the battles of their class. They were most active in the steel strikes and in all class battles. These activities led to an important phase of Bolshevization. At its formation, our Party was strongly under the influence of syndicalist tendencies in its trade union policy. The program of the Communist Labor Party showed definite traces of this syndicalism. But in the battles of 1919-1921 the Party learned the meaning of Bolshevik trade union policy. It learned that to win the workers we revolutionists must be with them. It learned that no matter how much the trade union bureaucrats misuse the trade unions to serve the bosses' interests, the masses of workers were in these unions because they wanted to fight in the defense of their proletarian interests. For the Communists not to be with them, not to fight for leadership against the misleaders of labor, would not be a revolutionary principle, but would be playing into the hands of the capitalists. Thus, out of the experiences of our Party in its struggles in these first years of its existence, a Bolshevik trade union policy emerged. This policy tremendously strengthened our Party organizationally and politically. It improved the fighting strength of the Party and it brought into its ranks the best elements of the fighting trade unionists.

Second Congress of C. I. Clarifies Communist Tactics

Meantime the Second Congress of the Communist International was held in June, 1921. This Second Congress and its decisions, was an event of utmost importance in the history of our Party. At that Congress the organizational prerequisites and political tactics of a Bolshevik party were definitely fixed. The 21 conditions of admission into the Communist International explained the required membership qualification in the Communist International. The resolution on trade union work clarified the relation of the revolutionary party to the unions. Resolutions on the national problem and on the agrarian question as well as on revolutionary parliamentarism established the groundwork for a thorough Bolshevik understanding of its tasks, by our Party.

At that time our Party was composed of a series of language federations. Each of these federations had its own executive committee. This form of organization, at best, hindered concerted and uniform action. At their worst, the federations became caucuses within the Party—not subordinate to it, but independent of it.

As against this federationism, our Party had to establish itself as a unified whole with a centralized leadership based on the confidence of the Party.

A revolutionary proletarian party is not only a party of leadership, but a party of leaders. The members of the Communist Party are ideologically the most advanced workers. They are class conscious. They know and understand the social forces which determine the position of the working class. They know the power of the working class to influence those forces and to change them. It is this knowledge that makes them the advance guard of the workers. It is this knowledge which enables every individual member of the Party to be a leader among his fellow workers. He knows what is indispensable for effective efforts of the workers to improve their conditions. That is why, under all conditions and everywhere, each individual Communist is, and must be, a leader. It may depend on individual qualification how far this leadership extends. In some cases it may be merely an ideological influence upon a few fellow workers in the shop. In other instances it may extend to the leadership over large masses of workers in organizations.

Communist Discipline Imperative

If such a party of leadership and leaders is to be effective, it must assure concerted action of all of its members. A group of leaders whose actions are determined by each one individually cannot serve the working class. At best, they contribute to chaos by counteracting each other; at worst, they invite betraying agents of the enemy into their ranks. That is why a Communist Party must demand discipline of its members. A Communist is either guided by the principles and tactics of his Party, or he has no business in that Party. The individual Communist either exercises his leading function among the workers in accordance with the general plan, aims, and tactics of the Party as a whole, and thereby becomes an instrument to exercise Party leadership, or he hinders concerted Party activity by his individualism and thus becomes an enemy of the Party. For the Communist Party, discipline is, therefore, an absolute necessity. This Communist discipline requires a leadership on the one hand entrusted with full power, and, on the other, borne by the confidence of the masses within the Party itself. It requires democratic centralization. The struggle for this democratic centralization was the next effort of our Party toward Bolshevization. It led to the abolition of the language federations and to the establishment of a uniform Party hewn out of one of block.

Another contribution to the Bolshevik growth of our Party was the beginning of building its nuclei in the shops and factories. A revolutionary party cannot be an outside force. It must be a party of the working class. It must breathe and work and organize and fight where the working class breathes and works and organizes and fights.

Communist Party Must be in Shops

The workers have built for themselves many organizations for many purposes. The revolutionists must be with the workers in these organizations. They must make the functioning of these organizations in the interests of the working class, or the discussions about these functions, the base of the development among the workers of an understanding, and of an organized force for the carrying out of, the revolution. But no matter how many organizations the workers have, and no matter how many workers are organized in them, neither of them, nor all of them together, comprise the working class as a whole. In neither of them nor in all of them together, arise the fundamental class problems of the workers in their entirety. The place where all of the workers are organized, and where all of these problems arise originally, is the place where they work. Aside from that the capitalist government may prohibit all workers' organizations. Yet, the very existence of capitalism depends upon its organizing the workers into productive units, in its shops and factories.

It was, therefore, the most fundamental experience of the working class the world over that tells them in imperative language: "You either drive your roots

into the shops and factories, or you can never claim to be a Communist Party." The Communist International gave voice to this guiding policy.

The decision of our Party to try to become a Bolshevik Party by driving its roots into the shops and mills and mines and factories did not spring from an abstract desire of conforming to the policies and rules of our Communist International. It sprang out of its own experience. This is an illustration of the case that "orders from Moscow" are in the last analysis, "orders to Moscow" from the various revolutionary parties. The efforts of our Party to establish intimate contact with the masses of American workers, the efforts of our Party to become one with the American masses, demonstrated everywhere that this could not be accomplished without the Party going into the mills and mines and factories. Of course, the members of our Party are, in the main, workers. They always were in the mills and mines and factories. Their class position sent them there, not "orders from Moscow". But in their activities they had not been orientated toward the shop. In the shop they were workers. They became Communists only outside the shop and outside the working hours. But experience taught them that if they did not become, and act as Communists in the shop, they could not become the leaders of the American working class.

The ideological and organizational concentration on the shop, therefore, became another great problem and campaign for the Bolshevization of our Party. It still is the Party's most important problem. We have only begun to solve it.

The Theory of American Exceptionalism

After American capitalism had emerged from the post-war crisis and the period of relative stabilization had set in, there arose a new political problem for our Party. The "prosperity" of that period strengthened the reflections of capitalist illusions in our ranks. Opportunist conclusions became dominant. These opportunist influences contributed to a loosening of the bonds of Party discipline. Discussions about important political issues and problems were permitted to result in the crystallization of permanent factions within the Party. Factions are at all times unhealthy and impermissible organizational growths. But these factions turned into a definite political cancer. Out of a factional method of fighting for a political opinion, factionalism itself grew into a political principle. The petty-bourgeois opportunist origin of this factionalism finally bore a petty-bourgeois opportunist programmatical fruit. It advanced the monstrous theory of American "exceptionalism".

American "exceptionalism" is a conception of old standing. The very inability of the revolutionary movement in America, in its early stages, to Americanize itself, had given birth to the petty-bourgeois phrase that Socialist ideas were alright in other countries, but that they had no meaning for America. All the things that Socialism was fighting for were already in the possession of the American working class: political freedom, equal opportunities, high living standards, etc. According to this theory American capitalism held an exceptional position, granted exceptional rights to the workers, and therefore, required no change by methods of revolutionary class struggle.

This crude form of American exceptionalism received a new dressing and reappeared in the form of the assertion that American capitalism was not affected by the forces that had led to the crisis of the capitalist system the world over. It maintained that American capitalism still had inexhaustible resources. It asserted that the conditions under which American capitalism operated made it possible for it to continue its "prosperity" indefinitely. According to these exceptionalists, even if the existing stability of world capitalism was only temporary and precarious, for American capitalism it was permanent and sound. These exceptionalists asserted that American capitalism had not yet travelled over the top of its development and was not on its way downward, but that it was entering its Victorian age.

Party Defeats Internal Enemy

At the time when this theory was advanced, the period of relative stabilization of capitalism was at its end. The coming crisis of world capitalism was casting its shadow ahead. War preparations were intensified by all capitalist governments. American capitalism drew plans for the drafting of "labor" in case of war. Plans were discussed in Washington for the regimentation of the American working class. Every indication pointed toward a rapid sharpening of the class struggle. The Bolshevik need of our Party then was to close its ranks, to

strengthen its tie with the masses, and to prepare for increased and more intense mass struggles.

This period was selected as the opportune moment by the petty-bourgeois opportunist elements within the Party to throw the Party off the straight path toward Bolshevization. The theory of American "exceptionalism", sponsored by the Lovestone leadership, was the more evidently opportunist of these efforts; another one dressed itself in the garb of Trotskyism and tried to cover its opportunist flight from Bolshevik organization and tactics with "Left" phrases. Under the skin both efforts were anti-Communist brothers.

The struggle against these tendencies, and to root out the cancerous factionalism became the greatest of the efforts of our Party to Bolshevize itself. In fact, it became an effort that was to test the degree of its completed Bolshevization.

In this effort our international leadership played a decisive part. The leaders of our Party were asked by the leaders of the revolutionary working class the world over: "Look at your tasks! See American capitalism crush its iron heel more and more brutally upon the necks of the American workers. See the need of Bolshevik action. See the need of revolutionary organization and leadership for the American workers. See the proletarian revolution in America in its makings. It is your duty to take your place to further and guide this revolutionary development. Instead of that what are you doing? Instead of working and building a unified Bolshevik Party, you are building factions within the Party to fight each other. Instead of seeing the working class in its effort to organize and fight for its victory, you claim a victory for capitalism. Instead of building a united front of the American workers for the defense of their interests, your factions are even preventing the unity of the Party."

Our international leadership embodied this warning in an Open Letter to our Party, issued in May, 1929. This letter thoroughly aroused the revolutionary loyalty of our members to the cause of the working class and to the cause of the Bolshevik Party. In a tremendous effort the Party liquidated factionalism and made out of our Party a powerful unified whole. It expelled and defeated decisively those who resisted this Bolshevik endeavor. Thus it created a party which today can face confidently, and solve in a considerable degree its tasks as the leader of the American working class in its effort to find a revolutionary way out of bankrupt capitalism.

Base Laid for Bolshevik Mass Party

The progress of the capitalist crisis after the fall of 1929, put our Party to a serious test. The sharpening class struggles put the highest pressure on every functioning of the Party. This pressure brought out a number of weaknesses resulting from incomplete or incorrect efforts of Bolshevization. The shifting of the Party's base from territorial to shop units had evidently proceeded too slowly. Because of that the Party was often surprised by militant actions of the workers. Instead of generating and organizing these actions, the Party often had to appear as an outside force after the action had begun.

In the mass work opportunist influences often had erected sectarian walls. A petty-bourgeois radicalism tended to isolate the Party from the masses.

The efforts of the Party to Bolshevize itself had, in some instances, developed into a mere routine effort.

However, its Bolshevization was sufficiently advanced to make the Party conscious of these weaknesses. The Party saw the tremendous waves of radicalization sweeping the American working class. At the same time it saw its relative inability to organize this rising tide into revolutionary proletarian power. It recognized that only persistent and concentrated efforts could remedy this. The Party embodied its determination to remedy it in an Open Letter issued to the Party by the Central Committee in July, 1933. This Letter called the attention of the Party to these weaknesses and outlined a few fundamental tasks upon which all the energies of the Party were to be concentrated.

The Party is at this moment still engaged in completing these tasks. The ability which the Party has demonstrated lately in organizing the workers and in developing and leading mass struggles are an indication of the degree in which the Party succeeded in accomplishing these tasks.

As a result of this steady growth our Party, on its 15th Birthday, can pride itself on being a worthy comrade of its revolutionary brother parties in the ranks of the Communist International. It is true, its Bolshevik growth is by no means completed; but it is assured.

The working class will be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital, as the leader of a toiling masses, only if it is headed by a Communist Party which is closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers. But a Communist Party with a very weak and inadequately functioning organization in the big factories and among the decisive sections of the American industrial workers, a Communist Party whose entire policy, whose entire agitation and propaganda, whose entire daily work is not concentrated on winning over and mobilizing these workers and winning of the factories, a Communist Party which, through its revolutionary trade union work, does not build highways to the broadest masses of workers, cannot lay claim to a policy capable of making it the leader of the working class within the shortest possible time. (From *An Open Letter to All Members of the Communist Party*, adopted by the Extraordinary National Conference of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., held July 7-10, 1933.)

EXHIBIT No. 98

[Source: A pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: November, 1935]

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SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

RESOLUTIONS

Including Also the Closing Speech of Georgi Dimitroff

Workers Library Publishers, New York

Published by Workers Library Publishers, P. O. Box 148, Sta. D, New York City, November, 1935. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow from July 25 to August 20, 1935.

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THE PRESENT RULERS OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE BUT TEMPORARY, THE REAL MASTER OF THE WORLD IS THE PROLETARIAT

By Georgi Dimitroff

(Speech Delivered at the Close of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on August 20, 1935)

(Comrade Dimitroff's appearance on the platform is greeted by a storm of cheers. All delegates rise and applaud heartily. Shouts of "Red Front!" "Banzai!" "Hurrah!" "Long Live Comrade Dimitroff!" Orchestral flourish. The ovation continues for several minutes.)

Comrades, the work of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the Congress of the Communists of all countries, of all continents of the world, is coming to a close.

What are the results of this Congress, what is its significance for our movement, for the working class of the world, for the toilers of every land?

It has been the Congress of the *complete triumph of the unity between the proletariat of the country of victorious socialism, the Soviet Union, and the proletariat of the capitalist countries which is still fighting for its liberation.* The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union—a victory of world-historic significance—gives rise in all capitalist countries to a powerful movement toward socialism. This victory strengthens the cause of peace among peoples, enhancing as it does the international importance of the Soviet Union and its role as the mighty bulwark of the toilers in their struggle against capital, against reaction and fascism. It strengthens the Soviet Union as the base of the world proletarian revolution. It sets in motion throughout the whole world not only the workers, who are turning more and more to Communism, but also millions of peasants and farmers, of the hard-working petty townfolk, a considerable proportion of the intellectuals, the enslaved peoples of the colonies. It inspires them to struggle, increases their attachment for the great fatherland of all the toilers, strengthens their determination to support and defend the proletarian state against all its enemies.

This victory of socialism increases the confidence of the international proletariat in its own forces and in the tangible possibility of its own victory, a confidence which is itself becoming a tremendously effective force against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The union of forces of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the militant proletariat and toiling masses in the capitalist countries holds out the great perspective of the oncoming collapse of capitalism and the guarantee of the victory of socialism throughout the whole world.

Our Congress has *laid down the foundations for so extensive a mobilization of the forces of all toilers against capitalism as never existed in the history of the working class struggle.*

Our Congress has set before the international proletariat, as its most important immediate task, that of consolidating its forces politically and organizationally, of putting an end to the isolation to which it had been reduced by the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, of rallying the toilers around the working class in a wide people's front against the offensive of capital and reaction, against fascism and the threat of war in each individual country and in the international arena.

We have not invented this task. It has been prompted by the experience of the world labor movement itself, above all, the experience of the proletariat of France. The great service which the French Communist Party performed consists in the fact that it grasped the need of the *hour*, that it paid no heed to the sectarians who tried to hold back the Party and hamper the realization of the united front of struggle against fascism, but acted boldly and in a Bolshevik fashion, and, by its pact with the Socialist Party providing for joint action, prepared the united front of the proletariat as the basis for the anti-fascist people's front now in the making. (*Applause.*) By this action, which accords with the vital interests of all the toilers, the French workers, both Communists and Socialists, have once more advanced the French labor movement to first place, to a *leading position* in capitalist Europe, and have shown that they are worthy successors of the Communards, worthy exponents of the glorious heritage of the Paris Commune. (*Storm of applause. All rise. Shouts of "Hurrah!" Comrade Dimitroff turns around to face the presidium and is joined by the entire audience in applauding Comrade Thorez and the other French comrades on the presidium.*)

It is the great service of the French Communist Party and the French proletariat that by their fighting against fascism in a united proletarian front they helped to prepare the decisions of our Congress, which are of such tremendous importance for the workers of all countries.

But what has been done in France constitutes only initial steps. Our Congress, in mapping out the tactical line for the years immediately ahead, could not confine itself to merely recording this experience. It went further. We, Communists, are a class party, a proletarian party. But as the vanguard of the proletariat we are ready to arrange joint actions between the proletariat and the other toiling classes, interested in the fight against fascism. We, Communists, are a revolutionary party; but we are ready to undertake joint action with other parties fighting against fascism.

We, Communists, have other ultimate aims than these parties, but in struggling for our aims we are ready to fight jointly for any immediate tasks which when realized will weaken the position of fascism and strengthen the position of the proletariat.

We, Communists, employ methods of struggle which differ from those of the other parties; but while using our own methods in combating fascism, we, Communists, will also support the methods of struggle used by other parties, however inadequate they may seem to them, if these methods are really directed against fascism.

We are ready to do all this because, in countries of bourgeois-democracy, we want to block the road in the way of reaction and the offensive of capital and fascism, prevent the abrogation of bourgeois-democratic liberties, forestall fascism's terrorist vengeance upon the proletariat, the revolutionary section of the peasantry and the intellectuals, save the young generation from physical and spiritual degeneracy.

We are ready to do all this because in the fascist countries we want to prepare and hasten the overthrow of fascist dictatorship.

We are ready to do all this because we want to save the world from fascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.

(Here Comrade Weber, a delegate of the German Communist Party, mounts the platform and presents to Comrade Dimitroff an album in the following words: "Comrade Dimitroff, in the name of the German Communist Party delegation I deliver this book into your hands, a book of the heroic exploits of the revolutionary fighters of Germany. It was you who by your conduct at the Leipzig trial and your entire subsequent activity served as an example for the German Communist Party, for the German anti-fascists, in their struggle. Accept this book, this song of the heroism of the proletarian fighters of Germany, to whom you have furnished an example to follow, who give up their freedom, their health, their lives in the cause of the revolution!" Comrade Dimitroff accepts the album and warmly embraces Comrade Weber. Loud applause, shouts of "Hurrah!" cheering.)

Ours is a Congress of struggle for the preservation of peace, against the threat of imperialist war.

We are now raising the issue of this struggle in a new way. Our Congress is decidedly opposed to the fatalistic outlook on the question of imperialist war emanating from old Social-Democratic notions.

It is true that imperialist wars are the product of capitalism, that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all war; but it is likewise true that the toiling masses can obstruct imperialist war by their militant action.

Today the world is not what it was in 1914.

Today on one-sixth of the globe there exists a powerful proletarian state that relies on the material strength of victorious socialism. Guided by Stalin's wise peace policy, the Soviet Union has already more than once brought to naught the aggressive plans of the instigators of war. (Applause.)

Today the world proletariat, in its struggle against war, has at its disposal not only its weapon of mass action, as it did in 1914. Today the mass struggle of the international working class against war is coupled with the influence of the Soviet Union as a state, of its powerful Red Army, the most important guardian of the peace, (Loud applause.)

Today the working class is not under the exclusive influence of Social-Democracy participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, as was the case in 1914. Today there is the World Communist Party, the Communist International. (Applause.) Today the bulk of the Social-Democratic workers are turning to the Soviet Union, to its policy of peace, to a united front with the Communists. Today the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries do not regard their liberation as a hopeless cause. On the contrary, they are passing on more and more to determined struggle against the imperialist enslavers. The best evidence of this is the Soviet revolution in China and the heroic exploits of the Red Army of the Chinese people. (Stormy applause. All delegates rise. Loud cheering.)

The popular hatred of war is constantly gaining in depth and intensity. In pushing the toilers into the abyss of imperialist wars the bourgeoisie is staking its head. Today not only the working class, the peasantry and other toilers champion the cause of the preservation of peace, but also the oppressed nations and weak peoples whose independence is threatened by new wars. Even some of the big capitalist states, afraid of losing out in a new redivision of the world, are interested at the present stage in the avoidance of war.

This gives rise to the possibility of forming a most extensive front of the working class, of all the toilers, and of entire nations against the threat of imperialist war. Relying on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the will of millions upon millions of toilers to have peace, our Congress has opened up

the perspective of unfolding a wide anti-war front not only for the Communist vanguard but for the working class of the whole world, for the peoples of every land. The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the ax of a powerful anti-war front.

Ours is the Congress of the *unity of the working class*, the Congress of struggle for a united proletarian front.

We entertain no illusions on the subject of the difficulties which the reactionary portion of the Social-Democratic leaders will place in the path of realizing a united proletarian front. But we do not fear these difficulties. For we reflect the will of millions of workers; for we serve the interests of the proletariat best by fighting for a united front; for the united front is the surest road to the overthrow of fascism and the capitalist order of society, to the prevention of imperialist war.

At this Congress we have raised aloft the banner of *trade union unity*. Communists do not insist on the independent existence of the Red trade unions at all costs. We, Communists, want trade union unity. But this unity must be based on actual class struggle and on putting an end, once and for all, to a situation in which the most consistent and determined advocates of trade union unity and of the class struggle are expelled from the trade unions of the Amsterdam International. (*Applause.*)

We know that not all those working in the trade unions affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions have understood and assimilated this line of the Congress. Among these workers there are still remnants of sectarian self-satisfaction which must be overcome if the line of the Congress is to be carried out firmly. But we shall carry out this line whatever the cost, and shall find a common language with our class brothers, our comrades in the struggle, the workers now affiliated with the Amsterdam International.

At this Congress we have taken the course of forming *a single mass political party of the working class*, to end the political split in the ranks of the proletariat, a split caused by the class collaboration policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. To us the political unity of the working class is *not a maneuver* but a question of the future fate of the entire labor movement. Should there be any people in our midst who approach the question of the political unity of the working class as a maneuver, we shall fight them as people bringing harm to the working class. Precisely because our attitude on this question is one of absolute seriousness and sincerity, dictated by the interests of the proletariat, we lay down definite fundamental conditions to serve as the basis for such unity. We have not invented these fundamental conditions. They are the result of the experience gained from the sufferings of the proletariat in the course of its struggle; they are also in accordance with the will of millions of Social-Democratic workers, a will engendered by the lessons of the defeats suffered. These fundamental conditions have been tested by the experience of the entire revolutionary labor movement. (*Applause.*)

Since proletarian unity has been the keynote of our Congress, it has been not only a Congress of the Communist vanguard, but a Congress of the entire international working class thirsting for militant trade union and political unity. (*Applause.*)

Though our Congress was not attended by delegates of the Social-Democratic workers nor by non-party delegates, though the workers herded into fascist organizations were not represented, the Congress has spoken not only for the Communists but also for these millions of workers. It has expressed the thoughts and feelings of the overwhelming majority of the working class. (*Applause.*) If the labor organizations of various trends were to hold a really free discussion of our decisions among the workers of the whole world, there is no doubt in our minds but that they would support the decisions for which you, comrades, have voted with such unanimity.

So much the greater our duty as Communists to render the decisions of our Congress in actual fact the property of the entire working class. To have voted for these decisions is not enough. Nor is it enough to popularize them among the members of the Communist Parties. We want the workers affiliated with the parties of the Second International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions as well as the workers affiliated with organizations of other political trends to discuss these decisions jointly with us, bring in their amendments and make practical proposals; we want them to deliberate jointly

with us how decisions can best be carried into life, how they can best realize them in practice jointly with us, hand in hand.

Ours has been a Congress of a *new tactical orientation for the Communist International*.

Standing firmly on the impregnable position of Marxism-Leninism, which has been confirmed by the entire experience of the international labor movement, and primarily by the victories of the great October Revolution, our Congress, acting in the spirit and guided by the method of *living Marxism-Leninism*, has reshaped the tactical lines of the Communist International to meet the changed world situation.

The Congress has taken a firm decision that the united front tactics must be applied *in a new way*. The Congress is emphatic in its demands that Communists do not content themselves with the mere propaganda of general slogans about proletarian dictatorship and Soviet Power, but that they pursue a definite, active, Bolshevik policy with regard to all internal and foreign political questions arising in their country, with regard to all urgent problems that affect the vital interests of the working class, of their own people and of the international labor movement. The Congress insists most emphatically that all tactical steps taken by the Communist Parties be based on a sober analysis of actual conditions, on a consideration of the relation of class forces, and of the political level of the broadest masses. The Congress demands the complete eradication of every vestige of *sectarianism* from the practice of the Communist movement, as this represents at present the greatest obstacle in the way of the Communist Parties carrying out a really mass, really Bolshevik policy.

While imbued with the determination to carry out this tactical line and filled with the conviction that this road will lead our Parties to major successes, the Congress has at the same time taken into account the possibility that the carrying out of this Bolshevik line may not always be smooth sailing, may not always proceed without mistakes, without deviations here and there to the Right or to the "Left"—deviations in the direction of *adaptation of trailing behind events and the movement*, or in the direction of *sectarian self-isolation*. Which of these constitutes, "speaking generally", the main danger is a dispute in which only scholastics can engage. The greater and worse danger is that which at any given moment and in any given country represents the greater obstacle to the carrying out of the line of our Congress, to the development of the correct mass policy of the Communist Parties. (*Applause.*)

The cause of Communism demands, not abstract, but *concrete struggle against deviations*; the prompt and determined rebuff of all harmful tendencies, as they arise, and the timely rectification of mistakes. To replace the necessary concrete struggle against deviations by a peculiar *sport*—hunting imaginary deviations or deviators—is an intolerably harmful twist. In our Party practice every encouragement must be given to develop initiative in formulating new questions. We must assist in having the questions concerning the activity of the Party discussed from every angle, and not hastily set down as a deviation or other every doubt or critical remark made by a Party member with reference to practical problems of the movement. A comrade who committed an error must be given an opportunity to correct it in practice, and *only those who stubbornly persist in their mistakes and those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy*.

Championing, as we do, working class unity, we shall with so much the more energy and irreconcilability fight for *unity within our Parties*. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us. (*Applause.*) Let this be a warning to those few elements in individual Parties who think that they can take advantage of the difficulties of their Party, the wounds of defeat or the blows of the raging enemy, to carry out their factional plans, to further their own group interests. (*Applause.*) *The Party is above every thing else! (Loud applause.) To guard the Bolshhevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism!*

Ours is a Congress of *Bolshevik self-criticism and of the strengthening of the leadership of the Communist International and its Sections*.

We are not afraid of pointing out openly the mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings in our ranks, for we are a revolutionary Party which knows that it can develop, grow and accomplish its tasks only if it discards everything impeding its development as a revolutionary Party.

And the work which the Congress has accomplished by its merciless criticism of self-satisfied sectarianism, of the use of cut-and-dried schemes and stereotyped practices, phlegmatic thinking, substitution of the methods of leading a Party for the methods of leading masses—all this work must be continued in an appropriate manner in all Parties, locally, in all links of our movement, as this is one of the most essential preconditions for correctly carrying into life the decisions of the Congress. (*Applause.*)

In its resolution on the report of the Executive Committee, the Congress resolved to concentrate the *day-to-day leadership* of our movement in the Sections themselves. This makes it our duty to intensify in every way the work of forming and training cadres and of reinforcing the Communist Parties with genuine Bolshevik leaders, so that at abrupt turns of events the Parties might quickly and independently find correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and the Plenums of its Executive Committee. The Congress, when electing the leading bodies of the Communist International, strove to constitute its leadership of such people as accept the new lines and decisions of the Congress and are ready and able firmly to carry them into life, not from a sense of discipline, but out of profound conviction. (*Applause.*)

It is likewise necessary in each country to ensure the correct application of the decisions adopted by the Congress. This will depend primarily on appropriately testing, distributing and directing the cadres. We know that this is not an easy task. It must be borne in mind that some of our cadres did not go through the experience of Bolshevik mass policy, but were brought up largely along the lines of general propaganda. We must do everything to help our cadres reorganize, to be retrained in a new spirit, in the spirit of the decisions of this Congress. But where the *old bottles* prove unsuited for the *new wine*, the necessary conclusions must be drawn—not to spill the *new wine* or spoil it by pouring it into the *old bottles*, but to replace the *old bottles* by *new ones*. (*Loud applause.*)

We intentionally expunged from the reports as well as from the decisions of the Congress *high-sounding phrases* on the revolutionary perspective. We did this not because we have any ground for appraising the tempo of revolutionary development less optimistically than before, but because we want to rid our Parties of an inclination to replace Bolshevik activity by revolutionary phrasemongering or futile disputes about the appraisal of the perspective. Waging a decisive struggle against any reliance on spontaneity, we take account of the process of development of the revolution, not as passive observers, but as active participants in this process. By proceeding as the party of revolutionary action—fulfilling at every stage of the movement the tasks that are in the interest of the revolution, the tasks that correspond to the specific conditions of the given stage, and soberly taking into consideration the political level of the wide toiling masses—we accelerate, more than in any other way, the creation of the subjective preconditions necessary for the *victory of the proletarian revolution*. (*Applause.*)

"We must take things as we find them," said Marx. "We must utilize revolutionary sentiments in a manner corresponding to the changed circumstances. . . ."*

This is the gist of the matter. This we must never forget.

Comrades: *the decisions of the World Congress must be brought home to the masses, must be explained to the masses, must be applied as a guide for the action of the masses, in a word, must be made the flesh and blood of millions of toilers!*

It is necessary to encourage everywhere as much as possible *the initiative of the workers in their respective localities*, the initiative displayed by the lower organizations of the Communist Parties and the labor movement in carrying out these decisions.

When leaving here, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat must bring to their respective countries the firm conviction that we, Communists, bear the responsibility for the fate of the working class, of the labor movement, the responsibility for the fate of our own nation, for the fate of all toiling humanity.

To us, the workers, and not to the social parasites and idlers, belongs the world—a world built by the hands of the workers. The present rulers of the capitalist world are but *temporary rulers*.

*Marx, *Letters to Kugelmann*, p. 38, International Publishers, New York.

The proletariat is the *real master, tomorrow's master of the world.* (*Loud applause.*) And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of government in every country, all over the world. (*Applause.*)

We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great teachers. (*Applause.*)

With Stalin at their head the millions of our political army overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve the victory of socialism throughout the whole world! (*Storm of applause.*)

Long live the unity of the working class!

Long live the Seventh Congress of the Communist International!

(*Loud applause, passing into an oration. The orchestra plays the "Internationale" in which all delegates join. Cheers from the various delegations: "Long Live Stalin!" "Long Live Dimitroff!" "Hurrah!" "A triple 'Red Front'!" The French delegation sings the "Carmagnole"; the Czech delegation, "The Scarlet Banner"; the Chinese delegation, "The March of the Chinese Red Army"; the Italian delegation, "Bandiera Rossa"; the German delegation, "Red Wedding". Shouts from the delegations: "Long live the helmsman of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff!" "Hurrah!" Applause. Thorez: "Hurrah for the Bolshevik Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for the Communist International and its helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff!" Renewed shouts of "Hurrah". The orchestra plays the "Internationale."*)

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL—FROM THE SIXTH TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS—
1928-1935

(Resolution on the Report of Wilhelm Pieck, Adopted August 1, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

1. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International endorses the political line and practical activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International approves the proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of March, 1933, October, 1934, and April, 1935, to the national sections and leadership of the Second International for joint action in the struggle against fascism, the offensive of capital and war. Expressing its regret that to the detriment of the working class all these proposals were rejected by the Executive Committee of the Second International and by most of its Sections, and noting the historic significance of the fact that Social-Democratic workers and a number of Social-Democratic organizations are already struggling hand in hand with the Communists against fascism and for the interest of the toiling masses, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Executive Committee of the Communist International and all Parties affiliated with the Communist International to *strive* in the future by every means to *establish* a united front on a national as well as an international scale.

3. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International records the growing revolutionary influence of the work and slogans of the Communist Parties on the broad masses of workers, including members of Social-Democratic Parties. With this as its point of departure, the Congress enjoins all Sections of the Communist International to overcome in the shortest possible time the survivals of sectarian traditions which prevented them from finding a way of approach to the Social-Democratic workers, and to change the methods of agitation and propaganda which hitherto were at times abstract in character and little accessible to the masses, by giving these methods absolutely definite direction and linking them to the immediate needs and day to day interests of the masses.

4. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes serious shortcomings in the work of a number of Sections of the Communist International: the belated carrying out of the tactics of the united front, the inability to mobilize the masses around partial demands, political as well as economic in character, failure to realize the necessity of struggling in defense of the remnants of bourgeois democracy, failure to realize the necessity of creating an anti-imperialist People's Front in colonial and dependent countries, neglect of work in reformist and fascist trade unions and mass organizations of toilers formed by bourgeois parties, underestimation of the importance of work among toiling women, underestimation of the importance of work among the peasantry and urban petty-

bourgeois masses, also the delay with which the Executive Committee gave political assistance to these Sections.

Taking into consideration the constantly growing importance and responsibility of the Communist Parties which are called to head the movement of the masses in the process of revolutionization, taking into consideration the necessity of concentrating operative leadership within the Sections themselves, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the E. C. C. I.:

(a) While shifting the main stress of its activity to elaboration of the fundamental political and tactical lines of the world labor movement, to proceed in deciding any question from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in internal organizational matters of the Communist Parties;

(b) Systematically to assist in the formation and training of cadres of genuinely Bolshevik leaders in the Communist Parties so that the Parties will be able at the sharpest turn of events independently and quickly to find, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and Plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, correct solutions for political and tactical problems of the Communist movement;

(c) To render effective aid to the Communist Parties in their ideological struggle against political opponents;

(d) To assist the Communist Parties in making use of their own experience as well as the experience of the world Communist movement, avoiding, however, mechanical application of the experience of one country to another country and substitution of stereotyped methods and general formulations for concrete Marxian analysis;

(e) To ensure closer contact between leading bodies of the Communist International and the various Sections of the Communist International by still more active participation on the part of authoritative representatives of the most important Sections of the Communist International in the day-to-day work of the E. C. C. I.

5. Pointing out the underestimation by the Young Communist Leagues as well as the Communist Parties of the importance of mass work among the youth and the weakness of this work in a number of countries, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to take effective measures to overcome the sectarian secluedness of a number of Young Communist organizations, to make it the duty of the Young Communist League members to join all mass organizations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organizations) formed by bourgeois-democratic, reformist and fascist parties, as well as by religious associations; to wage a systematic struggle in these organizations to gain influence over the broad masses of the youth, mobilizing it for the struggle against militarization and forced labor camps, and for the improvement of its material conditions, for the rights of the young generation of toilers, while striving to establish for these purposes a broad united front of all non-fascist youth mass organizations.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes that during the last few years, under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R., of the crisis in the capitalist countries, the fiendishness of German fascism and the danger of a new war, a turn of the broad masses of the workers and the toilers in general from reformism to revolutionary struggle, from disunity and dispersion to united front, has set in all over the world.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, taking into account the fact that the striving of the toilers for unity of action will continue to grow in the future despite the resistance of individual leaders of Social-Democracy, instructs all Sections of the Communist International in the process of struggle for the united front of the proletariat, and the people's front of all toilers against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of a new war, to focus their attention on the further consolidation of their ranks and the winning over of the majority of the working class to the side of Communism.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International points out that *the transformation of maturing political crisis into a victorious proletarian revolution depends solely on the strength and influence of the Communist Parties among the broad masses of the proletariat, on the energy and self-sacrificing devotion of the Communists.* Now, when political crises are maturing in a number of capitalist countries, it is the most important, the paramount task of Communists, not to rest on successes already achieved, but to advance towards new

successes, extend contacts with the working class, gain the confidence of millions of toilers, transform the various Sections of the Communist International into mass parties, bring the majority of the working class under the influence of the Communist Parties, and thus secure the conditions necessary for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

THE OFFENSIVE OF FASCISM AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

(Resolution on the Report of Georgi Dimitroff, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

1. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that the alignment of class forces in the international arena and the tasks facing the labor movement of the world are determined by the following basic changes in the world situation:

(a) *The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Land of the Soviets*, a victory of world importance, which has enormously enhanced the power and role of the U. S. S. R. as the bulwark of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, and is inspiring the toilers to struggle against capitalist exploitation, bourgeois reaction and fascism, for peace, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

(b) *The most profound economic crisis in the history of capitalism*, from which the bourgeoisie has tried to extricate itself by ruining the masses of the people, by dooming tens of millions of unemployed to starvation and extinction, and by lowering the standard of living of the toilers to an unprecedented extent. Despite a growth in industrial production in a number of countries and an increase in the profits of the financial magnates, the world bourgeoisie has not succeeded on the whole either in emerging from the crisis and the depression, or in retarding the further accentuation of the contradictions of capitalism. In some countries (France, Belgium, etc.) the crisis is continuing, in others it has entered a state of depression, while in those countries where production has exceeded the pre-crisis level (Japan, Great Britain) new economic upheavals are impending.

(c) *The offensive of fascism, the advent to power of the fascists in Germany, the growth of the threat of a new imperialist world war and of an attack on the U. S. S. R.*, by means of which the capitalist world is seeking a way out of the impasse of its contradictions.

(d) *The political crisis*, expressed in the armed struggle of the workers in Austria and Spain against the fascists, a struggle which has not yet led to the victory of the proletariat over fascism, but which prevented the bourgeoisie from consolidating its fascist dictatorship: *the powerful anti-fascist movement in France*, which began with the February demonstration and the general strike of the proletariat in 1934.

(e) *The revolutionization of the toiling masses* throughout the whole capitalist world which is taking place under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and of the world economic crisis, also on the basis of the lessons derived from the temporary defeat of the proletariat in the central part of Europe—in Germany—as well as in Austria and Spain, that is, in countries where the majority of the organized workers supported Social-Democratic Parties. A powerful urge for *unity of action* is growing in the ranks of the international working class. The revolutionary movement in the *colonial countries* and the Soviet revolution in *China* are extending. The relationship of class forces on a world scale is changing more and more in the direction of *a growth of the forces of revolution*.

In this situation, the ruling bourgeoisie is seeking salvation more and more in *fascism*, in the establishment of the *open, terrorist dictatorship* of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of finance capital, with the aim of putting into effect extraordinary measures for despoiling the toilers, of preparing a predatory, imperialist war, of attacking the U. S. S. R., enslaving and dividing up China, and, on the basis of all this, preventing revolution. Finance capital is striving to curb the indignation of the petty-bourgeois masses against capitalism through the medium of its fascist agents who demagogically adapt their slogans to the moods of these sections of the population. Fascism is thus setting up for itself a mass basis and, by

directing these sections as a reactionary force against the working class, leads to the still greater enslavement of all the toilers by finance capital. In a number of countries fascism is already in power. But the growth of fascism and its victory attest not only to the weakness of the working class, disorganized as the result of Social-Democracy's disruptive policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but also to the *weakness of the bourgeoisie itself*, which is stricken with fear at the realization of unity in the struggle of the working class, is in fear of revolution, and is no longer able to maintain its dictatorship by the old methods of bourgeois democracy.

2. The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German* type of fascism which brazenly calls itself National-Socialism though it has absolutely nothing in common either with socialism, or with the defense of the real national interests of the common people, and merely fulfills the role of lackey of the big bourgeoisie and constitutes not only *bourgeois nationalism* but also *bestial chauvinism*.

Fascist Germany is plainly showing to the whole world *what* the masses of the people may expect where fascism is victorious. The raging fascist government is annihilating the flower of the working class, its leaders and organizers, in jails and concentration camps. It has destroyed the trade unions, the cooperative societies, all legal organizations of the workers, as well as all other non-fascist political and cultural organizations. It has deprived the workers of the elementary right to defend their interests. It has converted a cultured country into a hothed of obscurantism, barbarity and war. German fascism is the main instigator of a new imperialist war and comes forward as the *shock troop of international counter-revolution*.

3. In emphasizing the growth of the threat of fascism in all capital countries, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International warns against any underestimation of the fascist danger. The Congress also rejects the fatalistic views regarding the inevitability of the victory of fascism. These views are basically incorrect and can only give rise to passivity and weaken the mass struggle against fascism. The working class can prevent the victory of fascism, if it succeeds in bringing about unity in its struggle and by promptly developing its own militant action does not allow fascism to gather strength; if it succeeds, by correct revolutionary leadership, in rallying around itself the broad strata of toilers in town and country.

4. The victory of fascism is insecure. In spite of the formidable difficulties that fascist dictatorship creates for the working-class movement, the foundations of bourgeois domination are being further shaken under the rule of the fascists. The internal conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie are becoming especially acute. The legalistic illusions of the masses are being shattered. The revolutionary hatred of the workers is accumulating. The baseness and falsity of the social demagoguery of fascism is revealing itself more and more. Fascism not only did not bring the masses the improvement in their material conditions which they had been promised, but has brought about a further increase of the profits of the capitalists by lowering the living standard of the toiling masses, has intensified their exploitation by a handful of financial magnates, and has carried out their further spoliation for the benefit of capital. The disillusionment of the urban petty-bourgeois strata and of the toiling peasants, deceived by the fascists, is growing. The mass base of fascism is disintegrating and narrowing down. The Congress, however, warns against the dangerous illusions of an automatic collapse of the fascist dictatorship, and points out that only the *united revolutionary struggle* of the working class at the head of all the toilers will bring about the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

5. In connection with the victory of fascism in Germany and the growth of the fascist danger in other countries, the class struggle of the proletariat, which is increasingly adopting the course of *determined resistance* to the fascist bourgeoisie, sharpened and continues to sharpen. *The united front movement* against the offensive of capital and fascism is developing in all capitalist countries. The National-Socialist terror raging in Germany has lent powerful impetus to the *international united front* of the proletariat (the Leipzig trial, the campaign for the release of Dimitroff and the comrades jailed together with him, the campaign for the defense of Thaelmann, etc.).

Although the united front movement is as yet only in the initial stage of its development, the Communist and Social-Democratic workers of France, fighting side by side, succeeded in beating off the first attacks of fascism, thereby exerting a mobilizing influence on the united front movement internationally. The joint armed struggle of the Social-Democratic and Communist workers in Austria and Spain not only set a heroic example to the toilers of other countries, but also

demonstrated that a successful struggle against fascism would have been fully possible but for the sabotage of the Right and the wavering of the "Left" Social-Democratic leaders (in Spain there must be added the open treachery of the majority of the Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders), whose influence over the masses deprived the proletariat of determined revolutionary leadership and of clarity in the aims of the struggle.

6. The bankruptcy of the leading party of the Second International, of German Social-Democracy, which by its entire policy facilitated the victory of fascism, also the failure of "Left" reformist Social-Democracy in Austria, which drew the broad masses away from the struggle even when the inevitable armed clash with fascism was drawing close, have tremendously increased the disillusionment of the Social-Democratic workers with the policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. The Second International is undergoing a profound crisis. Within the Social-Democratic Parties and the whole Second International a process of differentiation into *two main camps* is taking place—side by side with the existing camp of the *reactionary elements* who are trying to continue the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, there is being formed a camp of *elements who are becoming revolutionized*, elements who declare for the establishment of the united proletarian front and are adopting more and more the position of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International welcomes the aspiration of the Social-Democratic workers to establish a united front with the Communists, regarding this as a sign that their class consciousness is growing, and that a beginning has been made toward overcoming the split in the ranks of the working class in the interest of a successful struggle against fascism, against the bourgeoisie.

II. The United Front of the Working Class Against Fascism

In face of the towering menace of fascism to the working class and all the gains it has made, to all toilers and their elementary rights, to the peace and liberty of the peoples, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that *at the present historical stage it is the main and immediate task of the international labor movement to establish the united fighting front of the working class.* For a successful struggle against the offensive of capital, against the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie, against fascism, the bitterest enemy of all the toilers who, without distinction of political views, have been deprived of all rights and liberties, it is imperative that unity of action be established between all sections of the working class, irrespective of what organization they belong to, even before the majority of the working class unites on a common fighting platform for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution. But it is precisely for this very reason that this task makes it the duty of the Communist Parties to take into consideration the changed circumstances and to apply the united front tactics *in a new manner*, by seeking to reach agreements with the organizations of the toilers of various political trends for joint action on a factory, local, district, national and international scale.

With this as its point of departure, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Communist Parties to be guided by the following instructions when carrying out the united front tactics:

1. *The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the latter against fascism,* must be the starting point and form the main content of the workers' united front in all capitalist countries. In order to set the broad masses in motion, such slogans and forms of struggle must be put forward as arise from the vital needs of the masses and from the level of their fighting capacity at the given stage of development. Communists must not limit themselves to merely issuing appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship, but must show the masses *what they are to do today* to defend themselves against capitalist plunder and fascist barbarity. They must strive, through the joint action of the labor organizations, to mobilize the masses around *a program of demands that are calculated really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, demands, the fight to realize which, disorganizes fascism, hampers the preparations for imperialist war, weakens the bourgeoisie and strengthens the positions of the proletariat.*

While preparing the working class for rapid shifts in the forms and methods of struggle as circumstances change, it is necessary to organize, in proportion as the movement grows, the transition *from the defensive to the offensive*

against capital, steering toward the organization of a *mass political strike*, in which it is indispensable that the participation of the principal trade unions of the country should be secured.

2. Without for a moment giving up their independent work in the sphere of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses, the Communists, in order to render the road to unity of action easier for the workers, must *strive to secure joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the toilers against the class enemies of the proletariat, on the basis of short- or long-term agreements*. At the same time attention must be directed mainly to the development of mass action in the various localities, conducted by the *lower organizations* through local agreement.

Loyally fulfilling the conditions of the agreements, the Communists must promptly expose any sabotage of joint action by persons or organizations participating in the united front, and if the agreement is broken, must immediately appeal to the masses while continuing their tireless struggle for the restoration of the disrupted unity of action.

3. The forms in which the united proletarian front is realized, which depend on the condition and character of the labor organizations and on the concrete situation, must be varied in character. Such forms may include, for instance, joint action by the workers agreed upon *from case to case* on particular occasions, to secure individual demands, or on the basis of a common platform; action agreed upon in *individual enterprises or branches of industry*; action agreed upon on a *local, district, national or international scale*; action agreed upon in the organization of the *economic struggle* of the workers, in defense of the interests of the unemployed, in carrying out mass *political* activity, in the organization of joint *self-defense* against fascist attacks; action agreed upon to render *aid to political prisoners and their families*, in the field of struggle against *social* reaction; joint action in defense of the *interests of the youth and women*, in the sphere of the *cooperative movement, cultural activity and sports*; joint action for the purpose of supporting the demands of the toiling peasants, etc.: the formation of workers', and workers' and peasants' alliances (Spain); the formation of lasting coalitions in the shape of "Labor Parties" or "Workers' and Farmers' Parties" (U.S.A.).

In order to develop the united front movement as the cause of the masses themselves, Communists must strive to secure the establishment of elected (or, in the countries under fascist dictatorship, selected from the most authoritative participants in the movement) non-Party *class organs of the united front* in the factories, among the unemployed, in the working-class districts, among the small townsfolk, and in the villages. Only such bodies, which, of course, should not supplant the organizations participating in the united front, will be able to bring into the united front movement also the vast *unorganized mass* of toilers, will be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle against the offensive of capital and against fascism, and on this basis help to create a large body of working-class united front activists.

4. Wherever the Social-Democratic leaders, in their efforts to deflect the workers from the struggle in defense of their every-day interests and in order to frustrate the united front, put forward *widely advertised "Socialist" projects* (the de Man plan, etc.), the demagogic nature of such projects must be exposed, and the toilers must be shown the impossibility of bringing about socialism so long as power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, however, some of the measures put forward in these projects that can be linked up with the vital demands of the toilers should be utilized *as the starting point for developing a mass united front struggle jointly with the Social-Democratic workers*.

In countries where *Social-Democratic governments* are in power (or where there are coalition governments in which Socialists participate), Communists must not confine themselves to propaganda exposing the policies of such governments, but must mobilize the broad masses for the struggle to secure their practical vital class demands, the fulfillment of which the Social-Democrats announced in their platforms, particularly when they were not yet in power or were not yet members of their respective governments.

5. Joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations not only does not preclude, but on the contrary, *renders still more necessary* the serious and well-founded criticism of reformism, of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the patient

exposition of the principles and program of Communism to the Social Democratic workers.

While revealing to the masses the meaning of the demagogic arguments advanced by the Right Social-Democratic leaders against the united front, *while intensifying the struggle against the reactionary section of Social-Democracy*, the Communists must establish the *closest cooperation with those Left Social-Democratic workers, functionaries and organizations, that fight against the reformist policy and advocate a united front with the Communist Party*. The more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social-Democracy, which is participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the more effective will be the assistance we give to that part of Social-Democracy which is becoming revolutionized and the self-determination of the various elements within the Left camp will take place the sooner, the more resolutely the Communists fight for a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties.

The attitude to the practical realization of the united front will be the chief indication of the true position of the various groups among the Social-Democrats. In the fight for the practical realization of the united front, those Social-Democratic leaders who come forward as Lefts in words will be obliged to show by deeds whether they are really ready to fight the bourgeoisie and the Right Social-Democrats, or are on the side of the bourgeoisie, that is, against the cause of the working class.

6. *Election campaigns* must be utilized for the further development and strengthening of the united fighting front of the proletariat. While coming forward independently in the elections and unfolding the program of the Communist Party before the masses, the Communists must seek to establish a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions (also with the organizations of the toiling peasants, handicraftsmen, etc.), and exert every effort to prevent the election of reactionary and fascist candidates. In face of fascist danger, the Communists may, *while reserving for themselves freedom of political agitation and criticism*, participate in election campaigns on a *common platform and with a common ticket of the anti-fascist front*, depending on the growth and success of the united front movement, also depending on the electoral system in operation.

7. In striving to unite, under the leadership of the proletariat, the struggle of the toiling peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities, the Communists must seek to bring about the establishment of a wide anti-fascist people's front on the basis of the proletarian united front, supporting all those specific demands of those sections of the toilers which are in line with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. It is particularly important to mobilize the *toiling peasants* against the fascist policy of robbing the basic masses of the peasantry; against the plundering price policy of monopoly capital and the bourgeois governments, against the unbearable burden of taxes, rents and debts, against forced sales of peasant property, and in favor of government aid for the ruined peasantry. While working everywhere among the *urban petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia* as well as among the *office employees*, the Communists must rouse these strata against increasing taxation and the high cost of living, against their spoliation by monopoly capital, by the trusts, against the thralldom of interest payments, and against dismissals and reductions in salary of government and municipal employees. While defending the interests and rights of the progressive intellectuals, it is necessary to give them every support in their movement against cultural reaction, and to facilitate their going over to the side of the working class in the struggle against fascism.

8. In the circumstances of a *political crisis*, when the ruling classes are no longer in a position to cope with the powerful sweep of the mass movement, the Communists must advance *fundamental* revolutionary slogans (such as, for instance, control of production and the banks, disbandment of the police force and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.), which are directed toward still further shaking the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie and increasing the strength of the working class, toward isolating the parties of compromise, and which lead the working masses right up to the point of the revolutionary seizure of power. If with such an upsurge of the mass movement it will prove possible, and necessary, in the interests of the proletariat, to create a *proletarian united front government*, or an *anti-fascist people's front government*, which is not yet a government of the proletarian dictatorship, but one which undertakes to put into effect decisive measures against fascism and reaction, the Communist Party must see to it

that such a government is formed. The following situation is an essential prerequisite for the formation of a united front government: (a) When the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie is seriously paralyzed so that the bourgeoisie is not in a condition to prevent the formation of such a government; (b) When vast masses of the toilers vehemently take action against fascism and reaction, but are not yet ready to rise and fight for Soviet Power; (c) When already a considerable proportion of the organizations of the Social-Democratic and other parties participating in the united front demand ruthless measures against the fascists and other reactionaries, and are ready to fight together with the Communists for the carrying out of these measures.

In so far as the united front government will really undertake decisive measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents, and will in no way restrict the activity of the Communist Party and the struggle of the working class, the Communist Party will support such a government in every way. The participation of the Communists in a united front government will be decided separately in each particular case as the concrete situation may warrant.

III. The Unity of the Trade Union Movement

Emphasizing the special importance of forming a united front in the sphere of the economic struggle of the workers and the establishment of the unity of the trade union movement as a most important step in consolidating the united front of the proletariat, the Congress makes it a duty of the Communists to adopt all practical measures for the realization of the unity of the trade unions by industries and on a national scale.

The Communists are decidedly for the reestablishment of trade union unity in each country and on an international scale; for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism; for one trade union in each industry; for one federation of trade unions in each country; for one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries; for one international of trade unions based on the class struggle.

In countries where there are small Red trade unions, efforts must be made to secure their admission into the big reformist trade unions, with demands put forward for the right to defend their views and the reinstatement of expelled members. In countries where big Red and reformist trade unions exist side by side, efforts must be made to secure their amalgamation on an equal footing, on the basis of a platform of struggle against the offensive of capital and a guarantee of trade union democracy.

It is the duty of Communists to work actively in the reformist and united trade unions, to consolidate them and to recruit the unorganized workers for them, and at the same time exert every effort to have these organizations actually defend the interests of the workers and really become genuine class organizations. To this end the Communists must strive to secure the support of the entire membership, of the officials, and of the organizations as a whole.

It is the duty of the Communists to defend the trade unions against all attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie and the fascists to restrict their rights or to destroy them.

If the reformist leaders resort to the policy of expelling revolutionary workers or entire branches from the trade unions, or adopt other forms of repression, the Communists must rally the entire union membership against the splitting activity of the leadership, at the same time establishing contact between the expelled members and the bulk of the members of the trade unions, and engaging in a joint struggle for their reinstatement, for the restoration of the disrupted trade union unity.

The Red trade unions and the Red International of Labor Unions must receive the fullest support of the Communist Parties in their efforts to bring about the joint struggle of the trade unions of all trends, and establish unity in the trade union movement both nationally and internationally, *on the basis of the class struggle and trade union democracy.*

IV. Tasks of the Communists in the Individual Sectors of the Anti-Fascist Movement

1. The Congress calls particular attention to the necessity of carrying on a systematic *ideological struggle against fascism.* In view of the fact that the

chief, the most dangerous form of fascist ideology is *chauvinism*. It must be made plain to the masses that the fascist bourgeoisie uses the pretext of defending the national interests to carry out its sordid class policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people as well as robbing and enslaving other peoples. They must be shown that the working class, which fights against every form of servitude and national oppression, is *the only genuine protagonist of national freedom and the independence of the people*. The Communists must in every way combat the fascist falsification of the history of the people, and do everything to enlighten the toiling masses on the part of their own people in an historically correct fashion, in the true spirit of Lenin and Stalin, so as to link up their present struggle with the revolutionary traditions of the past. The Congress warns against adopting a disparaging attitude on the question of national independence and the national sentiments of the broad masses of the people, an attitude which renders it easier for fascism to develop its chauvinist campaigns (the Saar, the German regions in Czecho-slovakia, etc.), and insists on a correct and concrete application of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

While Communists are irreconcilable opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalism of every variety, they are by no means supporters of national nihilism, of an attitude of unconcern for the fate of their own people.

2. Communists must enter all fascist mass organizations which have a monopoly of legal existence in the given country, and must make use of even the smallest legal or semi-legal opportunity of working in them, in order to counterpose the interests of the masses in these organizations to the policy of fascism, and to undermine the mass basis of the latter. Beginning with the most elementary movements of protest around the urgent needs of the toilers, the Communists must use flexible tactics to draw ever wider masses into the movement, especially workers who by reason of their lack of class consciousness still follow the fascists. As the movement gains in width and depth, the slogans of the struggle must be changed, while preparing to smash the fascist bourgeois dictatorship with the aid of the very masses who are in the fascist organizations.

3. While vigorously and consistently defending the interests and demands of the unemployed, while organizing and leading them in the fight for work, for adequate relief, insurance, etc., the Communists must draw the unemployed into the united front movement and use all means to force out the influence of fascism among them. At the same time it is necessary to take strictly into account the specific interests of the various categories of unemployed (skilled an unskilled workers, organized and unorganized, men and women, youth, etc.).

4. The Congress emphatically calls the attention of all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries to the exceptional role of the youth in the struggle against fascism. It is from among the youth mainly that fascism recruits its shock detachments. In fighting against any underestimation of the importance of *mass work among the toiling youth*, and taking effective steps to overcome the seclusion of the Young Communist League organizations, the Communist Parties must do everything to help unite the forces of all non-fascist mass youth organizations, including youth organizations of the trade unions, cooperative societies, etc., on the basis of the broadest united front, including the formation of various kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right, against the militarization of the youth, and for the economic and cultural interests of the young generation. The task of creating an anti-fascist association of Communist and Socialist youth leagues on the platform of the class struggle must be brought to the fore.

The Communist Parties must give every assistance in the development and consolidation of the Young Communist Leagues.

5. The vital necessity of drawing the millions of toiling *women* into the united people's front, primarily women workers and toiling peasant women, irrespective of the political and religious views they hold, requires that the Communists intensify their activity for the purpose of developing the mass movement of the toiling women around the struggle for their urgent demands and interests, particularly in the struggle against the high cost of living, against inequality in the status of women and their fascist enslavement, against mass dismissals, for higher wages on the principle of "equal pay for equal work", and against the war danger. Flexible use must be made, in every country and on an international scale, of the most varied organizational forms to establish contacts between and bring about joint action of the revolutionary, Social-Democratic and progressive

women's organizations, while ensuring freedom of opinion and criticism, without hesitating to form also separate women's organizations wherever this may become necessary.

6. Communists must carry on a struggle to draw the cooperative organizations into the ranks of the united front of the proletariat and of the anti-fascist people's front.

The most active assistance must be rendered by Communists in the struggle of the cooperative societies for the urgent interests of their members, especially in the fight against high prices, for credits, against the introduction of predatory duties and new taxes, against the restrictions imposed on the activities of the cooperative societies and their destruction by the fascists, etc.

7. The Communists must take the initiative in establishing *anti-fascist mass defense corps* against the attacks of the fascist bands, recruiting these corps from reliable, tested elements of the united front movement.

V. The Anti-Imperialistic People's Front in the Colonial Countries

In the *colonial and semi-colonial countries*, the most important task facing the Communists consists in working to establish an *anti-imperialist people's front*. For this purpose it is necessary to draw the widest masses into the national liberation movement against growing imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the driving out of the imperialists, for the independence of the country; to take an active part in the mass anti-imperialist movements headed by the national reformists and strive to bring about joint action with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organizations on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform.

In China, the extension of the Soviet movement and the strengthening of the fighting power of the Red Army must be combined with the development of the people's anti-imperialist movement all over the country. This movement must be carried on under the slogan of the national-revolutionary struggle of the armed people against the imperialist enslavers, in the first place against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese servitors. The Soviets must become the rallying center for the entire Chinese people in its struggle for emancipation.

In the interests of its own struggle for emancipation, the proletariat of the imperialist countries must give its unstinted support to the liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against the imperialist pirates.

VI. The Strengthening of the Communist Parties and the Struggle for the Political Unity of the Working Class

The Congress emphasizes with particular stress that only *the further all-round consolidation of the Communist Parties themselves*, the development of their initiative, the carrying out of a policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles and the application of correct flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and the alignment of class forces, can ensure the mobilization of the widest masses of toilers for the united struggle against fascism, against capitalism.

In order that the united front may be really brought about, the Communists must overcome the self-satisfied *sectarianism* in their own ranks which in our day is, in a number of cases, no longer an "infantile disorder" of the Communist movement but an ingrained vice. By overestimating the degree of revolutionization of the masses, by creating the illusion that the path to fascism had already been barred while the fascist movement was continuing to grow, this sectarianism actually fostered passivity in relation to fascism. In practice it replaced the methods of leading masses by the methods of leading a narrow party group, substituted abstract propaganda and Left doctrinairism for a mass policy, refusing to work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations and adopting stereotyped tactics and slogans for all countries without taking account of the special features of the concrete situation in each particular country. This sectarianism to a great extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, made it difficult for a genuine mass policy to be carried out and hindered these Parties in making use of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the revolutionary movement, hindered the cause of winning over the wide masses of the proletariat to the side of the Communist Parties.

While carrying on a most energetic struggle to root out all vestiges of sectarianism, which at the present moment is a most serious obstacle to the pursuing of a real mass Bolshevik policy by the Communist Parties, the Communists must

increase their vigilance in guarding against the danger of *Right opportunism*, and must carry on a determined struggle against all its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the *Right danger will grow* as the tactics of the united front are widely applied. The struggle for the establishment of the united front, the unity of action of the working class, gives rise to the necessity that the Social-Democratic workers be convinced by object lessons of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and charges every Communist Party to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any tendency to gloss over the differences in principles between Communism and reformism, against weakening the criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against the illusion that it is possible to bring about socialism by peaceful, legal methods, against any reliance on *automatism* or *spontaneity*, whether in the liquidation of fascism or in the realization of the united front, against belittling the role of the Party and against the slightest *vacillation of the moment of decisive action*.

Holding that the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that a *single mass political party of the working class* exist in every country, the Congress sets the Communist Parties the task of taking the initiative in bringing about this unity, relying on the growing desire of the workers to unite the Social-Democratic Parties or individual organizations with the Communist Parties. At the same time it must be explained to the workers without fail that such unity is possible only under certain conditions: under the condition of *complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete severance of the bloc between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie*, under the condition that *unity of action* be first brought about, that the necessity of the *revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets* be recognized, that support of one's own bourgeoisie in *imperialist war* be rejected, and that the party be constructed on the basis of *democratic centralism* which ensures unity of will and action and has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.

At the same time it is necessary to act resolutely against the attempts of the "Left" Social-Democratic demagogues to utilize the disillusionment among the Social-Democratic workers to form new Socialist Parties and a new "International" which are directed against the Communist movement and thus widen the split in the working class.

Considering that unity of action is an urgent necessity and the surest way to bring about the political unity of the proletariat, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares in the name of all Sections of the Communist International that they are ready to begin immediate negotiations with the corresponding parties of the Second International for the establishment of unity of action of the working class against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war, and likewise declares that *the Communist International is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Second International directed to this end*.

VII. For Soviet Power

In the struggle to defend against fascism the bourgeois-democratic liberties and the gains of the toilers, in the struggle to overthrow fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary proletariat prepares its forces, strengthens its fighting contacts with its allies and directs the struggle toward the goal of achieving real democracy of the toilers—Soviet Power.

The further consolidation of the Land of the Soviets, the rallying of the world proletariat around it, and the mighty growth of the international authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the turn toward revolutionary class struggle which has set in among the Social-Democratic workers and the workers organized in the reformist trade unions, the increasing mass resistance to fascism and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the decline of the Second International and the growth of the Communist International *are all accelerating and will continue to accelerate the development of the world socialist revolution*.

The capitalist world is entering a period of sharp clashes as a result of the accentuation of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

Steering a course in the direction of this perspective of the revolutionary development, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International calls on the Communist Parties to display the greatest political activity and daring, to

carry on a tireless struggle to bring about unity of action by the working class. *The establishment of the united front of the working class is the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolution.* Only the welding of the proletariat into a single mass political army will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism and the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets.

"The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory." (Stalin.)

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN CONNECTION WITH THE PREPARATIONS OF THE IMPERIALISTS FOR A NEW WORLD WAR

(Resolution on the Report of M. Ercoli, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

1. The Preparation of War for a New Repartition of the World

The world economic crisis and the shattering of capitalist stabilization have given rise to the extreme instability of all international relations. The intensified struggle on the world market, which has shrunk extremely as a result of the economic crisis, has passed into fierce economic war. *A new repartition of the world has actually already begun.*

Japanese imperialism, waging war in the Far East, has already made a start toward a new repartition of the world. The military occupation of Manchuria and North China signifies the virtual annulment of the *Washington Treaties* which regulated the division of the spheres of influence among the imperialist powers in China and their mutual relations in the Pacific. Japan's predatory expedition is already leading to the weakening of the influence of British and American imperialism in China, is menacing the position of Great Britain and the U.S.A. in the Pacific and is a preparation for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

All that is left of the *Versailles Treaty* is state frontiers and the distribution of mandates for colonies. The liquidation of the Versailles Treaty took place as a result of the stoppage of reparation payments, the re-establishment of universal conscription by the Hitler government, and also the conclusion of a naval agreement between Britain and Germany.

Being the chief instigators of war, the German fascists, who strive for the hegemony of German imperialism in Europe, raise the question of changing the boundaries of Europe at the expense of their neighbors by means of war. The adventurist plans of the German fascists are very far-reaching and count on a war of revenge against France, dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, annexation of Austria, destruction of the independence of the Baltic states, which they are striving to convert into a base for attack on the Soviet Union, and the wresting of the Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. They are demanding colonies and are endeavoring to arouse moods in favor of a world war for a new repartition of the world. All these intrigues of the reckless inciters of war help to intensify the contradictions between the capitalist states and create disturbances throughout Europe.

German imperialism has found an ally in Europe—*fascist Poland*, which is also striving to extend its territory at the expense of Czechoslovakia, the Baltic countries and the Soviet Union.

The dominant circles of the *British bourgeoisie* support the German armaments in order to weaken the hegemony of France on the European continent, to turn the spearhead of German armaments from the West to the East and to direct Germany's aggressiveness against the Soviet Union. By this policy Great Britain is striving to set up a counterbalance to the United States on a world-wide scale and, simultaneously, to strengthen the anti-Soviet tendencies not only of Germany but also of Japan and Poland. This policy of British imperialism is one of the factors accelerating the outbreak of a world imperialist war.

Italian imperialism is directly proceeding to seizure of Abyssinia, thus creating new tension in the relations between the great imperialist powers.

The main contradiction in the camp of the imperialists is the Anglo-American antagonism which exerts its influence on all the contradictions in world politics. In South America, where the hostile interests of Great Britain and the United States clash most sharply, this antagonism led to wars between the respective

South American vassals of these powers (between Bolivia and Paraguay, Colombia and Peru), and threatens further armed conflicts in South and Central America (Colombia and Venezuela).

At a time when particularly the fascist states—Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy—are openly striving for a new repartition of the world and a change in the frontiers of Europe, there is a tendency among a number of other countries to maintain the *status quo*. At the present time this tendency is represented on a world scale by the United States; in Europe, primarily by France; the efforts of these two leading imperialist powers to maintain the *status quo* are supported by several smaller countries (the Little and Balkan Ententes, some of the Baltic states), whose independence is threatened by a new imperialist war.

The victory of German National-Socialism, the most reactionary, the most aggressive form of fascism, and its war provocations have spurred on the war parties, which represent the most reactionary and chauvinist elements of the bourgeoisie, in all countries to fight more vigorously for power and to intensify the fascization of the state apparatus.

The frantic arming of fascist Germany, especially the restoration of military conscription and the enormous increase of the navy and air fleet in Germany, have given rise to a new, intensified race for armaments throughout the capitalist world. Despite the world economic crisis, the war industry flourishes more than ever before. The countries which have gone furthest in preparing for war (Germany, Japan, Italy, Poland) have already placed their national economy on a war footing. Alongside the regular armies, special fascist detachments are trained to safeguard the rear and to do gendarme service at the front. Pre-conscription training is widespread in all capitalist countries, and even includes juveniles. Education and propaganda in the spirit of chauvinism and racial demagoguery are encouraged in every way, their cost being defrayed by the government.

Although the acuteness of the imperialist contradictions renders the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc difficult at the present moment, the fascist governments and war parties in the capitalist countries endeavor to solve these contradictions at the expense of the fatherland of all the toilers, at the expense of the Soviet Union. The danger of the outbreak of a new imperialist war daily threatens humanity.

II. Role of the Soviet Union in the Struggle for Peace

On the basis of the rapid rise of socialist industry and agriculture, on the basis of the liquidation of the last capitalist class—the kulaks, on the basis of the final victory of socialism over capitalism and the strengthening of the defensive power of the country resulting therefrom, *the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries have entered a new phase.*

The basic contradiction, that between the socialist and the capitalist world, has become still more acute. But due to its growing might, the Soviet Union has been able to avert the attack that was already prepared by the imperialist powers and their vassals, and to unfold its consistent policy of peace directed against all instigators of war. This has made the Soviet Union the center of attraction not only for class-conscious workers, but for all the toiling people in the capitalist and colonial countries who strive for peace. Moreover, the peace policy of the U. S. S. R. has not only upset the plans of the imperialists to isolate the Soviet Union, but has laid the basis for its cooperation in the cause of the preservation of peace *with the small states* for whom war, by placing their independence in jeopardy, represents a special danger, as well as with those governments which at the *present moment* are interested in the preservation of peace.

The peace policy of the U. S. S. R., putting forward proletarian internationalism as against national and racial dissension, is not only directed towards defense of the Soviet country, towards ensuring the safety of socialist construction; it also protects the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited; it means the defense of the national independence of small nations, it serves the vital interests of humanity, it defends culture from the barbarities of war.

At the time when a new war between the imperialist states is approaching ever more closely, the might of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of the

U. S. S. R. is constantly gaining in importance in the struggle for peace. Under the circumstances of a frantic increase in armaments by the imperialist countries, especially on the part of Germany, Japan and Poland, all those who are striving to preserve peace are vitally interested in strengthening and actively supporting the Red Army.

III. The Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for Peace and Against Imperialist War

On the basis of the teachings of Marx Engels-Lenin-Stalin on war, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International concretely formulated the tasks of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war. Guided by these principles, the Communist Parties of Japan and China, both directly affected by war, have waged and are waging a Bolshevik struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Chinese people. *The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, confirming the decision of the Sixth Congress on the struggle against imperialist war*, sets the following main tasks before the Communist Parties, revolutionary workers, toilers, peasants and oppressed peoples of the whole world:

1. *The struggle for peace, and for the defense of the U. S. S. R.* In face of the war provocations of the German fascists and Japanese militarists, and the speeding up of armaments by the war parties in the capitalist countries, in face of the immediate danger of a counter-revolutionary war breaking out against the Soviet Union, the *central slogan* of the Communist Parties must be: struggle for peace.

2. *The united people's front in the struggle for peace and against the instigators of war.* The struggle for peace opens up before the Communist Parties the greatest opportunities for creating the broadest united front. All those interested in the preservation of peace should be drawn into this united front. The concentration of forces against the chief instigators of war at any given moment (at the present time—against fascist Germany, and against Poland and Japan which are in league with it) constitutes a most important tactical task of the Communist Parties. It is of especially great importance for the Communist Party of Germany to expose the national demagogy of Hitler fascism, which screens itself behind phrases about the unification of the German people but in fact leads to the isolation of the German people and to a new war catastrophe. The indispensable condition and prerequisite for the unification of the German people lies in the overthrow of Hitler fascism. The establishment of a united front with Social-Democratic and reformist organizations (party, trade unions, cooperative, sport, and cultural and educational organizations) and with the bulk of their members, as well as with mass national-liberation, religious-democratic and pacifist organizations and their adherents, is of decisive importance for the struggle against war and its fascist instigators in all countries.

The formation of a united front with *Social-Democratic and reformist organizations* for the struggle for peace necessitates a determined ideological struggle against reactionary elements within the Social-Democratic Parties which, in face of the immediate danger of war, proceed to collaborate even more closely with the bourgeoisie for the defense of the bourgeois fatherland and by their campaigns of slander against the Soviet Union directly aid the preparations for an anti-Soviet war. It necessitates close collaboration with those forces in the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other mass labor organizations whose position is approaching ever closer to that of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war.

The drawing of pacifist organizations and their adherents into the united front of struggle for peace acquires great importance in mobilizing the petty-bourgeois masses, progressive intellectuals, women and youth against war. While constantly subjecting the erroneous views of sincere pacifists to constructive criticism, and vigorously combating those pacifists who by their policy screen the preparations of the German fascists for imperialist war (the leadership of the Labor Party in Great Britain, etc.), the Communists must invite the collaboration of all pacifist organizations that are prepared to go with them even if only part of the way towards a genuine struggle against imperialist wars.

The Communists must support the Amsterdam-Pleyel anti-war and anti-fascists movement by active collaboration with it and help to extend it.

3. *The combination of the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle against fascism.* The anti-war struggle of the masses striving to preserve peace must be very closely combined with the struggle against fascism and the fascist movement. It is necessary to conduct not only general propaganda for peace, but primarily propaganda directed against the chief instigators of war, against the fascist and other imperialist war parties, and against concrete measures of preparation for imperialist war.

4. *The struggle against militarism and armaments.* The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries must fight; against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarization measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarization of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms. The struggle against war preparation measures can be conducted only in closest connection with the defense of the economic interest and political rights of the workers, office employees, toiling peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie.

5. *The struggle against chauvinism.* In the struggle against chauvinism the task of the Communists consists in educating the workers and the whole of the toiling population in the spirit of *proletarian internationalism*, which can be accomplished only in the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors for the vital class interests of the proletariat, as well as in the struggle against the bestial chauvinism of the Nationalist-Socialist parties and all other fascist parties. At the same time the Communists must show that the working class carries on a consistent struggle in defense of the national freedom and independence of all the people against any oppression or exploitation, because only the Communist policy defends to the very end the national freedom and independence of the people of its country.

6. *The national liberation struggle and the support of wars of national liberation.* If any weak state is attacked by one or more big imperialist powers which want to destroy its national independence and national unity or to dismember it, as in the historic instance of the partition of Poland, a war conducted by the national bourgeoisie of such a country to repel this attack may assume the character of a war of liberation, in which the working class and the Communists of that country cannot abstain from intervening. It is the task of the Communists of such a country, while carrying on an irreconcilable struggle to safeguard the economic and political positions of the workers, toiling peasants and national minorities, to be, at the same time, in the front ranks of the fighters for national independence and to wage the war of liberation to a finish, without allowing "their" bourgeoisie to strike a bargain with the attacking powers at the expense of the interests of their country.

It is the duty of the Communists actively to support the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets in their struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists and the Kuomintang. The Communist Party of China must exert every effort to extend the front of the struggle for national liberation and to draw into it all the national forces that are ready to repulse the robber campaign of the Japanese and other imperialists.

IV. From the Struggle for Peace to the Struggle for Revolution

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International most determinedly repudiates the slanderous contention that Communists desire war, expecting it to bring revolution. The leading role of the Communist Parties of all countries in the struggle for the preservation of peace, for the triumph of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, proves that the Communists are striving with all their might to obstruct the preparations for and the unleashing of a new war.

The Communists, while fighting also against the illusion that war can be eliminated while the capitalist system still exists, exert and will exert every effort to prevent war. Should a new imperialist world war break out, despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organized in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Congress at the same time warns Communists and revolutionary workers against anarcho-sindicalist methods of struggle against war, which take the form of refusing to appear for military service, the form of a so-called boycott of mobilization, of committing sabotage in war plants, etc. The Congress considers that such methods of struggle only do harm to the proletariat. The Russian Bolsheviks who, during the World War, fought energetically against war and were for the defeat of the Russian government, rejected such methods; these methods merely make it easier for the bourgeoisie to take repressive measures against Communists and revolutionary workers, and prevent the latter from winning over the toiling masses, especially the soldier masses, to the side of the mass struggle against imperialist war and for its transformation into civil war against the bourgeoisie.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in outlining the tasks of the Communist Parties and of the entire working class in the event of war, bases itself upon the thesis advanced by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg and adopted by the Stuttgart Congress of the pre-war Second International:

"If, nevertheless, war breaks out, it is their duty to work for its speedy termination and to strive with all their might to utilize the economic and political crisis produced by the war to rouse the political consciousness of the masses of the people and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

At the present historical juncture, when on one-sixth part of the globe the Soviet Union defends socialism and peace for all humanity, the most vital interests of the workers and toilers of all countries demand that in pursuing the policy of the working class, in waging the struggle for peace, the struggle against imperialist war before and after the outbreak of hostilities, the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount.

If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in motion for the defense of socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers to work, with all means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists.

THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U. S. S. R. AND ITS WORLD HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

(Resolution on the Report of D. Z. Manuilsky, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

Having heard Comrade Manuilsky's report on the results of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R., the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes with profound satisfaction that, under the leadership of the C. P. S. U., the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and the all-round consolidation of the State of the proletarian dictatorship have been achieved as a result of carrying through the socialist reconstruction of national economy, of accomplishing the collectivization of agriculture, of squeezing out the capitalist elements and liquidating the kulaks as a class.

1. *Socialist industrialization has been successfully carried through.* The U. S. S. R. has changed from an economically and technically backward agrarian country into a great, advanced, industrial country with its iron and steel production, machinery construction, aviation, automobile and tractor industry, and is becoming a country of electric power and chemical industries. The U. S. S. R. is in a position to manufacture any machine and any instrument of production in its plants. Big industrial towns have sprung up in formerly uninhabited places. The old industrial areas are expanding and new ones are being created. The formerly backward outlying regions and the erstwhile tsarist colonies are being successfully industrialized and, as a result, are being transformed into flourishing, advanced, industrial national republics and territories. Highly qualified cadres of technicians, organizers and executives have been trained for the numerous and diversified industries and processes of production. The successes already achieved provide new great possibilities for the further growth of the industrialization of the entire national economy of the U. S. S. R.

2. *The greatest revolution has been successfully accomplished in the countryside—the collectivization of agriculture.* With the triumph of the collective farm system, the most difficult task, that of turning the vast majority of the peasantry onto the path of socialist development, has been solved in practice. Large-scale mechanized agriculture, organized along socialist lines, has been established. The network of machine and tractor stations is extending. The

Soviet (state) farms are gaining strength. The material and productive advantages of the collective farm system have already become a stimulus to the further consolidation of the collective farms and extension of voluntary collectivization. The grain problems has been solved. Livestock raising has improved and is steadily on the upgrade. Thanks to the collective and state farms, the existence of vast stretches of hitherto uncultivated fertile soil and the turn to intensive methods of agriculture, accompanied by an ever-increasing application of technique and scientific principles of farming, guarantee the possibility of the development of socialist agriculture in the U. S. S. R. on a tremendous scale.

3. *A radical improvement in the material conditions of the toilers in the U. S. S. R. and a tremendous rise of their cultural level have been achieved.* Unemployment has disappeared. Workers and office employees are growing in number and becoming more highly skilled. Wage and social insurance funds as well as individual wages and social insurance benefits are rising (sanitariums, rest homes, free medical aid, invalid and old-age pensions, etc.). The working day has been reduced to seven and six hours, and the conditions of labor are progressively improving. Food supply difficulties are being successfully overcome (abolition of bread cards; the growing supply of meats and fats for the toilers, as livestock raising keeps on developing). The big cities and industrial centers have changed their appearance. The housing and living conditions of the toilers are steadily improving; in place of the slums which are characteristic of the working class quarters in big cities and industrial centers under capitalism, spacious, light and sanitary workers' homes have already been built and more are being built. Thanks to the collectivization of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, poverty has vanished in the villages, the peasants have secured the opportunity of a well-to-do life, and work under conditions which do not exhaust but invigorate them.

Solicitude for people, for the toilers, for cadres and, above all, solicitude for the children, occupies a central place in the activities of the Party, the state, the trade unions and all public organizations. The cultural level of the toilers is rising fast. In the Republics of the Soviet Union universal compulsory elementary education has been introduced, conducted in the native national language. Millions of children of the workers, peasants and office employees are studying in the secondary schools and universities. A vast network of educational institutions for children under school age, and a system of specialized evening schools, circles and courses for adults have been set up. Tens of thousands of clubs, theatres, and cinema houses have been built in working class districts, at factories, in villages. The development and flourishing of the culture, national in form and socialist in content, of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. which were formerly oppressed, neglected and doomed to extinction, but are now free and equal, proceeds apace. Women actively participate in socialist construction on an equal footing with men. Young generations which have grown up under Soviet conditions, which have not known capitalist exploitation or want and deprivation of rights, and recognize only the interests, tasks and aims of socialism, are entering into the construction of socialism. Science and all forms of art have been made accessible to the broadest masses. Academicians, scientists, research workers, actors, writers, painters and masters of every other branch of art have turned to the side of the toilers. No matter how vast all these material and cultural achievements may be, compared with the recent past and with the position of the toilers in capitalist countries today, they represent merely the beginning of that splendid near future, flourishing in every way and abounding in universal well-being, toward which the Land of Socialism is advancing.

4. *A great political consolidation of the State of the proletarian dictatorship has been achieved.* The Land of the Soviets has the most stable and most impregnable political order. It is a state of developed democracy, not divorced from the masses of the people nor placed in opposition to them, but organically connected with them, defending their interests, expressing their will and carrying it into effect. The profound, radical changes which have taken place in the social structure of the U. S. S. R. as a result of the socialist reconstruction of national economy, the elimination of the exploiting classes and the victory of the collective farm system, have brought about a further expansion and strengthening of the social foundation of the Soviet Power. In accordance with these changes and relying on the increased confidence of the broad masses in the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet government has carried out new measures of great historic significance in introducing a further democratization

of its system: the substitution of equal suffrage for the previously not entirely equal suffrage, direct for indirect elections, the secret for the open ballot; the extension of electoral rights to include new sections of the adult population, re-enfranchisement of those of the former kulaks who have been deprived of the vote but who have since shown in actual fact, by honest labor, that they have ceased to fight against the Soviet order. The dictatorship of the proletariat is steadily developing along the path of constantly strengthening and widening the direct connection of the Soviet state with the masses of the people, with the overwhelming majority of the population, the path of enhancing the all-round and active direct participation of the masses of the people in the administration of the state and the direction of socialist construction. The development of proletarian democracy which has been attained as a consequence of the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the consolidation of socialist ownership as the basis of Soviet society and the realization of the unity of interests of the vast majority of the population in all the Republics of the Soviet Union, enormously strengthens the State of the proletarian dictatorship.

True to its principles of the brotherhood, freedom and independence of all peoples and nations, the Soviet Union unswervingly fights for the preservation of peace between nations, exposes the aggressive plans of the imperialist robbers and takes all the necessary steps to ensure the defense of the socialist fatherland of the toilers of the whole world against the menace of a predatory attack by the imperialists. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International records with satisfaction that in place of old tsarist Russia, a country beaten by all, and in place of the weak Soviet country which, in the early days of its development, was faced with the possibility of being partitioned by the imperialists, *a mighty socialist state* has now arisen.

The U. S. S. R. is becoming a country of the new man, of a new social and individual mode of life of people. In the great workshop of planned socialist labor, founded on socialist competition, on shock work and the creative initiative of the masses, a great process of remaking people is taking place. The mercenary and anti-social, private property ethics and habits inherited from capitalism are gradually vanishing. The atmosphere of enthusiastic socialist labor facilitates the re-education of criminals and law-breakers. The principle of the inviolability of public property is being instilled in every branch of national economy in town and village. The public opinion of the toiling masses and the practice of self-criticism have become a mighty factor for moral influence for bringing up people and re-educating them. On the basis of the new attitude towards labor and society that is gaining firm hold, a new mode of life is being created, the consciousness and psychology of people are becoming reshaped, new generations, healthy, able-bodied, and versatilely developed, are coming into being. From the very midst of the people, organizers, leaders, inventors, bold explorers of the uncharted elements of the Arctic, heroic conquerors of the atmosphere, the air and the depths of the sea, of the summits of mountains and the bowels of the earth, are coming forth in vast numbers. Millions of toilers are storming and mastering the hitherto inaccessible citadels of technique, science and art. The U. S. S. R. is becoming a country of new people, full of purpose, buoyancy and the joy of living, surmounting all difficulties and performing great feats.

5. *The victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. was achieved in a determined struggle by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against Right and "Left" opportunism, in a stubborn and protracted struggle to overcome enormous difficulties, which arose because of the low level of technical and economic development inherited by the country and because of the need to achieve, in a brief space of time, by its own forces and means, and under conditions of hostile encirclement by imperialists, the reconstruction of the technical foundation of national economy and the fundamental reorganization of its social and economic relations.* Carrying out this readjustment, and especially the rebuilding of the technical base of agriculture, which was connected with the uniting of small peasant households into large collective farms and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, meant a resolute attack by the proletariat on the capitalist elements. As they lost every economic foundation, the remnants of the exploiting classes, backed by the imperialists, offered desperate resistance, resorted to sabotage, wrecking, the burning of crops, the disruption of sowing campaigns, the extermination of cattle, etc. The proletariat succeeded in crushing the resistance of its enemies, creating a powerful socialist industry, consolidating the collective farm system, surmounting the difficulties connected with the need for rapid advancement of national economy. *The possibility of building up socialism in*

a single country, brilliantly foreseen by Lenin and Stalin, has become a reality, palpable and tangible, for millions of people throughout the world. The historic question of "who will win" inside the country, the question of the victory of socialism over capitalism in the U. S. S. R., has been finally and irrevocably decided in favor of socialism. This does not exclude the possibility that the survivors of the routed class enemy, who have lost all hope of preventing the development of socialism, will do whatever harm they can to the workers and collective farmers of the U. S. S. R.

The further development of triumphant socialism will be accompanied in the U. S. S. R. by difficulties of a different order, difficulties arising out of the need to overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people! With the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R., the world proletarian revolution has gained an impregnable position in the sharpening struggle to decide the question "who will win" on the international arena.

6. The victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. is a victory of world importance. Gained, with the support of the international proletariat, by the workers and collective farmers of the U. S. S. R. under the leadership of the best companion-in-arms of the great Lenin, the wise leader of the toilers of the whole world, Comrade Stalin, the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. is causing a profound change in the minds of the toilers of the whole world; it is convincing the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers and workers of other trends of the necessity of waging a common struggle for socialism, and is a decisive factor in the realization of proletarian fighting unity; it is destroying ideas and conceptions, embedded for centuries, of the capitalist order being eternal and unshakable, is revealing the bankruptcy of bourgeois theories and the schemes to "rejuvenate" capitalist society, is having a revolutionizing effect on the toiling masses, instilling into them confidence in their own strength and a conviction of the necessity and practical possibility of the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism. The road of salvation, the road to socialism already trodden by the living example of the U. S. S. R. is shining brightly before the eyes of millions of toilers in the capitalist and colonial countries, of all the exploited and oppressed.

The Soviet socialist order guarantees:

To the workers—liberation from the horrors of unemployment and capitalist exploitation, the opportunity to work for themselves and not for exploiters and parasites; to administer the state and national economy, to steadily improve their material conditions, to lead a cultured life.

To the peasants—land and emancipation from their bondage to landlords, moneylenders, banks, from unbearable taxes, liberation from crises, ruin, degradation and destitution, a steady rise in their prosperity and cultural standards, and a thoroughgoing lightening of their labor.

To the petty-bourgeois folk of the towns—liberation from the nightmare of bankruptcy, from the oppression of big capital, from ruin and degeneration, and the opportunity of finding a place as honest toilers in the system of socialist economy, of bringing about a radical improvement in their material and spiritual life.

To the intellectuals—the necessary conditions and the widest scope for the perfection of their knowledge, capabilities and talents, great impulses and wide horizons for creative work, a radical improvement in their material and cultural life.

To peoples of the colonies and dependencies—national emancipation from the yoke of the imperialists, the possibility of rapidly raising their national economy to the level of the most advanced countries, the advancement and flourishing of their national culture, free and equal active participation in international life.

7. With the victory of socialism, the U. S. S. R. has become a great political, economic and cultural force which influences world policy. It has become the center of attraction and the rallying point for all peoples, countries and even governments which are interested in the preservation of international peace. It has become the stronghold of the toilers of all countries against the menace of war. It has become a mighty weapon for consolidating the toilers of the whole world against world reaction.

The victory of socialism, having transformed the U. S. S. R. into a force which sets in motion broad strata of the population, classes, nations, peoples, and states, marks a new great change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale in favor of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism; it marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution.

From the historic balance of achievements secured since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, with which the world proletarian movement is approaching the second round of wars and revolutions and which *determines the basic tasks of the world proletarian revolution*, follows the primary duty of the working class and the toilers of the world and of all Sections of the C. I.:

To help with all their might and by all means to strengthen the U. S. S. R. and to fight against the enemies of the U. S. S. R. Both under peace conditions and in the circumstances of war directed against the U. S. S. R. the interests of strengthening the U. S. S. R., of increasing its power, of ensuring its victory in all spheres and in every sector of the struggle, coincide fully and inseparably with the interests of the toilers of the whole world in their struggle against the exploiters with the interests of the colonial and oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism; they are the conditions for, and they contribute to, the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, the victory of socialism throughout the world. Assistance to the U. S. S. R., its defense, the cooperation in bringing about its victory over all its enemies must therefore determine the actions of every revolutionary organization of the proletariat, of every genuine revolutionary, of every Socialist, Communist, non-party worker, toiling peasant, of every honest intellectual and democrat, of each and every one who desires the overthrow of exploitation, fascism and imperialist oppression, deliverance from imperialist war, who desires that there should exist brotherhood and peace among nations, that socialism should triumph throughout the world.

EXHIBIT No. 99

[Source: A speech delivered by Georgi Dimitroff, general secretary of the Communist International, in the Hall of Columns, Moscow, at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, on August 2, 1935. Published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: second edition, September, 1935; also by International Publishers in 1938 as Chapter I in Dimitroff's book, the United Front]

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DIMITROFF—WORKING CLASS UNITY—BULWARK AGAINST FASCISM

Published by Workers Library Publishers, P. O. box 148, Sta. D, New York City. First Edition, September, 1935. Second Edition, September, 1935

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow from July 25 to August 20, 1935. Of this second edition of Dimitroff's report to the Congress, half a million copies must be printed and distributed. The historic importance of this call to unity of action against fascism, and its effectiveness as a means of building the united front make it the duty of every worker, of every anti-fascist to give it the widest possible distribution. Additional copies may be secured from the publishers or from any of the bookshops listed on the back cover.

Long before the morning session of August 2 started, the Hall of Columns was crowded. When Dimitroff, who was to give the report on this day, entered the hall, he was welcomed with a tumultuous ovation. The German delegation shouted in speaking chorus: "Red Front!" Revolutionary greetings resounded from every part of the hall, in the languages of the five continents. It was a quarter past eleven before Kuusinen was at last able to open the session. He called upon Dimitroff to speak on the second point of the agenda: "The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism." When Dimitroff mounted the platform, a fresh storm of applause broke out. This time it commenced with shouts in speaking chorus from the benches of the Chinese delegation, followed by the Scandinavian countries, then the Czechoslovakians and finally the English, till at last the "Internationale" was being sung in every language in the world. Then again endless handclapping before Dimitroff could speak.

I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

Comrades, as early as its Sixth Congress, the Communist International warned the world proletariat that a new fascist offensive was impending, and called for a struggle against it. The Congress pointed out that "in a more or less de-

veloped form, fascist tendencies and the germs of a fascist movement are to be found almost everywhere".

With the outbreak of the present most profound economic crisis, the sharp accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism and the revolutionization of the toiling masses, fascism has embarked upon a wide offensive. The ruling bourgeoisie is more and more seeking salvation in fascism, with the object of instituting exceptional predatory measures against the toilers, preparing for an imperialist war of plunder, attacking the Soviet Union, enslaving and partitioning China, and by all these means preventing revolution.

Imperialist circles are endeavoring to place the *whole* burden of the crisis on the backs of the toilers. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are striving to forestall the growth of the forces of revolution by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and by undertaking a military attack against the Soviet Union—the bulwark of the world proletariat. *That is why they need fascism.*

In a number of countries, Germany in particular, these imperialist circles have succeeded, *before* the masses have decisively turned toward revolution, in inflicting defeat on the proletariat and establishing a fascist dictatorship.

But what is characteristic of the victory of fascism is the fact that this victory, on the one hand, bears witness to the weakness of the proletariat, disorganized and paralyzed by the disruptive Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and, on the other, expresses the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, afraid of the realization of a united struggle of the working class, afraid of revolution, and no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship over the masses by the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism.

The victory of fascism in Germany, Comrade Stalin said at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"... must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war."*

The Class Character of Fascism

Comrades, as was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, fascism in power is *the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*

The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German type* of fascism. It has the effrontery to call itself National-Socialism, though having nothing in common with socialism. Hitler fascism is not only bourgeois nationalism, it is bestial chauvinism. It is a government system of political banditry, a system of provocation and torture practised upon the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is medieval barbarity and bestiality, it is unbridled aggression in relation to other nations and countries.

German fascism is acting as *the spearhead of international counter-revolution, as the chief incendiary of imperialist war, as the initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of the toilers of the whole world.*

Fascism is not a form of state power "standing above both classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie", as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not "the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state", as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not super-class government, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen-proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself.

*Socialism Victorious, pp. 11-12. International Publishers, New York.

It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is chauvinism in its crudest form, fomenting the bestial hatred of other nations.

This, the true character of fascism, must be particularly stressed; because in a number of countries fascism, under cover of social demagoguery, has managed to gain the following of the petty-bourgeois masses who have been driven out of their course by the crisis, and even of certain sections of the most backward strata of the proletariat. These would never have supported fascism if they had understood its real class character and its true nature.

The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume *different forms* in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism does not enjoy a broad mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is fairly acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic parties, to retain a certain degree of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an *early* outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all competing parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes *particularly* acute, from endeavoring to extend its basis and, without altering its class nature, *combining* open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism.

The accession to power of fascism is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* for one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—of another form—open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake which would prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the broadest strata of the toilers of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. But it is a mistake no less serious and dangerous to *underrate* the importance, in establishing the fascist dictatorship, of the *reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie which are at present being increasingly initiated in bourgeois-democratic countries*—measures which destroy the democratic liberties of the toilers, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, the accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or other of finance capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. In reality, fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual, and at times severe, struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself—a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes, as we have witnessed in the case of Germany, Austria and other countries. All this, however, does not detract from the fact that before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and institute a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages *is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory.*

The Social-Democratic leaders glossed over and concealed from the masses the true class nature of fascism, and did not call them to the struggle against the increasingly reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie. They bear great *historical responsibility* for the fact that, at the decisive moment of the fascist offensive, a large section of the toiling masses of Germany and a number of other fascist countries failed to recognize in fascism the most bloodthirsty monster of finance, their most vicious enemy, and that these masses were not prepared to resist it.

What is the source of the influence enjoyed by fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolu-

tionary traditions. Why do the German fascists, those lackeys of the big bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as "socialists", and depict their accession to power as a "revolution"? Because they try to exploit the faith in revolution, the urge towards socialism, which live in the hearts of the broad masses of the toilers of Germany.

Fascism acts in the interests of the extreme imperialists, but it presents itself to the masses in the guise of champion of an ill-treated nation, and appeals to outraged national sentiments, as German fascism did, for instance, when it won the support of the masses by the slogan "Against the Versailles Treaty!"

Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses, but it appeals to them with the most artful anti-capitalist demagogy, taking advantage of the profound hatred entertained by the toilers for the piratical bourgeoisie, the banks, trusts and the financial magnates, and advancing slogans which at the given moment are most alluring to the politically immature masses. In Germany—"The general welfare is higher than the welfare of the individual"; In Italy—"Our state is not a capitalist, but a corporate state"; in Japan—"For Japan, without exploitation"; in the United States—"Share the Wealth", and so forth.

Fascism delivers up the people to be devoured by the most corrupt, most venal elements, but comes before them with the demand for "an honest and incorruptible government". Speculating on the profound disillusionment of the masses in bourgeois-democratic governments, fascism hypocritically denounces corruption (for instance, the Barmat and Sklarek affairs in Germany, the Stavisky affair in France, and numerous others).

It is in the interests of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses as they leave the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses these masses by the *severity of its attacks* on bourgeois governments and its irreconcilable attitude toward the old bourgeois parties.

Surpassing in its cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, *fascism adapts* its demagogy to the national *peculiarities* of each country, and even to the peculiarities of the various social strata in one and the same country. And the petty-bourgeois masses, even a section of the workers, reduced to despair by want, unemployment and the insecurity of their existence, fall victim to the social and chauvinist demagogy of fascism.

Fascism comes to power as a *party of attack* on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the masses of the people who are in a state of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a "revolutionary" movement against the bourgeoisie on behalf of "the whole nation" and for "the salvation" of the nation. (Let us recall Mussolini's "march" on Rome, Pilsudski's "march" on Warsaw, Hitler's National-Socialist "revolution" in Germany, etc.)

But whatever the masks which fascism adopts, whatever the forms in which it presents itself, whatever the ways of which it comes to power—

Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the toiling masses;

Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war;

Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all the toilers!

What Does Victorious Fascism Bring for the Masses?

Fascism promised the workers "a fair wage", but actually it has brought them an even lower, a pauper standard of living. It promised work for the unemployed, but actually has brought them even more painful torments of starvation, and compulsory, servile labor. It actually converts the workers and unemployed into pariahs of capitalist society stripped of rights, destroys their trade unions; deprives them of the right to strike and to have their working class press, forces them into fascist organizations, plunders their social insurance funds and transforms the mills and factories into barracks where the unbridled arbitrary rule of the capitalists prevails.

Fascism promised the toiling *youth* a broad highway to a brilliant future. But actually it has brought with it wholesale dismissals of young workers, labor camps and continuous military drilling for a war of conquest.

Fascism promised the *office workers, the petty officials and the intellectuals* to ensure them security of existence, to destroy the omnipotence of the trusts and wipe out profiteering by bank capital. But actually it has brought them an even greater degree of hopelessness and uncertainty as to the morrow; it is subjecting them to a new bureaucracy made up of the most compliant of its

followers: if it setting up an intolerable dictatorship of the trusts, and fosters corruption and degeneration to an unprecedented extent.

Fascism promised the ruined and impoverished *peasants* to put an end to debt bondage, to abolish rent and even to alienate the landed estates without compensation, in the interests of the landless and ruined peasants. But actually it is placing the toiling peasants in a state of unprecedented servitude to the trusts and the fascist state apparatus, and promotes the exploitation of the great mass of peasantry by the big agrarians, the banks and the usurers to the very utmost limit.

"Germany will be a peasant country, or will not be at all", Hitler solemnly declared. And what did the peasants of Germany get under Hitler? A moratorium, which has already been cancelled? Or a law on the inheritance of peasant property, which is resulting in millions of sons and daughters of peasants being squeezed out of the villages and reduced to paupers? Farm laborers have been transformed into semi-serfs, deprived even of the elementary right of free movement. Toiling peasants have been deprived of the opportunity of selling the produce of their farms in the market.

And in Poland?

"The Polish peasant," says the Polish newspaper, *Czas*. "employs methods and means which were used perhaps only in the Middle Ages; he nurses the fire in his stove and lends it to his neighbor; he splits matches into several parts; he lends dirty soap-water to others; he boils herring barrels in order to obtain salt water. This is not a fable, but the actual state of affairs in the countryside, of the truth of which anybody may convince himself."

And it is not Communists who write this, comrades, but a Polish reactionary newspaper!

But this is by no means all.

Every day, in the concentration camps of fascist Germany, in the cellars of the Gestapo (German secret police), in the torture chambers of Poland, in the cells of the Bulgarian and Finnish secret police, in the "Glavnyacha" in Belgrade, in the Rumanian "Siguranza" and on the Italian islands, some of the best sons of the working class, revolutionary peasants, fighters for the splendid future of mankind, are being subjected to revolting tortures and indignities, before which pale the most abominable acts of the tsarist secret police. The villainous German fascists beat husbands to a bloody pulp in the presence of their wives, and send the ashes of murdered sons by parcel post to their mothers. Sterilization has been made a method of political warfare. In the torture chambers, captured anti-fascists are given injections of poison, their arms are broken, their eyes gouged out; they are strung up and have water pumped into them; the fascist swastika is carved in their living flesh.

I have before me a statistical summary drawn up by the International Red Aid—the international organization for aid to revolutionary fighters—regarding the number of killed, wounded, arrested, maimed and tortured to death in Germany, Poland, Italy, Austria, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia. In Germany alone, since the National-Socialists came to power, over 4,200 anti-fascist workers, peasants, employees, intellectuals—Communists, Social-Democrats and members of opposition Christian organizations—have been murdered, 317,800 arrested, 218,600 wounded and subjected to excruciating tortures. In Austria, since the battles of February last year, the "Christian" fascist government has murdered 1,900 revolutionary workers, maimed and wounded 10,000 and arrested 40,000. And this summary, comrades, is far from complete.

Words fail me in describing the indignation which seizes us at the thought of the torments which the toilers are now suffering in a number of fascist countries. The facts and figures we quote *do not reflect one-hundredth part of the true picture* of the exploitation and the tortures inflicted by the White Terror which make up the daily life of the working class in many capitalist countries. Volumes cannot give a just picture of the countless brutalities inflicted by fascism on the toilers.

With feelings of profound emotion and hatred for the fascist butchers, we lower the banners of the Communist International before the unforgettable memory of John Scheer, Fiete Schulz and Luttgens in Germany, Koloman Wallisch and Munichreiter in Austria, Sallai and Furst in Hungary, Kofardzhiev, Lutibrosky and Voikov in Bulgaria—before the memory of thousands and thousands of Communists, Social-Democrats and non-partisan workers, peasants and representatives of the progressive intelligentsia who have laid down their lives in the struggle against fascism.

From this platform we greet the leader of the German proletariat and the honorary chairman of our Congress—Comrade Thaelmann. (*Loud applause, all rise.*) We greet Comrades Rakosi, Gramsci (*Loud applause, all rise*), Antikainen and Youko Pajov. We greet the leader of the Spanish Socialists, Cabellero, imprisoned by the counter-revolutionaries, Tom Mooney, who has been languishing in prison for eighteen years, and the thousands of other prisoners of capitalism and fascism (*loud applause*), and we say to them: "Brothers in the fight, brothers in arms, you are not forgotten. We are with you. We shall give every hour of our lives, every drop of our blood, for your liberation, and for the liberation of all toilers, from the shameful regime of fascism." (*Loud applause, all rise.*)

Comrades, it was Lenin who warned us that the bourgeoisie may succeed in overwhelming the toilers by savage terror, in checking the growing forces of revolution for brief periods of time, but that, nevertheless, this would not save it from its doom.

"Life," Lenin wrote, "will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, overdo things, commit stupidities, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance and endeavor to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany, etc.), hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands more of yesterday's and tomorrow's Bolsheviks. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as all classes doomed by history have acted. Communists should know that the future, at any rate, belongs to them; therefore, we can, and must, combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober evaluation of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie."*

Aye, if we and the proletariat of the whole world firmly follow the path indicated by Lenin and Stalin, the bourgeoisie will perish in spite of everything. (*Applause.*)

Is the Victory of Fascism Inevitable?

Why was it that fascism could triumph, and how?

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and the toilers. Fascism is the enemy of nine-tenths of the German people, nine-tenths of the Austrian people, nine-tenths of the other people in fascist countries. How, in what way, could this vicious enemy triumph?

Fascism was able to come to power *primarily* because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, *proved to be split, politically and organizationally disarmed*, in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. And the Communist Parties, on the other hand, were *not strong enough* to be able, apart from and in the teeth of the Social-Democrats, to rouse the masses and to lead them in a decisive struggle against fascism.

And, indeed, let the millions of Social-Democratic workers, who together with their Communist brothers are now experiencing the horrors of fascist barbarism, seriously reflect on this. If in 1918, when revolution broke out in Germany and Austria, the Austrian and German proletariat had not followed the Social-Democratic leadership of Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler and Karl Renner in Austria and Ebert and Schiedemann in Germany, but had followed the road of the Russian Bolsheviks, the road of Lenin and Stalin, there would now be no fascism in Austria or Germany, in Italy or Hungary, in Poland or in the Balkans. Not the bourgeoisie, but the working class would long ago have been the master of the situation in Europe. (*Applause.*)

Take, for example, the *Austrian* Social-Democratic Party. The revolution of 1918 raised it to a tremendous height. It held the power in its hands, it held strong positions in the army and in the state apparatus. Relying on these positions, it could have nipped fascism in the bud. But it surrendered one position of the working class after another without resistance. It permitted the bourgeoisie to strengthen its power, amend the constitution, purge the state apparatus, army and police force of Social-Democratic functionaries and take the arsenals away from the workers. It allowed the fascist bandits to murder Social-Democratic workers with impunity and accepted the terms of the Huettnerberg pact, which gave the fascist elements entry to the factories. At the same time the Social-Democratic leaders fooled the workers with the Linz program, in which the alternative was provided for the possibility of using

*Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" *Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, p. 80. Little Lenin Library. International Publishers, New York.

armed force against the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, assuring them that in the event of the ruling class using force against the working class, the party would reply by a call for a general strike and for armed struggle. As though the whole policy of preparation for a fascist attack on the working class were not one claim of acts of violence against the working class masked by constitutional forms. Even on the eve and in the course of the February battles the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders left the heroically fighting Schutzbund isolated from the broad masses and doomed the Austrian proletariat to defeat.

Was the victory of fascism inevitable in *Germany*? No, the German working class could have prevented it.

But in order to do so, it should have compelled the establishment of a united anti-fascist proletarian front, forced the Social-Democratic leaders to put a stop to their campaign against the Communists and to accept the repeated proposals of the Communist Party for united action against fascism.

When fascism was on the offensive and the bourgeois democratic liberties were being progressively abolished by the bourgeoisie, it should not have contended itself with the verbal resolutions of the Social-Democrats, but should have replied by a genuine mass struggle, which would have made the fulfilment of the fascist plans of the Germans bourgeoisie more difficult.

It should not have allowed the prohibition of the League of Red Front Fighters by the government of Braun and Severing, and should have established fighting contact between the League and the Reichsbanner,* with its nearly one million members, and have compelled Braun and Severing to arm both these organizations in order to resist and smash the fascist bands.

It should have compelled the Social-Democratic leaders who headed the Prussian government to adopt measures of defense against fascism, arrest the fascist leaders, close down their press, confiscate their material resources and the resources of the capitalists who were financing the fascist movement, dissolve the fascist organizations, deprive them of the weapons, and so forth.

Furthermore, it should have secured the re-establishment and extension of all forms of social assistance and the introduction of a moratorium and crisis benefits for the peasants—who were being ruined under the influence of crises—by taxing the banks and the trusts, in this way securing for itself the support of the toiling peasantry. It was the fault of the Social-Democrats of Germany that this was not done, and that is why fascism *was able* to triumph.

Was it inevitable that the bourgeoisie and the nobility should have triumphed in *Spain*, a country where the forces of proletarian revolt are so advantageously combined with a peasant war?

The Spanish Socialists were in the government from the first days of the revolution. Did they establish fighting contact between the working class organizations of every political opinion, including the Communists and the Anarchists, and did they weld the working class into a united trade union organization? Did they demand the confiscation of all the lands of the landlords, the church and the monasteries in favor of the peasants in order to win over the latter to the side of the revolution? Did they attempt to fight for national self-determination for the Catalonians and the Basques, and for the liberation of Morocco? Did they purge the army of monarchist and fascist elements and prepare it for passing over to the side of the workers and peasants? Did they dissolve the Civil Guard, so detested by the people, the executioner of every movement of the people? Did they strike at the fascist party of Gil Robles and at the might of the Catholic church? No, they did none of these things. They rejected the frequent proposals of the Communists for united action against the offensive of the bourgeois-landlord reaction and fascism; they passed election laws which enabled the reactionaries to gain a majority in the Cortes (parliament), laws which penalized popular movements, laws under which the heroic miners of Asturias are now being tried. They had peasants who were fighting for land shot by the Civil Guard, and so on.

This is the way in which the Social-Democrats, by disorganizing and splitting the ranks of the working class, cleared the path to power for fascism in Germany, in Austria, in Spain.

Comrades, fascism *also* triumphed for the reason that the proletariat found itself isolated from its natural allies. Fascism triumphed because it was able to win over *large masses of the peasantry*, owing to the fact that the Social-

**Reichsbanner*—"The Flag of the Realm", a Social-Democratic semimilitary mass organization.

Democrats, in the name of the working class, pursued what was in fact an anti-peasant policy. The peasant saw in power a number of Social-Democratic governments, which in his eyes were an embodiment of the power of the working class, but not one of them put an end to peasant want, none of them gave land to the peasantry. In Germany, the Social-Democrats did not touch the landlords; they combated the strikes of the agricultural workers, with the result that long before Hitler came to power the agricultural workers of Germany were abandoning the reformist trade unions and in the majority of cases were going over to the Stahlhelm and to the National-Socialists.

Fascism also triumphed for the reason that it was able to penetrate the ranks of the youth, whereas the Social-Democrats diverted the working class youth from the class struggle, while the revolutionary proletariat did not develop the necessary educational work among the youth and did not devote sufficient attention to the struggle for its specific interests and demands. Fascism grasped the very acute need of the youth for militant activity, and enticed a considerable section of the youth into its fighting detachments. The new generation of young men and women have not experienced the horrors of war. They have felt the full weight of the economic crisis, unemployment, and the disintegration of bourgeois democracy. But, seeing no prospects for the future, large numbers of young people have proved to be particularly receptive to fascist demagoguery, which depicted for them an alluring future should fascism succeed.

In this connection, we cannot avoid referring also to a number of *mistakes committed by the Communist Parties*, mistakes that hampered our struggle against fascism.

In our ranks there were people who intolerably underrated the fascist danger, a tendency which has not everywhere been overcome to this day. Of this nature was the opinion formerly to be met with in our Parties to the effect that "Germany is not Italy", meaning that fascism may have succeeded in Italy, but that its success in Germany was out of the question, because the latter was, industrially and culturally, a highly developed country, with forty years of traditions of the working class movement, in which fascism was impossible. Or the kind of opinion which is to be met with nowadays, to the effect that in countries of "classical" bourgeois democracy the soil for fascism does not exist. Such opinions may serve and have served to weaken vigilance with regard to the fascist danger, and to render the mobilization of the proletariat in the struggle against fascism more difficult.

One might also cite a number of instances in which Communists were caught unawares by the fascist *coup*. Remember Bulgaria, where the leadership of our Party took up a "neutral", but in fact opportunist, position with regard to the *coup d'etat* of June 9, 1923; Poland, where, in May, 1926, the leadership of the Communist Party, making a wrong estimate of the motive forces of the Polish revolution, did not realize the fascist nature of Pilsudski's *coup*, and trailed in the rear of events; Finland, where our Party based itself on a false conception of slow and gradual fascization and overlooked the fascist *coup* which was being prepared by the leading group of the bourgeoisie and which caught the Party and the working class unawares.

When National-Socialism had already become a menacing mass movement in Germany, certain comrades, like Heinz Neumann, who regarded the Brüning government as already a government of fascist dictatorship, boastfully declared: "If Hitler's 'Third Empire' ever comes about, it will only be six feet underground, and above it will be the victorious power of the workers".

Our comrades in Germany for a long time failed to reckon with the wounded national sentiments and indignation of the masses at the Versailles Treaty; they treated as of little account the vacillations of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; they were late in drawing up their program of social and national emancipation, and when they did put it forward they were unable to adapt it to the concrete demands and the level of the masses. They were even unable to popularize it widely among the masses.

In a number of countries the necessary development of a mass fight against fascism was replaced by sterile hair splitting as to the nature of fascism "in general" and by a *narrow sectarian attitude* in presenting and solving the actual political problems of the Party.

Comrades, it is not simply because we want to dig up the past that we speak of the causes of the victory of fascism, that we point to the historical responsibility of the Social-Democrats for the defeat of the working class, and that we also point out our own mistakes in the fight against fascism. We are not historians divorced from living reality; we, active fighters of the working class,

are obliged to answer the question that is tormenting millions of workers: *Can the victory of fascism be prevented, and how?* And we reply to these millions of workers: Yes, comrades, the road in the way of fascism can be blocked. It is quite possible. It depends on ourselves—on the workers, the peasants and all the toilers!

Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends *in the first place* on the militant activity displayed by the working class itself, on whether its forces are welded into a single militant army combatting the offensive of capitalism and fascism. Having established its fighting unity, the proletariat would paralyze the influence of fascism over the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, the youth and the intelligentsia, and would be able to neutralize one section and win over another section.

Second, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the toilers against fascism. A party which systematically calls on the workers to retreat in the face of fascism and permits the fascist bourgeoisie to strengthen its positions will inevitably lead the workers to defeat.

Third, it depends on whether a correct policy is pursued by the working class towards the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois masses of the towns. These masses must be taken as they are, and not as we should like to have them. It is only in the process of the struggle that they will overcome their doubts and vacillations. It is only provided we adopt a patient attitude towards their inevitable vacillations, it is only with the political help of the proletariat, that they will be able to rise to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and activity.

Fourth, it depends on whether the revolutionary proletariat exercises vigilance and takes action at the proper time. It must not allow fascism to catch it unawares, it must not surrender the initiative to fascism, it must inflict decisive blows on the latter before it can gather its forces, it must not allow fascism to consolidate its position, it must repel fascism wherever and whenever it manifests itself, it must not allow fascism to gain new positions, all of which the French proletariat is doing so successfully. (*Applause.*)

These are the main conditions for preventing the growth of fascism and its accession to power.

Fascism—a Ferocious but Unstable Power

The fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is a ferocious power, but an unstable one.

What are the chief causes of the instability of the fascist dictatorship?

While fascism has undertaken to overcome the discord and antagonisms within the bourgeois camp, it is rendering these antagonisms even more acute. Fascism endeavors to establish its political monopoly by violently destroying other political parties. But the existence of the capitalist system, the existence of various classes and the accentuation of class contradictions inevitably tend to undermine and explode the political monopoly of fascism. This is not the case of a Soviet country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is also realized by a party with a political monopoly, but where this political monopoly accords with the interest of millions of toilers and is increasingly being based on the construction of classless society. In a fascist country the party of the fascists cannot preserve its monopoly for long, because it cannot set itself the aim of abolishing classes and class contradictions. It puts an end to the legal existence of bourgeois parties. But a number of them continue to maintain an illegal existence, while the Communist Party even in conditions of illegality continues to make progress, becomes steeled and tempered and leads the struggle of the proletariat against the fascist dictatorship. Hence, under the blows of class contradictions, the political monopoly of fascism is bound to explode.

Another reason for the instability of the fascist dictatorship is that the contrast between the anti-capitalist demagoguery of fascism and its policy of enriching the monopolistic bourgeoisie in the most piratical fashion makes it easier to expose the class nature of fascism and tends to shake and narrow its mass basis.

Furthermore, the success of fascism arouses the profound hatred and indignation of the masses, helps to revolutionise them and provides a powerful stimulus for a united front of the proletariat against fascism.

By conducting a policy of economic nationalism (autarchy) and by seizing the greater portion of the national income for the purpose of preparing for war, fascism undermines the whole economic life of the country and accentuates the economic war between the capitalist states. It lends the conflicts that arise among the bourgeoisie the character of sharp and at times bloody collisions,

which undermines the stability of the fascist state power in the eyes of the people. A government which murders its own followers, as was the case in Germany on June 30 of last year, a fascist government against which another section of the fascist bourgeoisie is conducting an armed fight (the National-Socialist *putsch* in Austria and the violent attacks of individual fascist groups on the fascist governments in Poland, Bulgaria, Finland and other countries)—a government of this character cannot for long maintain its authority in the eyes of the broad petty-bourgeois masses.

The working class must be able to take advantage of the antagonisms and conflicts within the bourgeois camp, but it must not cherish the illusion that fascism will exhaust itself of its own accord. Fascism will not collapse automatically. It is only the revolutionary activity of the working class which can help to take advantage of the conflicts which inevitably arise within the bourgeois camp in order to undermine the fascist dictatorship and to overthrow it.

By destroying the relics of bourgeois democracy, by elevating open violence to a system of government, fascism shakes democratic illusions and undermines the authority of the law in the eyes of the toiling masses. This is particularly the case in countries such as, for example, Austria and Spain, where the workers have taken up arms against fascism. In Austria, the heroic struggle of the *Schutzbund* and the Communists, in spite of their defeat, from the very outset shook the stability of the fascist dictatorship. In Spain, the bourgeoisie did not succeed in placing the fascist muzzle on the toilers. The armed struggles in Austria and Spain have resulted in ever wider masses of the working class coming to realize the necessity for a revolutionary class struggle.

Only such monstrous philistines, such lackeys of the bourgeoisie, as the superannated theoretician of the Second International, Karl Kautsky, are capable of casting reproaches at the workers, to the effect that they should not have taken up arms in Austria and Spain. What would the working class movement in Austria and Spain look like today if the working class of these countries were guided by the treacherous counsels of the Kautskys? The working class would be experiencing profound demoralization in its ranks.

"The school of civil war," Lenin says, "does not leave the people unaffected. It is a harsh school, and its complete curriculum *inevitably* includes the victories of the counter-revolution, the debaucheries of enraged reactionaries, savage punishments meted out by the old governments to the rebels, etc. But only downright pedants and mentally decrepit mummies can grieve over the fact that nations are entering this painful school; this school teaches the oppressed classes how to conduct civil war; it teaches how to bring about a victorious revolution; it concentrates in the masses of present-day slaves that hatred which is always harbored by the downtrodden, dull, ignorant slaves, and which leads those slaves who have become conscious of the shame of their slavery to the greatest historic exploits."*

The success of fascism in Germany has, as we know, been followed by a new wave of fascist onslaughts, which, in Austria, led to the provocation by Dollfuss, in Spain to the new onslaughts of the counter-revolutionaries on the revolutionary conquests of the masses, in Poland to the fascist reform of the constitution, while in France it spurred the armed detachments of the fascists to attempt a *coup d'état* in February, 1934. But this victory, and the frenzy of the fascist dictatorship, called forth a counter-movement for a united proletarian front against fascism on an international scale. The burning of the Reichstag, which served as a signal for the general attack of fascism on the working class, the seizure and spoliation of the trade unions and the other working class organizations, the groans of the tortured anti-fascists rising from the vaults of the fascist barracks and concentration camps, are making it clear to the masses what has been the outcome of the reactionary, disruptive role played by the German Social-Democratic leaders, who rejected the proposal made by the Communists for a joint struggle against advancing fascism. They are convincing the masses of the necessity of amalgamating all the forces of the working class for the overthrow of fascism.

Hitler's victory also provided a decisive stimulus to the creation of a united front of the working class against fascism in France. Hitler's victory not only aroused in the workers the fear of the fate that befell the German workers, not only inflamed hatred for the executioners of their German class brothers, but also strengthened in them the determination never in any circumstances to allow in their country what had happened to the working class in Germany.

* Lenin, "Inflammable Material in World Politics," *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 298. International Publishers, New York.

The powerful urge towards the united front in all the capitalist countries show that the lessons of defeat have not been in vain. The working class is beginning to act in a *new way*. The initiative shown by the Communist Party in the organization of the united front and the supreme self-sacrifice displayed by the Communists, by the revolutionary workers in the struggle against fascism, have resulted in an unprecedented increase in the prestige of the Communist International. At the same time, within the Second International, a profound crisis has been developing, which has manifested itself with particular clarity and has become particularly accentuated since the bankruptcy of German Social-Democracy.

The Social-Democratic workers are able to convince themselves ever more forcibly that fascist Germany, with all its horrors and barbarities, is in the final analysis *the result of Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie*. These masses are coming ever more clearly to realize that the path along which the German Social-Democratic leaders led the proletariat must not again be traversed. Never has there been such ideological dissension in the camp of the Second International as at the present time. A process of differentiation is taking place in all the Social-Democratic parties. Within their ranks *two principal camps* are forming; side by side with the existing camp of reactionary elements, who are trying in every way to preserve the *bloc* between the Social-Democrats and the bourgeoisie, and who furiously reject a united front with the Communists, *there is beginning to form a camp of revolutionary elements who entertain doubts as to the correctness of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, who are in favor of the creation of a united front with the Communists and are increasingly coming to adopt the position of revolutionary class struggle*.

Thus fascism, which appeared as the result of the decline of the capitalist system, in the long run acts as a factor of *its further disintegration*. Thus fascism, which has undertaken to bury Marxism, the revolutionary movement of the working class, is, as a result of the dialectics of life and the class struggle, itself leading to the *further development of those forces* which are bound to serve as its grave-diggers, the grave-diggers of capitalism. (*Applause*.)

II. UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

Comrades, millions of workers and toilers of the capitalist countries ask the question: How can fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can fascism be overthrown after being victorious? To this the Communist International replies: *The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to commence, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defense but also of successful counter-offensive against fascism against the class enemy*.

Importance of the United Front

Is it not clear that joint action by the adherents of the parties and organizations of the two Internationals, the Communist and the Second International, would facilitate the repulse by the masses of the fascist onslaught, and would enhance the political importance of the working class?

Joint action by the parties of both Internationals against fascism, however, would not be confined to influencing their present adherents, the Communists and Social-Democrats; it would also exert a powerful influence on the ranks of the *Catholic, anarchist and unorganized workers, even on those who had temporarily become the victims of fascist demagogy*.

Moreover, a powerful united front of the proletariat would exert tremendous influence on *all other strata of the toiling people*, on the peasantry, on the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia. A united front would inspire the wavering groups with faith in the strength of the working class.

But even this is not all. The proletariat of the imperialist countries has possible allies not only in the toilers of its own countries but also in the *oppressed nations of the colonies and semi-colonies*. Inasmuch as the proletariat is split both nationally and internationally, inasmuch as one of its parts supports the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in particular its system of oppression in the colonies and semi-colonies, this alienates from the working

class the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies and weakens the world anti-imperialist front. Every step on the road to unity of action, directed towards the support of the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples on the part of the proletariat of the imperialist countries, denotes the transformation of the colonies and semi-colonies into one of the most important reserves of the world proletariat.

If, finally, we take into consideration that international unity of action by the proletariat relies on the *steadily growing strength of a proletarian state, a land of socialism, the Soviet Union*, we see that broad perspectives are revealed by the realization of united action on the part of the proletariat on a national and international scale. The establishment of unity of action by all sections of the working class, irrespective of their party or organizational affiliation, is necessary *even before the majority of the working class is united in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution*.

Is it possible to realize this unity of action by the proletariat in the individual countries and throughout the whole world? Yes, it is. And it is possible at this very moment. The Communist International *attaches no conditions to unity of action except one, and that an elementary condition acceptable for all workers, viz., that the unity of action be directed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy*. This is our condition.

The Chief Arguments of the Opponents of the United Front

What objections can the opponents of the united front have and how do they voice their objections?

Some say: "To the Communists the slogan of the united front is merely a maneuver." But if it is a maneuver, we reply, why don't you expose the "Communist maneuver" by your honest participation in a united front? We declare frankly: We want unity of action by the working class, so that the proletariat may grow strong in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, in order that while defending today its current interests against attacking capital, against fascism, the proletariat may be in a position tomorrow to create the preliminary conditions for its final emancipation.

"The Communists attack us," say others. But listen, we have repeatedly declared: We shall not attack anyone, neither persons nor organizations nor parties that stand for the united front of the working class against the class enemy. But at the same time it is our duty, in the interests of the proletariat and its cause, to criticize those persons, those organizations, those parties which impede unity of action by the workers.

"We cannot form a united front with the Communists, since they have a different program," says a third group. But you yourselves say that your program differs from the program of the bourgeois parties, and yet this did not and does not prevent you from entering into coalitions with these parties.

"The bourgeois-democratic parties are better allies against fascism than the Communists," say the opponents of the united front and the advocates of coalition with the bourgeoisie. But what does Germany's experience teach? Did not the Social-Democrats form a *bloc* with those "better" allies? And what were the results?

"If we establish a united front with the Communists, the petty bourgeoisie will take fright at the 'Red danger' and will desert to the fascists," we hear it said quite frequently. But does the united front represent a threat to the peasants, the petty traders, the artisans, the toiling intellectuals? No, the united front is a threat to the big bourgeoisie, the financial magnates, the *Junkers* and other exploiters, whose regime brings complete ruin to all these strata.

"Social-Democracy is for democracy, the Communists are for dictatorship; therefore we cannot form a united front with the Communists," say some of the Social-Democratic leaders. But are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal for the time being.

"Let the Communists recognize democracy, let them come out in its defense, then we shall be ready for a united front." To this we reply: We are adherents of Soviet democracy, the democracy of the toilers, the most consistent democracy in the world. But in the capitalist countries we defend and shall continue to defend every inch of bourgeois-democratic liberties which are being

attacked by fascism and bourgeois reaction, because the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat so dictate.

"But the tiny Communist Parties do not contribute anything by participating in the united front brought about by the Labor Party," say, for instance, the Labor leaders of Great Britain. Recall how the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders said the same things with reference to the small Austrian Communist Party. And what have events shown? It was not the Austrian Social-Democratic Party headed by Otto Bauer and Karl Renner that proved right, but the tiny Austrian Communist Party which at the right moment signalled the fascist danger in Austria and called upon the workers to struggle. For the whole experience of the labor movement has shown that the Communists with all their relative insignificance in numbers are the motive power of the militant activity of the proletariat. Besides this, it must not be forgotten that the Communist Parties of Austria or Great Britain are not only the tens of thousands of workers who are supporters of the Party, but are *parts* of the world Communist movement, are *Sections of the Communist International*, the *leading* party of which is the party of a proletariat which has already achieved victory and rules over one-sixth part of the globe.

"But the united front did not prevent fascism from being victorious in the Saar," is another objection advanced by the opponents of the united front. Strange is the logic of these gentlemen! First they leave no stone unturned to ensure the victory of fascism and then they rejoice with malicious glee because the united front which they entered into only at the last moment did not lead to the victory of the workers.

"If we were to form a united front with the Communists, we should have to withdraw from the coalition, and reactionary and fascist parties would enter the government," say the Social-Democratic leaders holding cabinet posts in various countries. Very well. Was not the German Social-Democratic Party in a coalition government? It was. Was not the Austrian Social-Democratic Party in office? It was. Were not the Spanish Socialists in the same government as the bourgeoisie? They were, too. Did the participation of the Social-Democratic Parties in the bourgeois coalition governments in these countries prevent fascism from attacking the proletariat? It did not. Consequently it is as clear as daylight that participation of Social-Democratic ministers in bourgeois governments *is not* a barrier to fascism.

"The Communists act like dictators, they want to prescribe and dictate everything to us." No. We prescribe nothing and dictate nothing. We only make proposals concerning which we are convinced that if realized they will meet the interests of the toiling people. This is not only the right but the duty of all those acting in the name of the workers. You are afraid of the "dictatorship" of the Communists? Let us jointly submit all proposals to the workers, both yours and ours, jointly discuss them and choose, together with all the workers, those proposals which are most useful to the cause of the working class.

Thus all these arguments against the united front *will not bear the slightest criticism*. They are rather the flimsy excuses of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, who prefer their united front with the bourgeoisie to the united front of the proletariat.

No. These excuses will not hold water. The international proletariat has known all the bitterness of tribulation caused by the split in the working class, and becomes more and more convinced that the *united front*, that the proletariat's *unity of action on a national and international scale are both necessary and perfectly possible*. (Applause.)

Content and Forms of the United Front

What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism, must form the *starting point* and *main content* of the united front in all capitalist countries.

We must not confine ourselves to bare appeals to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, but must also find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise out of the vital needs of the masses, and are commensurate with their fighting capacity at the given stage of development.

We must point out to the masses what they must do *today* to defend themselves against capitalist spoliation and fascist barbarity.

We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of joint action by workers' organizations of different trends for the defense of the vital interests of the toiling masses. This means:

First, joint struggle really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists, landlords—in a word, to the shoulders of the rich.

Second, joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive, in defense of the gains and the rights of the toilers, against the liquidation of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

Third, joint struggle against the approaching danger of imperialist war, a struggle that will impede the preparations for such a war.

We must indefatigably prepare the working class for a *rapid change in forms and methods of struggle* when there is a change in the situation. As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens, we must go further, and prepare the transition *from the defensive to the offensive against capital* steering towards the *organization of a mass political strike*. It must be an absolute condition of such a strike to draw into it the main trade unions of the respective countries.

Communists of course cannot and must not for a moment abandon their own *independent work* of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses. However, for the purpose of ensuring that the workers find the road to unity of action, it is necessary to strive at the same time both for short-term and for long-term agreements providing for *joint action with Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the toilers* against the class enemies of the proletariat. The chief stress in all this must be laid on developing *mass action* locally, *to be carried out by the local organizations* through local agreements.

While loyally carrying out the conditions of all agreements made with them, we shall mercilessly expose all sabotage of joint action on the part of persons and organizations participating in the united front. To any attempt to wreck the agreements—and such attempts may possibly be made—we shall reply by appealing to the masses while continuing untiringly to struggle for the restoration of the broken unity of action.

It goes without saying that the concrete realization of the united front will take *various* forms in various countries, depending upon the condition and character of the workers' organizations and their political level, upon the concrete situation in the particular country, upon the changes in progress in the international labor movement, etc.

These forms may include for instance: co-ordinated joint action of the workers to be agreed upon *from case to case* on definite occasions, on individual demands or on the basis of a common platform; co-ordinated actions in *individual enterprises or whole industries*; co-ordinated actions on a *local, regional, national or international scale*; co-ordinated action for the organization of the *economic struggle* of the workers, carrying out of mass *political actions*, for the organization of joint *self-defense* against fascist attacks; co-ordinated action in the rendering of *aid to political prisoners and their families*; in the field of struggle against *social reaction*; joint actions in the defense of the *interests of the youth and women*, in the field of the *cooperative movement, cultural activity, sports, etc.*

It would be insufficient to content ourselves with the conclusion of a pact providing for joint action and the formation of contact committees consisting of the parties and organizations participating in the united front, like those we have in France, for instance. That is only the first step. The pact is an auxiliary means for realizing joint action, but by itself it does not constitute a united front. A contact commission between the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties is necessary to facilitate the carrying out of joint action, but by itself it is far from adequate for a real development of the united front, for drawing the broadest masses into the struggle against fascism.

The Communists and all revolutionary workers must strive for the formation of elective (and in the countries of fascist dictatorship—selected from the most authoritative participants in the united front movement) *non-partisan class bodies of the united front at the factories, among the unemployed in the working class districts, among the small townsmen and in the villages*. Only such bodies will be able to embrace in the united front movement the vast masses of unorganized toilers as well, will be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and reaction, and on this basis to create the necessary *broad active rank and file of the united front*, the training of hundreds of thousands of non-Party Bolsheviks in the capitalist countries.

Joint action of the *organized* workers is the beginning, the foundation. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the unorganized masses constitute the vast majority of workers. Thus, in *France* the number of organized workers—Communists, Socialists, trade union members of various trends—is altogether *about one million*, while the total number of workers is *eleven million*. In *Great Britain* there are approximately *five million* members of trade unions and parties of various trends. At the same time the total number of workers is *fourteen million*. In the *United States of America* about *five million* workers are organized, while altogether there are *thirty-eight million* workers in that country. About the same ratio holds good for a number of other countries. In "normal" times this mass in the main does not participate in political life. But now this gigantic mass is getting into motion more and more, is being brought into political life, comes out in the political arena.

The creation of non-partisan class bodies is the *best form* for carrying out, extending and strengthening the united front among the rank and file of the broadest masses. These bodies will likewise be the best bulwark against every attempt of the opponents of the united front to disrupt the established unity of action of the working class.

The Anti-Fascist People's Front

In the mobilization of the toiling masses for the struggle against fascism, the formation of *broad people's anti-fascist front on the basis of the proletarian united front* is a particularly important task. The success of the entire struggle of the proletariat is closely connected with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat on the one hand and the toiling peasantry and the basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie constituting a majority in the population of even industrially developed countries, on the other.

In its agitation, fascism, desirous of winning these masses to its own side, tries to set the toiling masses of the cities and the countryside against the revolutionary proletariat, intimidating the petty bourgeoisie with the bugaboo of the "Red danger". We must *turn the spearpoint in the opposite direction* and show the toiling peasants, artisans and toiling intellectuals whence the real danger threatens. We must *show them concretely* who piles the burden of taxes and imposts on to the peasant, squeezes usurious interest out of him, and who, while owning the best lands and enjoying every form of wealth, drives the peasant and his family from his plot of land and dooms him to unemployment and poverty. We must explain concretely, explain patiently and persistently, who ruins the artisans, the handicraftsmen, with taxes, imposts, high rents and competition impossible for them to withstand, who throws into the street and deprives of employment the broad masses of the toiling intelligentsia.

But this is *not enough*.

The fundamental, the most decisive point in establishing the anti-fascist people's front is *the resolute action of the revolutionary proletariat* in defense of the demands of these strata, particularly of the toiling peasantry, demands in line with the basic interests of the proletariat, combining in the process of struggle the demands of the working class with these demands.

In forming the anti-fascist people's front, a correct approach to those organizations and parties to which a considerable number of the toiling peasantry and the mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie belong is of great importance.

In the capitalist countries the majority of these parties and organizations, political as well as economic, are still under the influence of the bourgeoisie and follow it. The social composition of these parties and organizations is heterogeneous. They include big kulaks (rich peasants) side by side with landless peasants, big business men alongside of petty shopkeepers, but control is in the hands of the former, the agents of big capital. This makes it our duty to *approach* these organizations in *different ways*, taking into consideration that not infrequently the bulk of the membership does not know anything about the real political character of its leadership. Under certain conditions, we can and must bend our efforts to the task of drawing these parties and organizations or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist people's front, despite their bourgeois leadership. Such, for instance, is today the situation in France with the Radical Party, in the United States with various farmers' organizations, in Poland with the "Stronnictwo Ludowe", in Yugoslavia with the Croatian Peasants' Party, in Bulgaria with the Agrarian League, in Greece with the Agrarians, etc. But irrespective of whether there is any chance of attracting

these parties and organizations to the side of the people's front, our tactics must *under all circumstances* be directed towards drawing the small peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen, etc., among their members into the anti-fascist people's front.

You see consequently that in this field we must put an end all along the line to what frequently occurs in our practical work—the ignoring of or contemptuous attitude towards the various organizations and parties of the peasants, artisans and urban petty-bourgeois masses.

Cardinal Questions of the United Front in Individual Countries

There are in every country certain *cardinal questions* which at the present stage are agitating vast masses of the population and around which the struggle for the establishment of the united front must be developed. If these cardinal points, cardinal questions, are properly grasped, it will ensure and accelerate the establishment of the united front.

A. The United States of America

Let us take, for example, so important a country in the capitalist world as the *United States of America*. There millions of people have been brought into motion by the crisis. The program for the recovery of capitalism has collapsed. Vast masses are beginning to abandon the bourgeois parties, and are at present at the crossroads.

Incipient American fascism is endeavoring to direct the disillusionment and discontent of these masses into reactionary fascist channels. It is a peculiarity of the development of American fascism that at the present stage it appears principally in the guise of an opposition to fascism, which it accuses of being an "un-American" tendency imported from abroad. In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the constitution and "American democracy". It does not yet represent a directly menacing force. But if it succeeds in penetrating to the broad masses who have become disillusioned with the old bourgeois parties, it may become a serious menace in the very near future.

And what would the success of fascism in the United States entail? For the toiling masses it would, of course, entail the unrestrained strengthening of the regime of exploitation and the destruction of the working class movement. And what would be the international significance of this success of fascism? As we know, the United States is not Hungary, or Finland, or Bulgaria, or Latvia. The success of fascism in the United States would change the whole international situation quite materially.

Under these circumstances, can the American proletariat content itself with the organization of only its class conscious vanguard, which is prepared to follow the revolutionary path? No.

It is perfectly obvious that the interests of the American proletariat demand that all its forces dissociate themselves from the capitalist parties without delay. It must at the proper time find ways and suitable forms of preventing fascism from winning over the broad discontented masses of the toilers. And here it must be said that under American conditions the creation of a mass party of toilers, a "*Workers' and Farmers' Party*", might serve as such a suitable form. *Such a party would be a specific form of the mass people's front in America* that should be set up in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be *neither Socialist nor Communist*. But it *must* be an anti-fascist party and must *not* be an anti-Communist party. The program of this party must be directed against the banks, trusts and monopolies, against the principal enemies of the people who are gambling on its misfortunes. Such a party will be equal to its task only if it defends the urgent demands of the working class, only if it fights for genuine social legislation, for unemployment insurance; only if it fights for land for the white and black sharecroppers and for their liberation from the burden of debt; only if it works for the cancellation of the farmers' indebtedness; only if it fights for the equal status of the Negroes; only if it fights for the demands of the war veterans, and for the interests of the members of the liberal professions, the small business men, the artisans. And so on.

It goes without saying that such a party will fight for the election of its own candidates to local offices, to the state legislatures, to the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Our comrades in the United States acted rightly in taking the initiative for the creation of such a party. But they still have to take effective measures in

order to make the creation of such a party the cause of the masses themselves. The question of forming a "Workers' and Farmers' Party", and its program, should be discussed at mass meetings of the people. We should develop the most widespread movement for the creation of such a party, and take the lead in it. In no case must the initiative of organizing the party be allowed to pass to elements desirous of utilizing the discontent of the masses which have become disillusioned in both the bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, in order to create a "third party" in the United States, as an anti-Communist party, a party directed against the revolutionary movement.

B. Great Britain

In Great Britain, as a result of the mass action of the British workers, Mosley's fascist organization has for the time being been pushed into the background. But we must not close our eyes to the fact that the so-called "National Government" is passing a number of reactionary measures directed against the working class, as a result of which conditions are being created in Great Britain, too, which it easy for the bourgeoisie, if necessary, to proceed to a fascist regime. At the present stage, fighting the fascist danger in Great Britain means primarily fighting the "National Government" and its reactionary measures, fighting the offensive of capital, fighting for the demands of the unemployed, fighting against wage reductions and for the repeal of all those laws with the help of which the British bourgeoisie is lowering the standard of living of the masses.

But the growing hatred of the working class for the "National Government" is uniting increasingly large numbers under the slogan of the formation of a *new Labor Government* in Great Britain. Can the Communists ignore this frame of mind of the masses, who still retain faith in a Labor government? No, comrades. We must find a way of approaching these masses. We tell them openly, as did the Thirteenth Congress of the British Communist Party, that we Communists are in favor of a Soviet government, as the only form of government capable of emancipating the workers from the yoke of capital. But you want a Labor government? Very well. We have been and are fighting hand in hand with you for the defeat of the "National Government". We are prepared to support your fight for the formation of a new Labor government, in spite of the fact that both the previous Labor governments did not fulfill the promises made to the working class by the Labor Party. We do not expect this government to carry out Socialist measures. But *we shall present it with the demand*, in the name of the working class millions, that it defend the most essential economic and political interests of the working class and of all the toilers. Let us jointly discuss a common program of such demands, and let us achieve that unity of action which the proletariat requires in order to repel the reactionary offensive of the "National Government", the attack of capital and fascism, and the preparations for a new war. On this basis, the British comrades are prepared at the forthcoming parliamentary elections to cooperate with branches of the Labor Party against the "National Government", and also against Lloyd George, who is endeavoring in his own way to lure the masses into following him against the cause of the working class and in the interests of the British bourgeoisie.

This position of the British Communists is a correct one. It will help them to set up a militant united front with the millions of members of the British trade unions and the British Labor Party.

While always remaining in the front ranks of the fighting proletariat, and pointing out to the masses the only right path—the path of struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a Soviet government—the Communists, in defining their immediate political aims, must not attempt to leap over those necessary stages of the mass movement in the course of which the working class masses by their own experience outlive their illusions and pass over to the side of Communism.

C. France

France, as we know, is a country in which the working class is setting an example to the whole world proletariat of how to fight fascism. The French Communist Party is setting an example to all the Sections of the Comintern of how the tactics of the united front should be conducted; the Socialist workers are setting an example of what the Social-Democratic workers of other capitalist countries should now be doing in the fight against fascism. (*Applause.*) The significance of the anti-fascist demonstration attended by half a million people held in Paris

on July 14 of this year and of the numerous demonstrations in other French cities is tremendous. This is not merely a movement of a united working class front; it is the beginning of a wide general front of the people against fascism in France.

This united front movement enhances the confidence of the working class in its own forces; it strengthens its consciousness of the leading role it is playing in relation to the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and the intelligentsia; it extends the influence of the Communist Party among the working class masses, and therefore brings new strength to the proletariat in the fight against fascism. It is mobilizing in good time the vigilance of the masses in regard to the fascist danger. And it will serve as an infectious example for the development of the anti-fascist struggle in other capitalist countries and will exercise a heartening influence on the proletarians of Germany crushed down by the fascist dictatorship.

The victory, needless to say, is a big one, but it still does not decide the issue of the anti-fascist struggle. The overwhelming majority of the French people are undoubtedly opposed to fascism. But the bourgeoisie is able by armed force to violate the will of peoples. The fascist movement is continuing to develop absolutely freely, with the active support of monopoly capital, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the general staff of the French army, and the reactionary leaders of the Catholic church—that stronghold of all reaction. The most powerful fascist organization, the *Croix de Feu*, now commands 300,000 armed men, the backbone of which consists of 60,000 officers of the reserve. It holds strong positions in the police, the gendarmerie, the army, the air force and in all government offices. The recent municipal elections have shown that in France it is not only the revolutionary forces that are growing, but also the forces of fascism. If fascism succeeds in penetrating widely among the peasantry, and in securing the support of one section of the army, while the other section remains neutral, the French toiling masses will not be able to prevent the fascists from coming to power. Comrades, do not forget the organizational weakness of the French labor movement, which tends to facilitate the success of the fascist attack. The working class and all anti-fascists in France have no grounds for resting content with the results already achieved.

What are the tasks confronting the working class in France?

First, to achieve the establishment of a united front not only in the political sphere, but also in the economic sphere in order to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive, and by its pressure to smash the resistance offered to the united front by the leaders of the reformist Confederation of Labor.

Second, to achieve trade union unity in France—united trade unions based on the class struggle.

Third, to enlist in the anti-fascist movement the broad peasant masses, the petty-bourgeois masses, devoting special attention in the program of the anti-fascist people's front to their urgent demands.

Fourth, to strengthen organizationally and extend further the anti-fascist movement which has already developed, by the widespread creation of elected non-partisan bodies of the anti-fascist people's front, the influence of which extends to wider masses than those in the parties and toilers' organizations in France at present in existence.

Fifth, to secure by their pressure the disbanding and disarming of the fascist organizations, as organizations of conspirators against the republic and agents of Hitler in France.

Sixth, to achieve the purging of the state apparatus, the army and the police of the conspirators who are preparing a fascist *coup*.

Seventh, to develop the struggle against the leaders of the reactionary cliques of the Catholic church, as one of the most important strongholds of French fascism.

Eighth, to link up the army with the anti-fascist movement by creating in its ranks committees for the defense of the republic and the constitution, directed against those who want to utilize the army for an anti-constitutional *coup d'état* (applause); not to allow the reactionary forces in France to wreck the Franco-Soviet agreement, which defends the cause of peace against the aggression of German fascism. (Applause.)

And if in France the anti-fascist movement leads to the formation of a government which will carry on a real struggle against French fascism—not in word but in deed—will carry out the program of demands of the anti-fascist people's front, the Communists, while remaining the irreconcilable foes of every

bourgeois government and supporters of a Soviet government, will nevertheless, in face of the growing fascist danger, *be prepared to support such a government.* (*Applause.*)

The United Front and the Fascist Mass Organizations

Comrades, the fight for the establishment of a united front in countries where the fascists are in power is perhaps the most important problem that confronts us. In such countries, of course, the fight is carried on under far more difficult conditions than is the case in countries which have legal labor movements. Nevertheless, all the conditions exist in fascist countries for the development of a real anti-fascist people's front in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, since the Social-Democratic, Catholic and other workers, in Germany for instance, are in a position to realize more directly the necessity for a joint struggle with the Communists against the fascist dictatorship. Wide strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, having already tasted the bitter fruits of fascist rule, are growing increasingly discontented and disillusioned, which fact makes it easier to enlist them in the anti-fascist people's front.

But the principal task in fascist countries, particularly in Germany and Italy, where fascism has managed to gain a mass basis and has forced the workers and other toilers into its organizations, consists in a skillful combination of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship from without and its undermining from within, inside the fascist mass organizations and bodies. Special methods and means of approach suited to the concrete conditions prevailing in these countries must be learned, mastered and applied, so as to facilitate the rapid disintegration of the mass basis of fascism and to prepare the way for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We must learn, master and apply this, and not only shout "Down with Hitler!" and "Down with Mussolini!" Yes, learn, master and apply.

This is a difficult and complex task. It is all the more difficult because our experience in successfully combating the fascist dictatorship is extremely limited. Our Italian comrades, for instance, have already been fighting under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship for about thirteen years. Nevertheless, they have not succeeded in developing a real mass struggle against fascism, and therefore they have unfortunately been little able in this respect to help the Communist Parties in other fascist countries by their positive experience.

The German and Italian Communists, and the Communists in other fascist countries, as well as the Communist youth, have displayed prodigies of valor; they have made and are daily making tremendous sacrifices. We all bow our heads in honor of such heroism and sacrifices. But heroism alone is not enough. (*Applause.*) Heroism must be combined with day-to-day work among the masses, with such concrete struggle against fascism as will achieve the most tangible results in this sphere. In our struggle against fascist dictatorship it is particularly dangerous to confuse the wish with the fact. We must base ourselves on the facts, on the actual concrete situation.

What is now the actual situation, in Germany for instance?

The masses are becoming increasingly discontented and disillusioned with the policy of the fascist dictatorship, and this even assumes the form of partial strikes and other action. In spite of all its efforts, fascism has failed to win over politically the basic masses of the workers: it is even losing its former supporters, and will lose them more and more in the future. Nevertheless, we must realize that the workers who are convinced of *the possibility* of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship, and who are prepared, already today, to fight for it actively, are still in the minority—they consist of us, the Communists, and the revolutionary section of the Social-Democratic workers. But the majority of the toilers have not yet become aware of the real, concrete possibilities and methods of overthrowing this dictatorship and are maintaining a waiting position. This we must bear in mind when we outline our tasks in the struggle against fascism in Germany, and when we seek, study and apply special methods of bringing about the undermining and overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

In order to be able to strike a telling blow at the fascist dictatorship, we must first find out what is its most vulnerable point. What is the Achilles' heel of the fascist dictatorship? Its social basis. The latter is extremely heterogeneous. It is made up of various classes and various strata of society. Fascism has proclaimed itself the sole representative of all classes and strata

of the population: the manufacturer and the worker, the millionaire and the unemployed, Junker and the small peasant, the big capitalist and the artisan. It pretends to defend the interests of *all* these strata, the interests of the nation. But since it is dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, fascism must inevitably come into conflict with its mass social basis, all the more since, under the fascist dictatorship, the class contradictions between the pack of financial magnates and the overwhelming majority of the people are brought out in greatest relief.

We can lead the masses to a decisive struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship only by getting the workers who have been forced into the fascist organizations, or have joined them through ignorance, to take part in *the most elementary movements* for the defense of their economic, political and cultural interests. It is for this reason that the Communists must work in these organizations, as the best champions of the day-to-day interests of the mass of members, bearing in mind that as the workers belonging to these organizations begin more and more frequently to demand their rights and defend their interests, they inevitably come into conflict with the fascist dictatorship.

In defending the urgent and, at first, the most elementary interests of the toiling masses of town and country, it is comparatively easier to find a common language not only with the conscious anti-fascists but also with those toilers who are still supporters of fascism, but are disillusioned and dissatisfied with its policy, and are grumbling and seeking an occasion for expressing their discontent. We must in general realize that all our tactics in countries with fascist dictatorship must be of such a character as not to repulse the rank-and-file supporters of fascism, not to throw them once more into the arms of fascism, but to deepen the chasm between the fascist leaders and the mass of disillusioned rank-and-file followers of fascism drawn from the toiling strata.

We need not be dismayed, comrades, if the people mobilized around these day-to-day interests consider themselves either indifferent to politics or even followers of fascism. The important thing for us is to draw them into the movement which, although it may not at first proceed openly under the slogans of the struggle against fascism, is already objectively an anti-fascist movement counterposing these masses against the fascist dictatorship.

Experience teaches us that the view that it is *generally impossible*, in countries with a fascist dictatorship, to come out legally or semi-legally, is harmful and incorrect. To insist on this point of view means to fall into passivity, and to renounce real mass work altogether. True, under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship, to find forms and methods of legal or semi-legal action is a difficult and complex problem. But, as in many other questions, the path is indicated by life and by the initiative of the masses themselves, which have already provided us with a number of examples that must be generalized and applied in an organized and effective manner. We must very resolutely put an end to the tendency to underestimate work in the fascist mass organizations. In Italy, in Germany and in a number of other fascist countries, our comrades concealed their passivity, and frequently even their direct refusal to work in the fascist mass organizations, by putting work in the factories in contradistinction to work in the fascist mass organizations. In reality, however, it was just this mechanical distinction which led to work being conducted very feebly, and sometimes not at all, both in the fascist mass organizations and in the factories.

Yet it is particularly important that Communists in the fascist countries should be wherever the masses are to be found. Fascism has deprived the workers of their own legal organizations. It has forced the fascist organizations upon them, and it is *there that the masses are* by compulsion, or to some extent voluntarily. These mass fascist organizations can and must be made our legal or semi-legal field of action, where we can meet the masses. They can and must be made our legal or semi-legal starting point for the defense of the day-to-day interests of the masses. In order to utilize these possibilities, Communists must strive to win elective posts in the fascist mass organizations, with the object of establishing contact with the masses, and must rid themselves once and for all of the prejudice that this kind of activity is unseemly and unworthy of a revolutionary worker.

In Germany, for instance, there exists a system known as shop delegates. But where is it stated that we must leave the fascists a monopoly in these organizations? Cannot we endeavor to unite the Communist, Social-Democratic,

Catholic and other anti-fascist workers in the factories so that when the list of shop delegates is voted upon, the known agents of the employers may be struck off and other candidates, enjoying the confidence of the workers, inserted in their stead? Practice has already shown that this is possible.

And does not practice also go to show that it is possible, jointly with the Social-Democratic and other discontented workers, to demand that the shop delegates really defend the interests of the workers?

Take the "Labor Front" in Germany, or the fascist trade unions in Italy. Is it not possible to demand that the functionaries of the "Labor Front" be elected, and not appointed; to insist that the leading bodies of the local groups report to the meetings of the members of the organizations; to address these demands, following a decision by the group, to the employer, to the "guardian of labor", to the higher bodies of the "Labor Front"? This is possible, provided the revolutionary workers really work within the "Labor Front" and try to obtain posts in it.

Similar methods of work are possible and essential in other mass fascist organizations also—in the Hitler Youth Leagues, in the sports organizations, in the *Kraft durch Freude* organizations, in the *Doppio Lavoro* in Italy, in the cooperatives, and so forth.

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

Our revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our fascist foe, who is defending himself against the people with the help of the living wall of his cutthroats. (*Applause.*)

He who fails to understand the necessity of applying such tactics in the case of fascism, he who regards such an approach as "humiliating", may be a most excellent comrade, but, if you will allow me to say so, he is a windbag and not a revolutionary, he will be unable to lead the masses to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. (*Applause.*)

Growing up *outside and inside* the fascist organizations in Germany, Italy and the other countries in which fascism possesses a mass basis, the mass movement for a united front, starting with the advocacy of the most elementary requirements, changing its forms and watchwords of the struggle as that struggle extends and grows, will be the *battering ram* that will shatter the now seemingly (to many) impregnable fortress of the fascist dictatorship.

The United Front in the Countries Where the Social-Democrats Are in Office

The struggle for the establishment of the united front raises also another very important problem, the problem of the united front in countries where Social-Democratic governments, or coalition governments in which Socialists participate, are in power, as, for instance, in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Belgium.

Our attitude of absolute opposition to Social-Democratic governments, which are governments of compromise with the bourgeoisie, is well known. But this notwithstanding, we do not regard the existence of a *Social-Democratic government* or a coalition government formed by a Social-Democratic party with bourgeois parties as an *insurmountable* obstacle for the establishment of a united front with the Social-Democrats on definite issues. We believe that in such a case too a united front for the defense of the vital interests of the toiling people and in the struggle against fascism is quite *possible and necessary*. It stands to reason that in countries where representatives of Social-Democratic parties take part in the government, the Social-Democratic leadership offers the greatest *resistance* to the proletarian united front. This is quite comprehensible. After all, they want to show the bourgeoisie that it is they who can keep the discontented working masses under control and prevent them from falling under the influence of Communism better and more skillfully than anyone else. The fact, however, that Social-Democratic ministers are opposed to the proletarian united front can by no means justify a situation in which *the Communists do nothing to establish a united front of the proletariat*.

Our comrades in the Scandinavian countries often follow the line of least resistance, *confining themselves to propaganda exposing the Social-Democratic*

governments. This is a mistake. In *Denmark*, for example, the Social-Democratic leaders have been in the government for the last ten years, and for ten years day in and day out the Communists have been reiterating that it is a bourgeois, a capitalist government. We have to assume that the Danish workers are acquainted with this propaganda. The fact that a considerable majority nevertheless vote for the Social-Democratic government party only goes to show that the exposure of the government on the part of the Communists by means of propaganda is *insufficient*. It does *not* prove, however, that these hundreds of thousands of workers are satisfied with all the government measures of the Social-Democratic ministers. No, they are *not satisfied* with the fact that by it so-called "crisis agreement" the Social-Democratic government assists the *big capitalists and landowners* and not the workers and poor peasants. They are not satisfied with the decree issued by the government in January, 1933, which deprived the workers of the *right to strike*. They are not satisfied with the project of the Social-Democratic leadership for a dangerous *anti-democratic electoral reform* (which would considerably reduce the number of deputies). I shall hardly be in error, comrades, if I state that 99 per cent of the Danish workers do *not approve* of these political steps taken by the Social-Democratic leaders and ministers.

Is it not possible for the Communists to call upon the trade union and Social-Democratic organizations of Denmark to discuss some of these burning issues, to express their opinions on them and jointly come out for a proletarian united front with the object of obtaining the workers' demands? In October of last year, when our Danish comrades appealed to the trade unions to act against the reduction of unemployment relief and for the democratic rights of the trade unions, about a hundred local trade union organizations joined the united front.

In *Sweden* a Social-Democratic government is for the third time in power, but the Swedish Communists have for a long time refused to apply the united front tactics in practice. Why? Was it because they were opposed to the united front? No, in principle, of course, they were for the united front, for a united front *in general*, but they failed to understand in what circumstances, on what questions, in defense of what demands a proletarian united front could be successfully established, where and how to "hook on". A few months before the Social-Democratic Party formed its government, it advanced during the elections a platform containing demands which were the very thing to include in a platform of the proletarian united front. For example, the slogans "*Against customs duties*", "*Against militarization*", "Make an end to the policy of delay in the question of *unemployment insurance*", "Grant *adequate old age pensions*", "*Prohibit organizations like the 'Munch' corps*" (a fascist organization), "*Down with class legislation against the unions* demanded by the bourgeois parties."

Over a million toilers of Sweden voted in 1932 for these demands advocated by the Social-Democrats and welcomed in 1933 the formation of a Social-Democratic government in the hope that now these demands would be realized. What could have been more natural in such a situation and what would have suited the working masses better than an appeal of the Communist Party to all Social-Democratic and trade union organizations to take joint action to *secure these demands advanced by the Social-Democratic Party?*

If we had succeeded in really mobilizing the broad masses, in welding the Socialist-Democratic and Communist workers' organizations into a united front to secure these demands which the Social-Democrats themselves had advanced, no one can doubt that the *working class of Sweden* would have gained thereby. The Social-Democratic ministers of Sweden, of course, would not have been very happy over it, for in that case the government would have been compelled to meet at least some of these demands. At any rate, what has happened now, when the government instead of abolishing has *raised* some of the duties, instead of restricting militarism has enlarged the military budget, and instead of rejecting any legislation directed against the trade unions has itself introduced such a bill in Parliament, would not have happened. True, on the last issue the Communist Party of Sweden carried through a good mass campaign in the spirit of the proletarian united front with the result that in the end even the Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction felt constrained to vote against the government bill, and for the time being the bill has been defeated.

The *Norwegian Communists* were right in calling upon the organizations of the Labor Party to organize joint May Day demonstrations and in putting forward a number of demands which in the main coincided with the demands contained in the election platform of the Norwegian Labor Party. Although this step in favor of a united front was poorly prepared and the leadership

of the Norwegian Labor Party opposed it, *united front demonstrations took place in thirty localities.*

Formerly many Communists used to be afraid that it would be opportunism on their part if they did not counter every partial demand of the Social-Democrats by demands of their own which were twice as radical. That was a naive mistake. If Social-Democrats, for instance, demanded the dissolution of the fascist organizations, there was no reason why we should add: "and the disbanding of the state police" (a demand which would be expedient under different circumstances.) We should rather tell the Social-Democratic workers: We are ready to accept these demands of your party as demands of the proletarian united front and are ready to fight to the end for its realization. Let us join hands for the battle.

In *Czechoslovakia* also certain demands advanced by the Czech and the German Social-Democrats, and the reformist trade unions, can and should be utilized for the establishment of a united front of the working class. When the Social-Democrat, for instance, demand work for the unemployed, or the abolition of the laws restricting municipal self-government, as they have done ever since 1927, these demands must be made concrete in each locality, in each district, and a fight must be carried on hand in hand with the Social-Democratic organizations for their actual realization. Or, when the Social-Democratic parties thunder against the exponents of fascism in the state apparatus "in general", the proper thing to do is in each particular district to drag into the light of day the particular local fascist spokesmen, and together with the Social-Democratic workers demand their removal from government employ.

In *Belgium* the leaders of the Socialist Party, with Emile Vandervelde at their head, have entered a coalition government. This "success" they have achieved thanks to their lengthy and extensive campaigns for two main demands: (1) *the abolition of the emergency decree, and* (2) *the realization of the de Man plan.* The first issue is very important. The preceding government issued 150 reactionary emergency decrees, which are an extremely heavy burden on the toiling people. It was proposed to repeal them at once. Such was the demand of the Socialist Party. But have many of these emergency degrees been repealed by the new government? It has not rescinded a single one. It has only nullified somewhat a few of the emergency decrees in order to make a sort of "token payment" in settlement of the generous promises of the Belgian Socialist leaders (like that "token dollar" which some European powers proffered the U. S. A. in payment of the millions due as war debts).

As regards the realization of the widely advertised de Man plan, the matter has taken a turn quite unexpected by the Social-Democratic masses. The Socialist ministers announced that the *economic crisis must be overcome first*, and only those provisions of de Man's plan should be carried into effect which improve the position of the industrial capitalists and the banks; only thereafter would it be possible to adopt measures to improve the conditions of the workers. But *how long* must the workers wait for *their share* in the "benefits" promised them in the de Man plan? The Belgian *bankers* have already had their veritable *shower of gold.* The Belgian franc has been devaluated 28 per cent; by this manipulation the bankers were able to pocket 4,500,000 francs as their spoils at the expense of the wage earners and the savings of the small depositors. But how does this tally with the contents of the de Man plan? Why, if we are to believe the letter of the plan, it promises to "*prosecute monopolist abuses and speculative manipulations.*"

On the basis of the de Man plan, the government has appointed a commission to supervise the banks. But the commission *consists of bankers* who can now gaily and light-heartedly supervise themselves.

The de Man plan also promises a number of other good things, such as a "*shortening of the working day*", "*normalization of wages*", "*a minimum wage*", "*organization of an all-embracing system of social insurance*", greater convenience in living conditions through new *housing construction* and so forth. These are all demands which we Communists can support. We should go to the labor organizations of Belgium and say to them: The capitalists have already received enough and even too much. Let us demand that the Social-Democratic ministers now carry out the promises they made to the workers. Let us get together in a *united front* for the *successful defense* of our interests. Minister Vandervelde, we support the demands on behalf of the workers contained in *your platform*; but we tell you frankly that we take these demands *seriously*, that we want action and not empty words, and therefore are uniting hundreds of thousands of workers *to struggle* for these demands!

Thus, in countries having Social-Democratic governments, the Communists ought to make use of appropriate individual demands taken from the platforms of the Social-Democratic parties themselves and of the election promises of the Social-Democratic ministers as the starting point for the realization of joint action with the Social-Democratic parties and organizations, so that they may afterwards the more easily develop a campaign for the establishment of a united front, but on the basis of other mass demands to be raised in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of war.

It must further be borne in mind that if in general joint action with the Social-Democratic parties and organizations requires that the Communists exercise serious and substantial criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and untiringly explain to the Social-Democratic workers in a comradely way the program and slogans of Communism, in countries having Social-Democratic governments this task is of particular importance in the struggle for the united front.

The Struggle for Trade Union Unity

Comrades, the most important stage in the consolidation of the united front must be the establishment of national and international trade union unity.

As you know, the disruptive tactics of the reformist leaders were applied most virulently in the trade unions. The reason for this is clear. Here their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie found its practical culmination directly in the factories, to the detriment of the vital interests of the working class. This, of course, gave rise to sharp criticism and resistance on the part of the revolutionary workers under the leadership of the Communists. That is why the struggle between Communism and reformism raged most fiercely in the trade unions.

The more difficult and complicated the situation became for capitalism, the more reactionary was the policy of the leaders of the Amsterdam unions and the more aggressive were their measures against all opposition elements within the trade unions. Even the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and the intensified capitalist offensive in all capitalist countries failed to diminish their aggressiveness. It is not a characteristic fact that in 1933 alone, most disgraceful circulars were issued in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and Sweden, urging the expulsion of Communists and revolutionary workers from the trade unions?

The same year a circular was issued in Great Britain prohibiting the local branches of the trade unions from joining antiwar or other revolutionary organizations. That was a prelude to the notorious "black circular" of the Trade Union Congress General Council, which outlawed any trades council admitting delegates "directly or indirectly associated with Communist organizations". What is there left to be said of the leadership of the German trade unions, which applied unprecedented repressive measures against the revolutionary elements in the trade unions?

Yet we must base our tactics, not on the behavior of individual leaders of the Amsterdam unions, no matter what difficulties their behavior may cause the class struggle, but primarily on the question of *where the masses of workers are to be found*. And here we must openly declare that work in the trade unions is the sorest spot in the work of all Communist Parties. We must bring about a real change for the better in trade union work and make the question of struggle for trade union unity the central issue.

"What constitutes the strength of Social-Democracy in the West?" asked Comrade Stalin ten years ago. Answering this question, he said:

"The fact that it has its support in the trade unions.

"What constitutes the weakness of our Communist Parties in the West?

"The fact that they are not yet linked with the trade unions, and that certain elements within the Communist Parties do not wish to be linked with them.

"Hence, the main task of the Communist Parties of the West at the present time is to develop the campaign for unity in the trade union movement and to bring it to its consummation; to see to it that all Communists, without exception, join the trade unions, there to work systematically and patiently to strengthen the solidarity of the working class in its fight against capital, and thus attain the conditions that will enable the Communist Parties to rely upon the trade unions."*

*Stalin, "The Results of the Work of the Fourteenth Conference of the R. C. P.", *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 160, International Publishers, New York.

Has this precept of Comrade Stalin's been followed? No, comrades, it has not.

Ignoring the urge of the workers to join the trade unions, and faced with the difficulties of working within the Amsterdam unions, many of our comrades decided to pass by this complicated task. They invariably spoke of an organizational crisis in the Amsterdam unions, of the workers deserting the unions, but failed to notice that after some decline at the beginning of the world economic crisis, these unions later began to grow again. The peculiarity of the trade union movement has been precisely the fact that the attacks of the bourgeoisie on trade union rights, the attempts in a number of countries to unify the trade unions (Poland, Hungary, etc.), the curtailment of social insurance, and wage cuts, forced the workers, notwithstanding the lack of resistance displayed by the reformist trade union leaders, to rally still more closely around these unions, because the workers wanted and still want to see in the trade unions the militant champions of their vital class interests. This explains the fact that most of the Amsterdam unions in France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, etc., have grown in membership during the last few years. The American Federation of Labor has also considerably increased its membership in the past two years.

Had the German comrades better understood the problem of trade union work of which Comrade *Thuchmann* spoke on many occasions, we would undoubtedly have had a better situation in the trade unions than was the case at the time the fascist dictatorship was established. By the end of 1932 only about *ten percent* of the Party members belonged to the free trade unions. This in spite of the fact that after the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern the Communists took the lead in quite a number of strikes. Our comrades used to write in the press of the need to assign 90 percent of our forces to work in the trade unions, but in reality activity was concentrated exclusively around the revolutionary trade union opposition which actually sought to replace the trade unions. And how about the period after Hitler's seizure of power? For two years many of our comrades stubbornly and systematically opposed the correct slogan of fighting for the re-establishment of the free unions.

I could cite similar examples about almost every other capitalist country.

But we already have the first serious achievements to our credit in the struggle for trade union unity in European countries. I have in mind little Austria, where on the initiative of the Communist Party a basis has been created for an illegal trade union movement. After the February battles the Social-Democrats, with Otto Bauer at the head, threw out the watchword: "The free unions can be re-established only after the downfall of fascism." The Communists applied themselves to the *task of re-establishing the trade unions*. Each phase of that work was a bit of the living united front of the Austrian proletariat. The successful re-establishment of the free trade unions in underground conditions was a serious blow to fascism. The Social-Democrats were at the parting of the ways. Some of them tried to negotiate with the government. Others, seeing our successes, created their own parallel illegal trade unions. But there could be only one road: *either capitulation to fascism, or towards trade union unity through joint struggle against fascism*. Under mass pressure, the wavering leadership of the parallel unions created by the former trade union leaders decided to agree to amalgamation. The basis of this amalgamation is irreconcilable struggle against the offensive of capitalism and fascism and the guarantee of trade union democracy. We welcome this fact of the amalgamation of trade unions, which is the first of its kind since the formal split of the trade unions after the war and is therefore of *international importance*.

In France the united front has unquestionably served as a mighty impetus towards the establishment of trade union unity. The leaders of the General Confederation of Labor have hampered and still hamper in every way the realization of unity, countering the main issue of the class policy of the trade unions by raising issues of a subordinate and secondary or formal character. An unquestionable success in the struggle for trade union unity has been the establishment of *single unions* on a local scale, embracing, in the case of the railroad workers, for instance, approximately three-quarters of the membership of both trade unions.

We are definitely for the re-establishment of *trade union unity in each country and on an international scale*. We are for *one union in each industry*.

We stand for *one federation of trade unions in each country*. We are for *one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries*.

We stand for *one International of trade unions based on the class struggle*.

We are for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism. Our only condition for uniting the trade unions is: Struggle against capital, struggle against fascism, and internal trade union democracy.

Time does not stand still. To us the question of trade union unity on a national as well as international scale is a question of the great task of uniting our class in mighty, single trade union organizations against the class enemy.

We welcome the fact that on the eve of May First of this year the Red International of Labor Unions addressed the Amsterdam International with the proposal to consider jointly the question of the terms, methods and forms of uniting the world trade union movement. The leaders of the Amsterdam International rejected that proposal, using the stock argument that unity in the trade union movement is possible only within the Amsterdam International, which, by the way, includes almost none but trade unions in a number of European countries.

But the Communists working in the trade unions must continue to struggle indefatigably for the unity of the trade union movement. The task of the Red trade unions and the R. I. L. U. is to do all in their power to hasten the hour of joint struggle of all trade unions against the offensive of capital and fascism, to establish a united trade union movement, despite the stubborn resistance of the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International. The Red trade unions and the R. I. L. U. must receive our unstinted support in this matter.

In countries where small Red trade unions exist we recommend to work for their affiliation with the big reformist unions, but to insist on the right to defend their views and on the reinstatement of expelled members. But in countries where big Red trade unions exist parallel with big reformist trade unions, we must work for the convening of *unity congresses* on the basis of platforms of struggle against the capitalist offensive and of ensuring *trade union democracy*.

It should be stated categorically that any Communist workers, any revolutionary worker who does not belong to the mass trade union of his industry, who does not fight to transform the reformist trade union into a real class trade union organization, who does not fight for trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle, such Communist worker, such revolutionary worker, does not discharge his elementary proletarian duty. (*Applause.*)

The United Front and the Youth

I have already pointed out the role which the drawing of the youth into the fascist organizations played in the victory of fascism. In speaking of the youth, we must state frankly that we have neglected our task of drawing the masses of the toiling youth into the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of war; we have neglected these tasks in a number of countries. We have underestimated the enormous importance of the youth in the fight against fascism. We have not always taken count of the specific economic, political and cultural interests of the youth. We have likewise not paid proper attention to revolutionary education of the youth.

All this has been utilized very cleverly by fascism, which in some countries, particularly in Germany, has inveigled large sections of the youth on to the anti-proletarian road. It should be borne in mind that the glamor of militarism is not the only enticement with which fascism captures the youth. It feeds and clothes some of them in its detachments, gives work to others, even sets up so-called cultural institutions for the youth, trying in this way to imbue them with the idea that it really can and wants to feed, clothe, teach, and provide work for the masses of the toiling youth.

In a number of capitalist countries, our *Young Communist Leagues* are still largely sectarian organizations divorced from the masses. Their fundamental weakness is that they are still trying to copy the Communist Parties, their forms and methods of work, forgetting that the Y. C. L. is *not a Communist Party of the youth*. They do not sufficiently take into consideration the fact that this is an organization having its own specific tasks. Its methods and forms of work, of education and of struggle, must be adapted to the specific level and needs of the youth.

Our Young Communists have given memorable examples of heroism in the first against fascist violence and bourgeois reaction. But they still lack the

ability to win the masses of the youth away from hostile influences by dint of stubborn, concrete work. This is attested by the fact that they have not yet overcome their opposition to work in the fascist mass organizations, and that their approach to the Socialist youth and other non-Communist youth is not always correct.

A great part of the responsibility for all this must be borne, of course, by the Communist Parties as well, for they ought to lead and support the Y. C. L. in its work. For the problem of the youth is not only a Y. C. L. problem. *It is a problem for the entire Communist movement.* In the struggle for the youth, the Communist Parties and the Y. C. L. organizations must actually effect a decisive change. The main task of the Communist youth movement in capitalist countries is to advance boldly in the direction of bringing about the *united front*, along the path of organizing and uniting the toilers of the young generation. The tremendous importance for the revolutionary movement of the youth that attaches to even the first steps taken in this direction is shown by the examples of *France* and the *United States* during the recent past. It was sufficient in these countries to proceed to apply the united front, when considerable successes were at once achieved. In the sphere of the international united front, the successful initiative of the anti-fascist and anti-war committee in Paris in bringing about the international co-operation of all *non-fascist* youth organizations is also worthy of note in this connection.

These recent successful steps in the united front movement of the youth also show that the forms which the united front of the youth is to assume must not be stereotyped, nor be necessarily the same as those met with in the practice of the Communist Parties. The Young Communist Leagues must strive in every way to unite the forces of all non-fascist mass organizations of the youth, including the formation of various kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right against the militarization of the youth and for the economic and cultural rights of the young generation, in order to draw these young toilers over to the side of the anti-fascist front, no matter where they may be—in the factories, the forced labor camps, the labor exchanges, the army barracks and the fleet, the schools, or in the various sports, cultural or other organizations.

In developing and strengthening the Y. C. L., our Y. C. L. members must work for the formation of anti-fascist associations of the Communist and Socialist Youth League on a platform of class struggle.

Women and the United Front

Nor was work among toiling women—among working women, unemployed women, peasant women and housewives—underestimated any less than was work among the youth. While fascism exacts most from youth, it enslaves women with particular ruthlessness and cynicism, playing on the most painful feelings of the mother, the housewife, the single working woman, uncertain of the morrow. Fascism, posing as a benefactor, throws the starving family a few beggarly scraps, trying in this way to stifle the bitterness aroused, particularly among the toiling women, by the unprecedented slavery which fascism brings them. It drives working women out of industry, forcibly ships needy girls to the country, reducing them to the position of unpaid servants of rich farmers and landlords. While promising women a happy home and family life, it drives women to prostitution like no other capitalist regime.

Communists, above all our women Communists, must remember that there cannot be a successful fight against fascism and war unless the broad masses of women are drawn into it. And agitation alone will not accomplish this. We must find a way of mobilizing the masses of toiling women around their vital interests and demands, taking into account the concrete situation in each instance, in the fight for their demands against high prices, for higher wages on the basis of the principle of equal pay for equal work, against mass dismissals, against every manifestation of inequality in the status of women, and against fascist enslavement.

In endeavoring to draw the toiling women into the revolutionary movement, we must not be afraid of forming separate women's organizations for this purpose, wherever necessary. The preconceived notion that the women's organizations under Communist Party leadership in the capitalist countries must be liquidated, as part of the struggle against women's separatism" in the labor movement, has frequently caused a great deal of harm.

It is necessary to seek out the simplest and most flexible forms, in order to establish contact and bring about co-operation in struggle between the revolutionary, Social-Democratic and progressive anti-war and anti-fascist women's organizations. We must spare no pains to see that the women workers and toilers fight shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the ranks of the united working class front and the anti-fascist people's front.

The Anti-Imperialist United Front

In connection with the changed international and internal situation, exceptional importance attaches in all colonial and semi-colonial countries to the question of the *anti-imperialist united front*.

In forming a wide anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies, it is necessary above all to recognize the variety of conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is proceeding, the varying degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, the role of the proletariat within it and the influence of the Communist Party over the broad masses.

In Brazil the problem differs from that in India, China, etc.

In *Brazil* the Communist Party, having laid a correct foundation for the development of the united anti-imperialist front by the establishment of the National Liberation Alliance, has to make every effort to extend further this front by drawing into it first and foremost the many millions of the peasantry, leading up to the formation of units of a people's revolutionary army, completely devoted to the revolution, and to the establishment of the rule of the National Liberation Alliance.

In *India* the Communists have to support, extend and participate in all anti-imperialist mass activities, not excluding those which are under national reformist leadership. While maintaining their political and organizational independence, they must carry on active work inside the organizations which take part in the Indian National Congress, facilitating the process of crystallization of a national revolutionary wing among them, for the purpose of further developing the national liberation movement of the Indian peoples against British imperialism.

In *China*, where the people's movement has already led to the formation of Soviet districts over a considerable territory of the country and to the organization of a powerful Red Army, the predatory attack of Japanese imperialism and the treason of the Nanking Government have brought into jeopardy the national existence of the great Chinese people. Only the Chinese Soviets can act as a unifying center in the struggle against the enslavement and partition of China by the imperialists, as a unifying center which will rally all anti-imperialist forces for the national defense of the Chinese people.

We therefore approve the initiative taken by our courageous brother Party of China in the creation of a most extensive anti-imperialist united front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents, jointly with all those organized forces existing on the territory of China which are ready to wage a real struggle for the salvation of their country and their people. I am sure that I express the sentiments and thoughts of our entire Congress if I state that we send our warmest fraternal greetings, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, to all the Soviets of China, to the Chinese revolutionary people. (*Loud applause, all rise.*) We send our ardent fraternal greetings to the heroic Red Army of China, tried in a thousand battles. (*Loud applause.*) And we assure the Chinese people of our firm resolve to support its struggle for its complete liberation from all imperialist robbers and their Chinese henchmen. (*Loud applause, all rise. The oration lasts several minutes. Cheers from all delegates.*)

The Government of the United Front

Comrades, we have taken a bold and determined course towards the united front of the working class, and are ready to carry it out with full consistency.

If we Communists are asked whether we advocate the united front *only* in the struggle for partial demands, or whether we are prepared to share the responsibility even when it will be a question of forming a *government* on the basis of the united front, then we say with a full sense of our responsibility: Yes, we recognize that a situation may arise in which the formation of a *government of the proletarian united front*, or of the *anti-fascist people's front*, will become not only possible but necessary in the interests of the proletariat. (*Applause.*) And in that case we shall declare for the formation of such a government without the slightest hesitation.

I am not speaking of a government which may be formed *after* the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is not impossible, of course, that in some country, immediately after the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, there may be formed a Soviet government on the basis of a government *bloc* of the Communist Party with a definite party (or its Left wing) participating in the revolution. After the October Revolution the victorious Party of the Russian Bolsheviks, as we know, included representatives of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Soviet government. This was a specific feature of the first Soviet government after the victory of the October Revolution.

I am not speaking of such a case, but of the possible formation of a united front government on the eve of and before the victory of the Soviet revolution.

What kind of government is this? And in what situation could there be any question of such a government?

It is primarily a *government of struggle against fascism and reaction*. It must be a government arising as the result of the united front movement and in no way restricting the activity of the Communist Party and the mass organizations of the working class, but on the contrary, taking determined measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents.

At a suitable moment, relying on the growing united front movement, the Communist Party of a given country will declare for the formation of such a government on the basis of a definite anti-fascist platform.

Under what objective conditions will it be possible to form such a government? In the most general terms, our reply to this question will be as follows: Under conditions of *political crisis*, when the ruling classes are no longer in a condition to cope with the mighty upsurge of the mass anti-fascist movement. But this is only a general perspective, without which it is scarcely possible in practice to form a united front government. Only the existence of definite and *specific prerequisites* can put on the order of the day the question of forming such a government as a *politically necessary task*. It seems to me that the following prerequisites deserve the greatest attention in this connection.

First, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie must already be sufficiently *disorganized* and *paralyzed*, so that the bourgeoisie cannot prevent the formation of a government of struggle against reaction and fascism:

Second, the broadest masses of toilers, particularly the mass trade unions, must be in a violent state of revolt *against fascism and reaction, though not ready to rise in insurrection, to fight under Communist Party leadership for the achievement of Soviet Power*;

Third, the differentiation and Leftward movement in the ranks of Social-Democracy and other parties participating in the united front must already have reached the point where a considerable proportion of them demand *ruthless measures against the fascists and the other reactionaries*, struggle together with the Communists against fascism, and openly come out against that reactionary section of their own party which is hostile to Communism.

When and in what countries a situation will actually arise in which these prerequisites will be present in a sufficient degree, it is impossible to state in advance. But inasmuch as such a possibility is *not precluded in any of the capitalist countries* we must reckon with it, and not only orientate and prepare ourselves but orientate also the working class accordingly.

The fact that we are bringing up this question for discussion at all today is, of course, connected with our evaluation of the situation and the immediate prospects, also with the actual growth of the United front movement in a number of countries during the recent past. For more than ten years the situation in the capitalist countries has been such that it was not necessary for the Communist International to discuss a question of this kind.

You remember, comrades, that at our Fourth Congress, in 1922, and again at the Fifth Congress, in 1924, the question of the slogan of a *workers'*, or a *workers' and peasants' government*, was under discussion. Originally the issue turned essentially upon a question which was almost analogous to the one we are discussing today. The debates that took place at that time in the Communist International concerning this question, and in particular the political *errors* which were committed in connection with it, have to this day retained their importance for *sharpening our vigilance against the danger of deviations to the Right or "Left" from the Bolshevik line on this question*. Therefore I shall briefly point out a few of these errors, in order to draw from them the lessons necessary for the present policy of our Parties.

The *first* series of mistakes was determined precisely by the circumstance that the question of a workers' government was not clearly and firmly interlinked with the existence of a political crisis. Owing to this the *Right opportunists* were able to interpret matters as though we should strive for the formation of a workers' government, supported by the Communist Party, in any, so to speak, "normal" situation. The *ultra-"Lefts"*, on the other hand, recognized only such a workers' government as could be formed exclusively by armed insurrection, *after* the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Both views were wrong. In order to avoid a repetition of such mistakes, we now lay *such great stress on the exact consideration* of the specific, concrete circumstances of the political crisis and the upsurge of the mass movement, in which the formation of a united front government may prove possible and politically necessary.

The *second* series of errors was determined by the circumstance that the question of a workers' government was not interlinked with the development of the militant mass *united front movement of the proletariat*. Thus the *Right opportunists* were enabled to distort the question, reducing it to the unprincipled tactics of forming *bloes* with Social-Democratic Parties on the basis of purely parliamentary arrangements. The *ultra-"Lefts"*, on the other hand, shouted: "No coalitions with the counter-revolutionary Social-Democrats!" regarding all Social-Democrats as counter-revolutionaries at bottom.

Both were wrong, and we now emphasize, on the one hand, that we are not in the least anxious for such a "workers' government" as would be nothing more or less than an enlarged Social-Democratic government. We even prefer to waive calling it a "workers' government," and *speak of a united front government* which in political character is something absolutely different, *different in principle*, from all the Social-Democratic governments which usually call themselves "workers' (or Labor) governments". While the Social-Democratic government is an instrument of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the interest of the preservation of the capitalist order, a *united front government* is an instrument of collaboration between the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and other anti-fascist parties, in the interest of the entire toiling population, a government of struggle against fascism and reaction. Obviously there is a radical *difference* between these two things.

On the other hand, we emphasize the necessity of seeing the *difference between the two different camps of Social-Democracy*. As I have already pointed out, there is a reactionary camp of Social-Democracy, but alongside of it there exists and is growing the camp of the Left Social-Democrats (without quotation marks), of workers who are becoming revolutionary. The decisive difference between them in practice consists of their attitude to the united front of the working class. The reactionary Social-Democrats are *against* the united front; they slander the united front movement, they sabotage and disintegrate it, as it undermines their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie. The Left Social-Democrats are *for the united front*; they defend, develop and strengthen the united front movement. Inasmuch as this united front movement is a militant movement against fascism and reaction, it will be a constant motive force, impelling the united front government to struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie. The more powerfully this mass movement develops, the greater the force which it can offer to the government to combat the reactionaries. And the better this mass movement will be organized *from below*, the wider the network of *non-partisan class organs of the united front in the factories, among the unemployed, among the workers' districts, among the small people of town and country*, the greater will be the guarantee against a possible degeneration of the policy of the united front government.

The *third* series of mistaken views which came to light during our former debates touched precisely on the *practical policy* of the "workers' government". The *Right opportunists* considered that a "workers' government" ought to keep "within the framework of bourgeois democracy", and consequently ought not to take any steps going beyond this framework. The *ultra-"Lefts"*, on the other hand, actually refused to make any attempt to form a united front government.

In 1923 *Saxony and Thuringia* presented a clear picture of a Right opportunist "workers' government" in action. The entry of the Communists into the Saxony government jointly with the Left Social-Democrats (Zeigner group) was no mistake in itself; on the contrary, the revolutionary situation in Germany fully justified this step. But, when participating in the government, the Communists should have used their positions primarily *for the purpose of arming the proletariat*. This they did not do. They did not even requisition a

single apartment of the rich, although the housing shortage among the workers was so great that many of them were still without a roof over their heads, together with their wives and children. They also did *nothing* to organize the revolutionary mass movement of the workers. They behaved generally like *ordinary* parliamentary ministers "within the framework of bourgeois democracy". As you know this was the result of the opportunist policy of Brandler and his adherents. The result was such bankruptcy that we are still compelled to refer to the government of Saxony as the classical example of how revolutionaries should *not* behave when in office.

Comrades, we demand of every united front government an entirely different policy. We demand that such a government carry out definite and *fundamental revolutionary demands* required by the situation. For instance, control of production, control of the banks, disbanding of the police, its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.

Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on "searching out forms of *transition or approach* to the proletarian revolution". It may be that in a number of countries the *united front government* will prove to be *one* of the most important transitional forms. The "Left" doctrinaires always evaded this precept of Lenin's. Like the limited propagandists that they were, they spoke only of "aims", without ever worrying about "forms of transition". The Right opportunists, on the other hand, tried to establish a special "*democratic intermediate stage*" lying between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the purpose of instilling into the workers the illusion of a peaceful parliamentary procession from the one dictatorship to the other. This fictitious "intermediate stage" they also called the "transitional form", and even quoted Lenin on the subject! But this piece of swindling was not difficult to expose; for Lenin spoke of the form of transition and approach to the "*proletarian revolution*", i.e., to the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and *not* of some transitional form *between* the bourgeois and the proletarian dictatorship.

Why did Lenin attribute such exceptionally great importance to the form of transition to the proletarian revolution? Because he bore in mind "*the fundamental law of all great revolutions*", the law that for the masses propaganda and agitation alone cannot take the place of *their own political experience*, when it is a question of attracting really broad masses of the toilers to the side of the revolutionary vanguard, without which a victorious struggle for power is impossible. It is a common mistake of a Leftist character to imagine that as soon as a political (or revolutionary) crisis arises, it is enough for the Communist leaders to throw out the slogan of revolutionary insurrection, and the broad masses will follow them. No, even in such a crisis the masses are far from always being ready to do so. We saw this in the case of *Spain*. To help the *millions* to master as rapidly as possible, through their own experience, what they have to do, where to find a radical solution, what party is worthy of their confidence—these among others are the purposes for which both transitional slogans and special "forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution" are necessary. Otherwise the great mass of the people, a prey to petty-bourgeois democratic illusions and traditions, may waver even when there is a revolutionary situation, may procrastinate and stray, without finding the road to revolution and then come under the ax of the fascist executioners.

That is why we indicate the possibility of forming a government of the anti-fascist united front in the conditions of a political crisis. In so far as such a government will really prosecute the struggle against the enemies of the people, and give a free hand to the working class and the Communist Party, we Communists shall accord it our unstinted support, and as soldiers of the revolution shall take our place in the *first line of fire*. But we state frankly to the masses:

Final salvation this government cannot bring. It is not in a position to overthrow the class rule of the exploiters, and for this reason cannot finally eliminate the danger of fascist counter-revolution. Consequently it is necessary to *prepare for the socialist revolution!* Soviet power and *only* Soviet power can bring such salvation!

In estimating the present development of the world situation, we see that a *political crisis* is maturing in quite a number of countries. This determines the great urgency and importance of a firm decision by our Congress on the question of a united front government.

If our Parties are able to utilize in a Bolshevik fashion the opportunity of forming a united front government, of waging the struggle for its formation

and the existence in power of such a government *for the revolutionary training of the masses*, this will be the *best political justification* of our policy of the formation of united front governments.

The Ideological Struggle Against Fascism

One of the weakest aspects of the anti-fascist struggle of our Parties lies in the fact that they *react inadequately and too slowly to the demagoguery of fascism*, and to this day continue to look with disdain upon the problems of the struggle against fascist ideology. Many comrades did not believe that so reactionary a variety of bourgeois ideology as the ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity frequently reaches the point of lunacy, was capable of gaining a mass influence at all. This was a great mistake. The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the innermost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation of the broad masses of the people renders certain sections of them susceptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction.

We must under no circumstances underrate this fascist capacity for ideological infection. On the contrary, we must develop for our part an extensive ideological struggle on the basis of clear, popular argumentation and a correct, well-thought-out approach to the peculiarities of the national psychology of the masses of the people.

The fascists are rummaging through the entire *history* of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuators of all that was exalted and heroic in its past, while all that was degrading or offensive to the national sentiments of the people they make use of as weapons against the enemies of fascism. Hundreds of books are being published in Germany which pursue only one aim—to falsify the history of the German people and give it a fascist complexion.

The new-baked National-Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the last two thousands years, by virtue of some "historical law", a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread which led to the appearance on the historical scene of a national "saviour", a "Messiah", of the *German* people, a certain "corporal" of *Austrian extraction!* In these books the greatest figures of the German people in the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement.

Mussolini makes every effort to capitalize the heroic figure of Garibaldi. The French fascists bring to the fore as their heroine Joan or Arc. The American fascists appeal to the traditions of the American War of Independence, the traditions of Washington and Lincoln. The Bulgarian fascists make use of the national liberation movement of the 'seventies and its heroes beloved of the people, Vassil Levsky, Stephen Karaj, and others.

Communists who suppose that all this has nothing to do with the cause of the working class, who do nothing to enlighten the masses on the past of their own people, in a historically correct fashion, in a genuinely Marxist, a Leninist-Marxist, a Lenin-Stalin spirit, who do nothing to *link up their present struggle with its revolutionary traditions and past*—voluntarily relinquish to fascist falsifiers all that is valuable in the historical past of the nation, that the fascist may bamboozle the masses. (*Applause.*)

No, comrades, *we are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples.* For we Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are not of those narrow-minded functionaries of the trade unions or leaders of the medieval guild handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society—the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which on one-sixth of the world has already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class. We defend the vital interests of all the exploited toiling strata, *i. e.*, of the overwhelming majority in any capitalist country.

We Communists are the *irreconcilable opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalism* of every variety. But we *are not supporters of national nihilism*, and should never act as such. The task of educating the workers and all toilers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party. But whoever thinks that this permits him, or even compels him, to sneer at all the national sentiments of the broad toiling masses

is far from genuine Bolshevism, and has understood nothing of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the national question. (*Applause.*)

Lenin, who always fought bourgeois nationalism resolutely and consistently, gave us an example of the correct approach to the problem of national sentiments, in his article "On the National Pride of the Great-Russians", written in 1914. I shall quote a passage:

"Are we enlightened Great-Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not. We love our language and our motherland; we, more than any other group, are working to raise *its* laboring masses (*i.e.*, nine-tenths of *its* population) to the level of intelligent democrats and Socialists. We, more than anybody, are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud of the fact that those acts of violence met with resistance in our midst, in the midst of the Great-Russians; that *we* have given the world Radishev, the Decembrist, the declassé revolutionaries of the 'seventies; that in 1905 the Great-Russian working class created a powerful revolutionary party of the masses. . . . We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, *too*, has created a revolutionary class; that it, *too*, has proven capable of giving humanity great examples of struggle for freedom and for Socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaffolds, torture chambers, great famines, and great servility before the priests, the tsars, the landowners and the capitalists.

"We are filled with national pride, and therefore we *particularly* hate our slavish past . . . and our slavish present, in which the same landowners, aided by the capitalists, lead us into war to stifle Poland and the Ukraine, to throttle the democratic movement in Persia and in China, to strengthen the gang of Romanovs, Bobrinskys, Purishkevichs that cover with shame our Great-Russian national dignity."*

This is what Lenin wrote on national pride.

I think, comrades, that when the fascists, at the Leipzig trial, attempted to slander the Bulgarians as a barbarous people, I was not wrong in taking up the defense of the national honor of the toiling masses of the Bulgarian people, who are struggling heroically against the fascist usurpers, the real barbarians and savages (*strong and continued applause*), nor was I wrong in declaring that I had no cause to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian but that, on the contrary, I was proud of being a son of the heroic Bulgarian working class. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, "acclimatize itself" in each country in order to sink deep roots in its native land. *National forms* of the proletarian class struggle and of the labor movement in the individual countries are in no contradiction to proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that the *international interests* of the proletariat can be successfully defended.

It goes without saying that it is necessary *everywhere and on all occasions* to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that on the pretext of defending general national interests, the fascist bourgeoisie is conducting its egotistical policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But we must not *confine ourselves* to this. We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the proletariat in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are in no contradiction whatever to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the Socialist revolution will signify the *saving of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By the *very fact* of building at the present time its class organizations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending the democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the very fact of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

The revolutionary proletariat is fighting to save the culture of the people, to liberate it from the shackles of decaying monopoly capitalism, from barbarous

*Lenin, *collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 100-101. International Publishers, New York.

fascism which is violating it. *Only* the proletarian revolution can avert the destruction of culture, and raise it to the highest stage of florescence as a truly national culture—*national in form and socialist in content*—which, under *Stalin's* leadership, is being realized in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before our very eyes. (*Applause.*)

Proletarian internationalism not only does not contradict this struggle of the toilers of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, provides the *support* which is necessary for victory in this struggle. The working class in the capitalist countries can triumph *only in closest alliance* with the victorious proletariat of the great Soviet Union. *Only* by struggling hand in hand with the proletariat of the imperialist countries can the colonial peoples and oppressed national minorities achieve their freedom. The road to victory for the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries lies *only* through the revolutionary alliance of the working class of the imperialist countries with the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, because, as *Marx* taught us, "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations".

Communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among the people of their own nation if they *do not at the same time show* in practice, in the mass movement, that they actually struggle for the liberation of their nation from the alien yoke. And again, on the other hand, the Communists of an oppressing nation cannot do what is necessary to educate the toiling masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging* a resolute struggle against the oppressor policy of their "own" bourgeoisie, for the right to complete self-determination of the nations kept in bondage by it. If they do not do this, they likewise do not make it easier for the toilers of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalist prejudices.

If we act in this spirit, if in all our mass work we prove convincingly that we are free of both national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism, then and only then shall we be able to wage a really successful struggle against the chauvinist demagoguery of the fascists.

This is the reason why a correct and practical application of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy is of such paramount importance. It is *unquestionably an essential* preliminary condition for a successful struggle against chauvinism—this main instrument of ideological influence of the fascists upon the masses. (*Applause.*)

III. CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrades, in the struggle for the establishment of the united front the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increases extraordinarily. *Only* the Communist Party is at bottom the initiator, the organizer and the driving force of the united front of the working class.

The Communist Parties can ensure the mobilization of the broadest masses of the toilers for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital *only if they strengthen their own ranks in every respect*, if they develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy and apply correct, flexible tactics which take into account the concrete situation and alignment of class forces.

Consolidation of the Communist Parties

In the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses, our Parties in the capitalist countries have undoubtedly *grown in stature and have been considerably steelcd*. But it would be a most dangerous mistake to rest on this achievement. The more the united front of the working class extends, the more will new, complex problems rise before us and the more will it be necessary for us to work on the political and organizational consolidation of our Parties. The united front of the proletariat brings to the fore an army of workers which will be able to carry out its mission if this army is headed by a leading force which will point out its aims and paths. This leading force can *only be a strong proletarian, revolutionary party*.

If we Communists exert every effort to establish a united front, we do this not for the narrow purpose of recruiting new members for the Communist Parties. But we must strengthen the Communist Parties in every way and

increase their membership *for the very reason* that we seriously want to strengthen the united front. The strengthening of the Communist Parties is not a narrow Party concern but the concern of the entire working class.

The unity, revolutionary cohesion and fighting preparedness of the Communist Parties constitute most valuable capital which belongs not only to us but to the entire working class. We have combined and shall continue to combine our readiness to march jointly with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations to the struggle against fascism with an irreconcilable struggle against Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of compromise with the bourgeoisie, and consequently also against *any penetration* of this ideology into our own ranks.

In boldly and resolutely carrying out the policy of the united front, we meet in our own ranks with obstacles which we must remove at all costs in the shortest possible time.

After the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, a *successful struggle was waged* in all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries *against any tendency towards an opportunist adaptation to the conditions of capitalist stabilization and against any infection with reformist and legalist illusions*. Our Parties purged their ranks of various kinds of Right opportunists, thus strengthening their Bolshevik unity and fighting capacity. Less successful and frequently entirely lacking was the fight against *sectarianism*. Sectarianism manifested itself no longer in primitive, open forms, as in the first years of the existence of the Communist International, but, under cover of a formal recognition of the Bolshevik theses, hindered the development of a Bolshevik mass policy. In our day this is often no longer an *"infantile disorder"*, as Lenin wrote, but a *deeply rooted vice*, which must be shaken off or it will be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and of leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of revolution.

In the present situation sectarianism, *self-satisfied* sectarianism, as we designate it in the draft resolution, *more than anything else* impedes our struggle for the realization of the united front. Sectarianism, satisfied with its *doctrinaire narrowness*, its divorcement from the real life of the masses; satisfied with its *simplified methods* of solving the most complex problems of the working class movement on the basis of stereotyped schemes; sectarianism, which professes to know all and considers it needless to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the labor movement. In short, sectarianism, to which, as they say, mountains are mere stepping-stones.

Self-satisfied sectarianism *will not and cannot* understand that the leadership of the working class by the Communist Party cannot be attained by a process of spontaneous development. The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working class must be won. For this purpose it is necessary, not to rant about the leading role of the Communists, but to *merit and win the confidence of the working masses* by everyday mass work and correct policy. This will only be possible if we Communists in our political work seriously take into account the actual level of the class consciousness of the masses, the degree to which they have become revolutionized, if we soberly appraise the concrete situation, not on the basis of our wishes but on the basis of the actual state of affairs. Patiently, step by step, we must make it easier for the board masses to come over to the positions of Communism. We ought never to forget these warning words of Lenin, so forcefully expressed:

"... this is the whole point—we must *not* regard that which is obsolete *for use* as obsolete *for the class*, as obsolete *for the masses*."*

Is it not a fact, comrades, that there are still not a few such doctrinaire elements left in our ranks who at all times and places sense nothing but danger in the policy of the united front? For such comrades the whole united front is one unrelieved peril. But this sectarian "stickling for principle" is nothing but political helplessness in face of the difficulties of directly leading the struggle of the masses.

Sectarianism finds expression *particularly* in overestimating the revolutionization of the masses, in overestimating the speed at which they are abandoning the positions of reformism, in attempts to leap over difficult stages and over complicated tasks of the movement. Methods of leading the masses have in practice been frequently replaced by the methods of leading a narrow party group. The power of traditional contacts between the masses and their organizations

*Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, p. 41. Little Lenin Library, International Publishers, New York.

Because the bourgeoisie wages imperialist war for its predatory purposes, against the interests of the vast majority of the peoples, under whatever guise this war may be waged. Because all imperialists combine their feverish preparations for war with extremely intensified exploitation and oppression of the toilers in their own country. Support of the bourgeoisie in such a war means treason to the country and the international working class.

Why, finally, is the building of the Party on the basis of democratic centralism a condition of unity?

Because only a party built on the basis of democratic centralism can ensure unity of will and action, can lead the proletariat to victory over the bourgeoisie, which has at its disposal so powerful a weapon as the centralized state apparatus. The application of the principle of democratic centralism has stood the splendid historical test of the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Yes, comrades, we are for a single mass political party of the working class. But this party must be, in the words of Comrade Stalin,

“ . . . a militant party, a revolutionary party, bold enough to lead the proletarians to the struggle for power, with sufficient experience to be able to orientate itself in the complicated problems that arise in a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of any submerged rocks on the way to its goal.”*

This explains why it is necessary to strive for political unity on the basis of the conditions indicated.

We are for the political unity of the working class! Therefore we are ready to collaborate most closely with all Social-Democrats who are for the united front and sincerely support unity on the principles indicated. But precisely because we are for unity, we shall struggle resolutely against all “Left” demagogues who will try to make use of the disillusionment of the Social-Democratic workers to create new Socialist Parties or Internationals directed against the Communist movement, and thus keep deepening the split in the working class.

We welcome the aspiration which is gaining ground among Social-Democratic workers for a united front with the Communists. In this fact we see a growth of their revolutionary consciousness and a beginning of the healing of the split in the working class. Being of the opinion that unity of action is a pressing necessity and the truest road to the establishment of the political unity of the proletariat as well, we declare that the Communist International and its Sections are ready to enter into negotiations with the Second International and its Sections for the establishment of the unity of the working class in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war. (*Applause.*)

CONCLUSION

Comrades, I am concluding my report. As you see, we are raising a number of questions today in a new light, taking count of the change in the situation since the Sixth Congress and of the lessons of our struggle, and relying on the degree of consolidation in our ranks already achieved, primarily the question of the united front and of the approach to Social-Democracy, the reformist trade unions and other mass organizations.

There are wisecracks who will sense in all this a digression from our basic positions, some sort of turn to the Right of the straight line of Bolshevism. Well, in my country, Bulgaria, they say that a hungry chicken always dreams of millet. (*Laughter, loud applause.*) Let those political chickens think so. (*Laughter, loud applause.*)

This interests us little. For us it is important that our own Parties and the broad masses of the whole world should correctly understand what we are striving for.

We would not be revolutionary Marxists, Leninists, worthy pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, if we did not reconstruct our policies and tactics in accordance with the changing situation and the changes occurring in the labor movement.

We would not be real revolutionaries if we did not learn from our own experience and the experience of the masses.

*Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, p. 107. International Publishers, New York.

We want our Parties in the capitalist countries to come out and act as *real political parties of the working class*, to become in actual fact a *political factor* in the life of their countries, to pursue at all times an *active Bolshevik mass policy* and not confine themselves to *propaganda and criticism*, and bare appeals to *struggle for proletarian dictatorship*.

We are enemies of *all-cut-and-dried schemes*. We want to take into account the concrete situation at each moment, in each place, and not act *accordingly to a fixed, stereotyped form* anywhere and everywhere; not to forget that in *varying circumstances* the position of the Communists cannot be *identical*.

We want soberly to take into account *all stages* in the development of the class struggle and in the growth of the class consciousness of the masses themselves, to be able to locate and solve at each stage the *concrete problems* of the revolutionary movement *corresponding* to this stage.

We want to find a *common language* with the broadest masses for the purpose of struggling against the class enemy, to find ways of finally overcoming the *isolation of the revolutionary vanguard* from the masses of the proletariat and all other toilers, as well as of overcoming the fatal *isolation of the working class itself* from its natural allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism.

We want to draw increasingly wide masses into the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to proletarian revolution, *proceeding from their vital interests and needs as the starting point, and their own experience as the basis*.

Following the example of our glorious Russian Bolsheviks, the example of the leading Party of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we want to combine the *revolutionary heroism* of the German, the Spanish, the Austrian and other Communists *with genuine revolutionary realism*, and put an end to the last remnants of scholastic tinkering with serious political questions.

We want to equip our Parties from every angle for the solution of the most complex political problems confronting them. For this purpose we want to raise ever higher their *theoretical level*, to train them in the spirit of live Marxism-Leninism and not dead doctrinarism.

We want to eradicate from our ranks all *self-satisfied sectarianism*, which above all blocks our road to the masses and impedes the carrying out of a truly Bolshevik mass policy. We want to intensify in every way the struggle against all concrete manifestations of *Right opportunism*, realizing that the danger from this side will increase precisely in the practice of carrying out our mass policy and struggle.

We want the Communists of each country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *as quickly as possible to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather. (Applause.)

This is what we want!

And we want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all the toilers, welded into a million-strong revolutionary army, led by the Communist International and possessed of so great and wise a pilot as our leader Comrade Stalin (a storm of applause) be able to fulfill its historical mission with certainty—to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, together with it, capitalism!

(The entire hall rises and gives Comrade Dimitroff a rousing oration.)

Cheers coming from the delegates are heard on all sides and in various languages: "Hurrah! Long live Comrade Dimitroff!"

The strains of the "Internationale" sung in every language fill the air. A new storm of applause sweeps the hall.

Voices: "Long live Comrade Stalin, long live Comrade Dimitroff!" "A Bolshevik cheer for Comrade Dimitroff, the standard-bearer of the Comintern!"

Someone shouts in Bulgarian: "Hurrah for Comrade Dimitroff, the valiant warrior of the Communist Internationale against fascism!" The delegations sing in succession their revolutionary songs—the Italians, "Bandiera Rossa," the Poles, "On the Barricades," the French, "Carmagnole," the Germans, "Roter Wedding," the Chinese, "March of the Chinese Red Army.")

EXHIBIT No. 100

[Source: A booklet published by Workers Library Publishers, July, 1935]

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY—A MANUAL ON ORGANIZATION

(By J. Peters)

Workers Library Publishers

PREFACE

This organizational Manual fills a long-felt need. It will be welcomed by many thousands of active Party members who have looked forward to its publication for a long time. Much of the material used by Comrade Peters as the basis for this Manual was, it is true, available, but it is scattered in many documents over a period of years. Much of the material was of late available, as for example, the famous and thorough-going resolutions and decisions on the question of organization adopted by the Second Organizational Conference of the Communist International, which was printed in the *Inprecorr* some ten years ago (*International Press Correspondence*, Vol 6, No. 38).

Comrade Peters has added much to the existing material both from more recent international experience and especially from the recent experience of our own Party, experience that is very rich and valuable. The Manual embodies, therefore, the best that is available in the theory and practice of organization in our own Party and the Communist International. Comrade Peters not only is thoroughly acquainted with the fundamental principles of Leninist organization but has had a wide and varied experience in organizational work over a period of many years. It is this combination of theory and practice permeating the Manual that makes it so valuable to our Party. I am sure that when this Manual becomes popularized in the Party we will wonder how we could have gotten along without such a weapon for so long.

Aside from the fact that Manual will be of great benefit to every member of our Party in the daily work, it will, in the first place, provide the necessary material for the training of our cadres, and help in the solution of many problems with which our functionaries are faced. With 500 shop nuclei, 2,000 street nuclei, more than 250 sections, some 30 districts, and hundreds upon hundreds of fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations, there are many thousands of functionaries who will find the Manual indispensable. It will be of incalculable value especially to the functionaries in the lower organizations, the organizers, secretaries, agitprop directors, literature agents, etc., the bureau members of the shop and street nuclei, the Section Committees, upon whom falls the main burden for the execution of the line of the Party in the mass work, the character of which determines the progress of the Party in the solution of its main tasks.

If we remember that, as a result of the recent growth of the Party, the majority of the Party membership is relatively new (less than two years in the Party), then more emphasis is added to the value of the Manual. The growth of the Party membership and its increasing activity has not only multiplied our organizational problems but of necessity require that many new comrades with little organizational experience assume leading positions in the lower Party organizations and in the fractions. While we have made some efforts through the *Party Organizer* and the "Party Life" column in the *Daily Worker*, through conferences, etc., to impart to them our knowledge and experience, this has not been done systematically. Hence, many mistakes are made all over again by the new functionaries, mistakes in the solution of problems which in some sections of the Party have already been solved. Now, with this Manual at hand, the entire Party will have available in an organized form the best experience that we have.

That the improvement in our organizational work is very pressing was forcefully brought out at the May, 1935, meeting of the Central Committee of the Party where the organizational status and the organizational work of the Party were examined very thoroughly. One of the things that was disclosed is the lack of stabilization of the lower cadres. This is mainly due to the fact that comrades are assigned to tasks for which they are not fully prepared; they

are not given help, they are allowed to drift, with the result that soon it is found that their work is not satisfactory and changes are made. But the new functionaries who replace them go through the very same experiences. The result is constant change. The examination, however, brought out the fact that in those units and sections where we succeed somewhat in stabilizing the cadres the work is much better than in those where there is constant change. If the Manual will but aid in the solution of this one burning question it will more than justify its publication.

The examination of the work of the Party disclosed that, in practice, there is still an insufficient orientation in conducting our work along the lines laid down in the *Open Letter* (adopted at the Extraordinary Party Conference, July, 1933), that is, from the viewpoint of concentration in the main factories, industries, trade unions, the placing of the center of gravity of our work in the lower organizations.

This, of course, involves in the first place the concentration of our efforts towards the building of the Party in the factories, the creation of shop nuclei and the development of the shop nuclei into real mass Party organizations in the factories, carrying out all the tasks of the Party, leading the struggles of the masses in these factories—the struggles on all issues, economic and political.

The Manual takes up this question in great detail. It explains why we Communists are the only political Party that builds its basic organization in the factories. It takes up the questions of the construction of the shop nuclei, their methods of work under varying conditions, the relation of the shop nuclei to the sections, to the trade union fractions, etc. I am convinced that this Manual in the hands of our comrades in the shop nuclei will aid in the improvement of the work of the shop nuclei, as well as in the more rapid and systematic building of shop nuclei where they do not as yet exist.

Another central question dealt with at the May meeting of the Central Committee was the work of the trade unions fractions. With the strengthened position of our Party in the A. F. of L. unions the improvement of the work of the trade union fractions has become of increasing importance. The Manual deals with these important questions; the role of the fractions, how they are to be built, their work, their relation to the Party organizations, etc.

The question of increasing the recruiting power of the Party, the methods of recruiting, the overcoming of the high fluctuation of members, all these problems that are so closely connected with the work of the lower organizations, the questions of methods of dues collections, initiation of new members, the education of the new members, etc., are taken up and treated in great detail.

It is unnecessary in this introduction to mention all the important questions treated in the Manual. This can be seen from a glance at the index. Suffice it to say that it deals with all the vital questions of Party organization. Let us mention just two more types of questions dealt with. First, the opening sections which explain in a very elementary and detailed manner the Party itself. What is the Communist Party; what is its role in relation to the other organizations of the workers; what is its fundamental policy; what are the main tactics of the Party, etc. It is a fact that many of our Party members have not as yet become fully acquainted with many of these questions. The second type of questions dealt with that should be mentioned we are sure will be most welcome to the comrades charged with the various duties in the shop and street nuclei: What is the task of the various functionaries? How often have we faced the question that a comrade is assigned a post, let us say unit organizer, agitprop director of the unit, *Daily Worker* agent of the unit; and the comrade receives no records of the comrades who preceded him in the post, no guidance as to his or her tasks? Finally, I wish to call attention to the section dealing with the structure of the Party from top to bottom, illustrated by a number of charts, which will give the comrades an appreciation of the whole of the machinery of the Party, their relation to it, the understanding of their special task in relation to the whole Party.

Naturally, the Manual will not by itself solve our problems. Nor will it bring the best results if it will be conceived of as a blue print to be applied mechanically. It will be most effective if it is properly understood as a *guide* to the daily practical problems. In this respect it is necessary not only that we ensure every Party member securing a copy of the Manual and reading it—and especially every comrade holding a post of responsibility from the units up—we must organize the collective study of the Manual in the units, among the various functionaries in the units, sections and districts.

JACK STACHEL

EXHIBIT No. 100

[Source: A booklet published by Workers Library Publishers, July, 1935]

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY—A MANUAL ON ORGANIZATION

(By J. Peters)

Workers Library Publishers

PREFACE

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JACK STACHEL

I. FUNDAMENTALS OF THE PARTY PROGRAM

The Communist Party is the organized vanguard of the working class, composed of the most class-conscious, the most courageous, the most self-sacrificing section of the proletariat. The Communist Party does not stand above, but is part and parcel of, the working class. It is the general staff of the proletariat.

The Communist Party is armed with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. These teachings are a powerful weapon in the hands of the Communist Party. They enable the Party to direct the struggles of the working class along the correct line, and to gain victories while avoiding unnecessary sacrifice. These teachings enable the Party to know which forces are acting in the interests of the working class and which against it. By means of these teachings the Communist Party is able to find the best methods of struggle of the working class against capitalism, and for socialism.

THE ROLE AND AIM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the U. S. A. leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States, for the complete abolition of classes, for the establishment of socialism, the first stage of the classless Communist society.

Our Party realizes that certain conditions must exist before the outworn capitalist system can be overthrown.

What are the conditions? Comrade Lenin, in his pamphlet, "*Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*," answers this question.

"... for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, political active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes be in a state of governmental crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics, . . . weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly." (Little Lenin Library, Vol. 20, p. 65.)

These two conditions alone are not sufficient for the successful struggle of the working class. Even if the masses know that socialism liberates the working class, even if the masses know that socialism can be won only through revolution, unless there is a strongly organized Communist Party which explains the aims and methods of the struggle to the workers, unless it itself organizes these struggles, and is itself in the forefront of them, the revolution cannot be victorious. Lenin wrote about the need for a strong Communist Party as the advance guard of the working class in the following words:

"In order that the mass of a definite class may learn how to understand its own interests, its situation, may learn how to carry on its own policy, precisely for this an organization of the advanced elements of the class is immediately necessary at any cost though at the beginning these elements may form a negligible section of the class."

How will the Communist Party convince the majority of the working class that a revolution is necessary? The Communist Party can do this by becoming the trusted vanguard, the beloved organizer and leader of the struggle of the working class. Agitation and propaganda alone are insufficient. Something more is needed to convince the masses of the proletariat of the necessity for the overthrow of the old order.

Learn Through Struggle

The workers also need schooling through their daily struggles under the leadership of the Communist Party. Workers learn by their own experiences that only through stubborn struggle can they wrest any concessions from the capitalists. They learn the relationship of classes in present-day society. They learn the nature of bourgeois democracy and of fascism. They learn the role of the henchmen of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, they learn the role of the reformist leaders of the trade unions and of the Socialist Party. In other words, the proletarian masses learn through their own experiences that their class, the working class, has class enemies—the bosses, the exploiters, the capitalists and their henchmen. They learn that there is only one way out of misery, insecurity, unemployment, etc.—the way of the final

overthrow of the old order, and the establishment of the new—the proletarian dictatorship.

These experiences will be learned in the day-to-day struggles in the fight for better conditions, in strikes for higher wages and shorter hours, in the struggles for adequate relief, for unemployment insurance, against evictions. The masses will learn in these struggles who their enemies are. They will see the police with their clubs and revolvers and gas bombs, the militia with their machine guns; the extra-legal forces of the bourgeoisie (Ku Klux Klan, Vigilantes, etc.) with their lynch law; the press with its poisonous anti-working class propaganda; they will recognize the role of the church; the judges with their injunctions and vicious sentences against workers; the mayor of the city or town, the governor of the state, the President of the United States, always supporting the capitalists. They will see the reactionary leaders in the A. F. of L. unions treacherously helping the bosses to crush the struggles of the workers for a decent living and against capitalism. They will see the efforts of the Socialist Party leaders to fuse themselves more and more with the leaders of the A. F. of L. unions. They will see the cynically conciliatory policy of the Right wing of the S. P. toward the bourgeoisie and A. F. of L. bureaucrats. They will see the role of the Trotskyites as the advance guard of the counter-revolution, supplying the capitalists with "arguments" against Communism and the Workers' Fatherland, the Soviet Union. They will see the Lovestoneites, the renegades from Communism.

Convince Through Leadership

The workers learn through their own experiences that they must have a Communist Party, which leads them in their struggles, which draws the correct conclusions from these struggles, and which, in the preparation for, and in the midst of, the struggles, continuously exposes every move of the enemy and teaches the workers the lessons that should be learned in their struggles. The Communist Party, part and parcel of the proletariat, has only one interest: a better life for the exploited, oppressed masses, the end of all exploitation. While the Communist Party knows that hunger and misery cannot be finally abolished under the capitalist system, it leads and organizes the fight of the masses for better conditions now because the interests of the workers are its interests, and because it knows these day-to-day struggles develop the workers for their final task—the overthrow of capitalism.

The Communist Party explains to the workers that even those concessions which are won by them through hard-fought battles will be taken back by the bourgeoisie unless the workers build and strengthen their mass combat organizations, especially their unions. In these fights the masses will see their enemies, will realize that there is only one Party they can trust, only one Party which fights uncompromisingly with them against the enemy, the Party which is their flesh and blood—their Party—the Communist Party.

In this way, the Communist Party will win the confidence of the masses, and become their recognized leader, their General Staff, their vanguard, which they will follow in the final battle to victory.

Bourgeois Dictatorship—Proletarian Dictatorship—Bourgeois Democracy— Proletarian Democracy

Comrade Stalin in his book, *Foundations of Leninism*, gives a very clear analysis of the question of dictatorship and democracy. We quote a few paragraphs:

"The State is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. *In this respect* the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in essence, from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian State is an instrument for the suppression of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, there is an *essential* difference between the two, which is, that all class States that have existed heretofore have been dictatorships of an exploiting minority over the exploited majority, whereas, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the exploited majority over an exploiting minority.

"... the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be 'complete' democracy, a democracy for *all*, for rich and poor alike; a dictatorship of the proletariat 'must be a State that is democratic *in a new way* (for the proletariat and the poor in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (against the bourgeoisie).'"*

*Quoted from V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

“... ‘pure’ democracy... ‘perfect’... democracy and the like, are but bourgeois screens to conceal the indubitable fact that equality between exploiters and exploited is impossible. The theory of ‘pure’ democracy is the theory of the upper stratum of the working class which is tamed and fed by the imperialist plunderers. It was invented to hide the sores of capitalism, to camouflage imperialism and lend it moral strength in its struggle against the exploited masses. Under the capitalist system there is no true ‘freedom’ for the exploited, nor can there be, if for no other reason than that the build-ings, printing plants, paper supplies, etc., indispensable for the actual enjoyment of this ‘freedom’, are the privilege of the exploiters. Under the capitalist system the exploited masses do not, nor can they, really participate in the administration of the country, if for no other reason than that even with the most democratic system under capitalism, the governments are set up, not by the people, but by the Rothschilds and Stinneses, the Morgans and Rockefellers.

“Democracy under the capitalist system is *capitalist* democracy, the democracy of an exploiting minority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat is real ‘freedom’ for the exploited and real participation in the administration of the country by the proletarians and peasants possible. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat democracy is *proletarian* democracy—the democracy of the exploited majority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority.” (*Foundations of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin, pp. 51-52.)

THE ALLIES OF THE PROLETARIAT

The chief strategic aim of our Party in the present period is to win the majority of the working class for the struggle against capitalism. This is an essential condition for victory over the bourgeoisie and for preparing the workers for the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system is the historic mission of the working class. But the workers cannot fulfill their mission if they fail to win over the wide sections of the toiling masses. It is essential that the proletariat wins to its cause all its allies, without whom there cannot be a successful revolution.

Who are the allies of the American working class? The *Open Letter*, adopted by the Central Committee in July, 1933, very clearly answers this question.

The Poor and Small Farmers

The *Open Letter* stressed the following facts: The most important allies of the American working class are the poor and small farmers. These farmers, as well as broad sections of the middle farmers, are hardest hit by the whole development of post-war capitalism and especially by the economic crisis. They are most brutally exploited by the government, by the banks, by the trusts and the insurance companies. Their interests are consequently directed objectively against finance capital.

The main task of the Party in its work among agrarian toilers is, above all, the organization of the agricultural wage workers, organizing them into the trade unions and the Party, organizing and leading strikes of the agricultural workers for better wages and working conditions. Such strikes, in many places, have already played an important part in the development of the farmers' movement. At the same time the Party has the important task of winning over the poor and small farmers, and also broad sections of ruined middle farmers, for the struggle against capitalism on the side of the proletariat; while at the same time it must strive to neutralize other sections of middle farmers. This is an important prerequisite for a successful struggle against the offensive of capitalism, against fascism and for the defense of the Soviet Union, and for the final victory of the proletariat.

The Negro People

The other important ally of the American proletariat is the mass of 13,000,000 Negro people in their struggle against national oppression. The Communist Party, as the revolutionary Party of the proletariat, as the only Party which is courageously and resolutely carrying on a struggle against the double ex-

exploitation and national oppression of the Negro people, becoming particularly intense with the developing crisis, can win over the great masses of Negro people as allies of the proletariat against the American bourgeoisie.

The Party can stand at the head of the national revolutionary struggle of the Negro masses against American imperialism only if it energetically carries through the following tasks:

"The Party must mobilize the masses for the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes and for the right of self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt. It must ruthlessly combat any form of white chauvinism and Jim-Crow practices. It must not only in words, but in deeds, overcome all obstacles to the drawing in of the best elements of the Negro proletariat, who in the recent years have shown themselves to be self-sacrificing fighters in the struggle against capital. In view of this, special attention must be given to the promotion of Negro proletarians to leading work in the Party organizations. In all mass actions, strikes and unemployed struggles the Party must pay particular attention that, in formulating practical demands, it takes into consideration and gives expression to the special forms of exploitation, oppression and denial of the rights of the employed and unemployed Negro masses. At the same time the Party and in the first place the Negro comrades must genuinely improve the methods of patient, systematic but persistent struggle against the ideology and influence of petty-bourgeois nationalists among the Negro workers and toiling Negro masses." (*An Open Letter to All Members of the Communist Party*, pp. 14-15.)

International Solidarity

The Communist Party systematically aids the revolutionary liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries (Cuba, Philippines, Latin-America, India, China, etc., etc.).

The Communist Party mobilizes the masses for international solidarity with the struggle of the workers in other capitalist countries.

The Communist Party rallies the masses against imperialist war and fascism, and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is the only fatherland of workers all over the world. It is the achievement of the international proletariat. It is the most important factor for the liberation of all workers in every country. Therefore, the workers all over the world must help the Soviet Union in building socialism, and must defend it with all their power against the attacks of the capitalist powers.

The Petty Bourgeoisie

It is necessary and possible also to win over to the side of the workers broad sections of the lower petty bourgeoisie and intellectual workers in the cities and to neutralize other sections of the petty bourgeoisie (municipal and state employees, lower officials, teachers, intellectuals, students, petty bourgeois war invalids, artisans, small shop-keepers), who have been brought into action as a result of the tremendous pressure of the crisis. This can be done only if the Party will come out resolutely in defense of their interests, by organizing and leading teachers' strikes, students' demonstrations, resistance to reduction of salaries of city and state employees, resistance to robbery through inflation and bank crashes, etc.

But the more widespread the movement among the non-proletarian masses becomes and the more acute the task of winning allies of the proletariat becomes, the more intensely must the Party work to extend and organize its proletarian base. This very extension of the movement of the non-proletarian masses makes it incumbent on the Party not to allow itself to be side-tracked from its main task, namely, the winning of the decisive influence in the factories, above all in the basic industries (steel, metal, railway, maritime, mining, etc.), and the systematic building up of factory nuclei and trade-union organizations.

"If the Party intensifies its activity among the petty-bourgeois masses without at the same time and above all strengthening its base in the big factories and among the most important sections of the American working class . . . then the danger arises that the Party, having only weak contacts with the decisive sections of American workers, will be driven away from its proletarian base, and instead of leading the petty-bourgeois masses will succumb to the influence of petty-bourgeois sentiments, illusions and petty-bourgeois methods of work." (*Open Letter*, p. 16.)

THE UNITED FRONT

"The increasingly sharp attacks against the workers raise more insistently than ever the necessity of the establishment of the working-class fighting front to resist these attacks and to win the demands of the workers. The working class in the United States is still largely unorganized. That part which is organized is largely under the influence of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which keeps it split up in innumerable ways by craft divisions, by discriminations against the Negroes and foreign-born, by divisions between the skilled and unskilled, etc. That smaller section which has begun to question the capitalist system is further divided between the leadership of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, while a considerable section stands aside, still bewildered by these divisions and the problems it does not yet understand, and further confused by the shouts of those small but active groups, the renegades from Communism, the Musteites, etc." (Earl Browder: *Report to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.*, p. 55.)

The Communist Party understands that the road towards our main strategic aim, the winning of the majority of the working class for revolutionary battles, leads through a broad united front of the masses. The united front is organized by the Communist Party for the united struggle of Communists and all other workers, members of other parties or of no party whatever, for the defense of the interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie. The Communists do not make any conditions for the united front except that the unity shall be one of struggle for the particular demands agreed upon. The united front is therefore, first and foremost, the coming together of working class forces for action for demands upon which the forces have agreed. For example: In a given factory the workers may be Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, or members of the A. F. of L. without any political affiliation; Catholics, Protestants, etc. When the employer increases the working hours or reduces the wages, the policy of the Communist Party is immediately to unite the workers to resist the employer's attacks, to organize shop committees, grievance committees, to bring the various unions and the workers who belong to different parties into a solid line against the bosses. This united front, according to the situation, will enable the workers in this given factory to fight unitedly against the bosses. In this action the Communist Party will show the workers that only the Communist method of waging the struggle will bring victory.

The systematic application of the united front in the big factories is of decisive importance, especially for leading strikes, establishing a united fighting front, and tearing down the barriers between the revolutionary workers and the masses of other workers. The decisive factor in establishing the united front is tireless, every day activity among the workers in order to prove, in every question, the correctness of our slogans and our proposals for action.

Apply to Unions

This application of the united front of the factory workers in action is very easily understood. But when we pass from the factories to the unions and to the parties, the confusion begins. What is the difference between the average trade unionist and a Communist. The trade unionist thinks only of the interest of the workers in the particular trade or occupation embraced by his own union. The Communist thinks of the interests of the working class as a whole, and aims to bring the whole working class into common action for their common interests. The method of the united-front action in the factory must also be applied to the unions, which must be brought together for common action. But the bureaucratic leaders of the unions are against such a policy for obvious reasons (their role as agents of the bourgeoisie).

Nevertheless, we must consider the fact that they are at the head of the unions of the workers, and therefore cannot be ignored. In most instances, if the rank and file is approached by us for a united front, the first reaction is: Did the executive committee of our union take up this question? Is it endorsed by them? If we have not approached their leaders, we already find one obstacle against the workers even considering our proposal. Therefore, in many cases while approaching the rank-and-file membership directly with our united-front proposals for action on specific issues, while organizing our influence through building united-front committees (shop committees, grievance committees, etc.), in the factories, and in this way increasing our influence, we also appeal, at the same time, to the leaders of the unions and the Socialist Party who have a mass

following, and we are prepared to negotiate with them. If they agree to act with us, so much the better, even though we may be sure that at some stage of the action they will try to betray the workers. If they refuse to negotiate for the united front, then we must expose them and the obstacle they are putting in the way of the united front. In this manner, the prestige of the bureaucratic officialdom in the minds of the rank and file of the unions receives a severe blow.

The united front must not be limited only to special campaigns. Nor must we abandon efforts to achieve a united front because we do not succeed at once in winning over the workers for struggle, and because they do not at once want to separate themselves from their reformist leaders. The united front must not lead to subordination of the revolutionary policies to that of the reformist leaders in the way of a so-called "non-aggression pact". United front means uninterrupted, patient, convincing work to destroy the influence of reformists and the bourgeoisie. The rejection of the united front proposals of our Party and the immediate urgent demands of the workers by the reformist leaders must impel us to make even stronger efforts to organize a common fighting front in the factories, mines, and among the unemployed masses, in the locals and branches of the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party, with the workers who are under the influences of the reformists.

On All Issues

The united front could and should be built on all issues concerning the interests of the working class, such as war and fascism, elections, unemployment insurance, wage cuts, conditions, hours, defense of political prisoners, etc., besides the immediate daily problems of the workers in the factory or in the industry.

The Communist Party in the united-front activities does not give up for a moment its independent political role. Thus, the Party, in all phases of the united-front action, while fighting side by side with the non-Party workers, must politicalize the struggle and show its perspective clearly.

The Party, in its every day work, must clarify to the workers in a positive and concrete way the principal difference between us and the reformists. The Party, by its practical work, must prove to the workers that we are the fighters for a united struggle and that the reformist leaders are the splitters and disrupters of the struggle.

We must show clearly in action that the Communist Party is the only Party that fights uncompromisingly for the interests of the workers.

II. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

The Communist Party is organized in such a way as to guarantee, first, complete inner unity of outlook; and, second, combination of the strictest discipline with the widest initiative and independent activity of the Party membership. Both of these conditions are guaranteed because the Party is organized on the basis of democratic centralism.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Democratic centralism is the system according to which:

1. All leading committees of the Party, from the Unit Bureaus up to the highest committees, are elected by the membership or delegates of the given Party organization.

2. Every elected Party committee must report regularly on its activity to its Party organization. It must give an account of its work.

3. The lower Party committees and all Party members of the given Party organization have the duty of carrying out the decisions of the higher Party committees and of the Communist International. In other words, decisions of the C. I. and of the higher Party committees are binding upon the lower bodies.

4. Party discipline is observed by the Party members and Party organizations because only those who agree with the program of the Communist Party and the C. I. can become members of the Party.

5. The minority carries out the decisions of the majority (subordination of the minority to the majority). Party questions are discussed by the members of the Party and by the Party organization until such time as a decision is made by the Party committee or organization. After a decision has been made by the leading committees of the C. I., by the Central Committee of

the Party, or by the National Convention, this decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a minority of the Party membership or a minority of the local Party organizations is in disagreement with it.

6. The Party organizations, Units, Sections, and Districts, have the full initiative, right and duty to decide on local questions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

Decisions of Higher Bodies Binding on Lower Bodies

On the basis of democratic centralism, all lower Party organizations are subordinated to the higher bodies; District organizations are subordinated to the Central Committee; Section organizations are subordinated to the District Committee; Party Units (shop, street and town) are subordinated to the Section Committees.

All decisions of the World Congress and committees of the C. I. must be fulfilled by all parties of the C. I. All decision of the National Convention and the Central Committee must be fulfilled by the whole Party; all decisions of the District Convention and Committee must be fulfilled by the Section organizations of that District; all decisions of the Section Convention and Committee are binding on the shop, street and town Units in that Section.

A Party committee or Unit Bureau, throughout the whole of its activity from Convention to Convention, from Conference to Conference, from Unit meeting to Unit meeting, is not only under the control of the higher Party committees, but also under the control of the whole Party membership in the given organization. In cases where the elected Party committee is not capable of carrying out its task and the correct Party line, this committee can be changed through the calling of an extraordinary Conference by decision of the higher committees, or by the initiative of the lower organizations with the approval of the higher committees.

The Communist Party puts the interest of the working class and the Party above everything. The Party subordinates all forms of Party organization to these interests. From this it follows that one form of organization is suitable for legal existence of the Party, and another for the conditions of underground, illegal existence. Under conditions where there is no possibility of holding open elections or broad Conventions, the form of democratic centralism necessarily has to be changed. In such a situation, it is inevitable that co-option be used as well as election. That means that in such a situation the higher committees will appoint the lower committees (for example, the Central Committee may appoint the District Committee; the District Committee may appoint the Section Committee, etc.). Or, in very exceptional cases, when the lower committee is to act quickly, this committee has the right to co-opt new members to the committee from among the best leaders of the organization; and this co-option must be approved by the higher committee.

But even in the most difficult situation, the Party finds ways and means of holding elections. The Conventions or Conferences under such conditions will necessarily be smaller. The organization will be tighter so as to eliminate as far as possible the danger of the exposure of delegates to the class enemies. Under conditions of extreme terror, open election of committees would endanger the elected leaders and make it possible for the bourgeoisie and their police agents to capture the leaders of the Party, and in this way cripple the revolutionary movement. Therefore, such a method is used by the Party in electing leading committees during such a period which eliminates the danger of exposure.

Democratic centralism therefore represents a flexible system of Party organization which guarantees all the conditions for combining the conscious and active participation of the whole Party membership in the Party life together with the best forms of centralized leadership in the activity and struggles of the Party and the working class.

PARTY DISCUSSION AND FREEDOM OF CRITICISM

The free discussion on questions of Party policy in individual Party organizations or in the Party as a whole, is the fundamental right of every Party member as a principal point of Party democracy. Only on the basis of internal Party democracy is it possible to develop Bolshevik self-criticism and to strengthen Party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical. There is complete freedom of discussion in the Party until a majority decision has been made by the Unit or the leading committee, after which discussion must cease and the decision be carried out by every organization and individual member of the Party.

It is clear, however, that basic principles and decisions, such, as for example, the Program of the Communist International, cannot be questioned in the Party.

We cannot imagine a discussion, for example, questioning the correctness of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, or the necessity for the proletarian dictatorship. We do not question the theory of the necessity for the forceful overthrow of capitalism. We do not question the correctness of the revolutionary theory of the class struggle laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We do not question the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism.

We do not question the political correctness of the decisions, resolutions, etc., of the Executive Committee of the C. I., of the Convention of the Party, or of the Central Committee after they are ratified. Otherwise, every under-cover agent of the bourgeoisie and every sympathizer of the renegades would have an opportunity of continually raising their counter-revolutionary theories in the Units, Sections, etc., and make the members spend time and energy in discussing such questions, thus not only disrupting the work of the Party, but also creating confusion among the less experienced and trained elements in the Party. (As a matter of fact, this is what enemies of the party are always trying to do in the name of "democracy".)

However, that does not mean that the problems dealt with in such decisions—and how best to apply these decisions—are not to be clarified in the Party organizations by discussion. On the contrary, a most thorough discussion for the purpose of making every Party member understand these resolutions and decisions and how to apply them is essential for effective Party work.

PARTY DISCIPLINE

Party discipline is based upon the class-consciousness of its members; upon the conviction that without the minority accepting and carrying out the decisions of the majority, without the subordination of the lower Party organizations to the higher committees, there can be no strong, solid, steeled Party able to lead the proletariat. This discipline is based upon the acceptance of the C. I. and the Party program and in the confidence of the membership in the Communist International and in the Central Committee.

There can be no discipline in the Party if there is no conscious and voluntary submission on the basis of a thorough understanding of the decisions of the Party. "*Only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline*" (Stalin).

Why Do the Communists Attach So Much Importance to Discipline?

Because without discipline there is no unity of will, no unity in action. Our Party is the organized and most advanced section of the working class. The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat in the class war. In this class war there is the capitalist class with its henchmen and helpers, the reformist leaders, on one side, and the working class and its allies, on the other. The class war is bitter. The enemy is powerful; it has all the means of deceit and suppression (armed forces, militia, police, courts, movies, radio, press, schools, churches, etc.). In order to combat and defeat this powerful enemy, the army of the proletariat must have a highly skilled, trained General Staff (the Communist Party), which is united in action and has one will. How can an army fight against the army of the enemy if every soldier in the army is allowed to question and even disobey orders of his superior officers? What would happen in a war if, for example, the General Staff orders an attack, and one section of the army decides to obey and go into battle; another thinks that it is wrong to attack the enemy at this time and stays away from the battle; and a third section decides to quit the trenches and retreat to another position instead of going forward?

Unity in Action

Let us take an example from the class struggle. The District Committee decides that a demonstration should be held against police terror and gives directives to the Sections to mobilize the whole membership to get the greatest possible number of workers to the demonstration. The date and place of the demonstration are set by the District Committee. One section, after receiving the decisions, works out plans to mobilize the masses, and activates the whole Section to work for the demonstration. Another Section does not think that the issue is very important and neglects to mobilize the membership; a third Section decides that the time set by the District Committee is not the best one and

instructs its members to mobilize at a later hour; and a fourth Section decides to come at an earlier hour. What kind of a demonstration would it be? What would workers think and say about such a Party?

Our Party cannot lead the masses if there is not unity in action. Unity of will and action can be achieved only if all the members of the Party act as one—are disciplined. If each Party member should decide which decision of the Party he wanted to carry out; if each member would carry out only those decisions which he liked and ignored those with which he disagreed, it would be impossible to lead the masses in the struggle against capitalism. An army with that kind of leadership would be defeated.

Unified opinion is essential for unity in action, for successful work of the Communist Party. What would happen if each Party member would interpret a political issue individually and bring his individual opinion to the masses? The workers in a factory, for example, would get as many opinions on certain questions as there are Party members in the factory.

The unified opinion which is hammered out in the Party by discussion is necessary in order that the Party be able to lead the masses in their constant struggles.

WHAT IS SELF-CRITICISM?

Self-criticism is the most important means for developing Communist consciousness and thereby strengthening discipline and democratic centralism. Self-criticism helps to discover all the mistakes, deviations, shortcomings, which separate us from the masses, and to correct them. It helps us to discover and expose the harmful policies or practices of organizations and individuals who work against the interest of the masses. Self-criticism helps us to improve the work of the Party organizations; to exterminate bureaucracy; to expose the agents of the enemy in our ranks.

"Let us take, for instance, the matter of guidance of economic and other organizations on the part of the Party organizations. Is everything satisfactory in this respect? No, it is not. Often questions are decided, not only in the locals, but also in the center, so to speak, 'en famille', the family circle. Ivan Ivanovich, a member of the leading group of some organization, made, let us say, a big mistake and made a mess of things. But Ivan Federovitch does not want to criticize him, show up his mistakes and correct him. He does not want to, because he is not disposed to 'make enemies'. A mistake was made, things went wrong, but what of it, who does not make mistakes?"

"Today I will show up Ivan Ivanovitch. Tomorrow he will do the same to me. Let Ivan Ivanovitch, therefore, not be molested, because where is the guarantee that I will not make a mistake in the future? Thus everything remains spick and span. There is peace and good will among men. Leaving the mistake uncorrected harms our great cause, but that is nothing! As long as we can get out of the mess somehow. Such, comrades, is the usual attitude of some of our responsible people. But what does that mean? If we, Bolsheviks, who criticize the whole world, who, in the words of Marx, storm the heavens, if we refrain from self-criticism for the sake of the peace of some comrades, is it not clear that nothing but ruin awaits our great cause and that nothing good can be expected?"

"Marx said that the proletarian revolution differs, by the way, from other revolutions in the fact that it criticizes itself and that in criticizing itself it becomes consolidated. This is a very important point Marx made. If we, the representatives of the proletarian revolution, shut our eyes to our shortcomings, settle questions around a family table, keeping mutually silent concerning our mistakes, and drive our ulcers into our Party organism, who will correct these mistakes and shortcomings? Is it not clear that we cease to be proletarian revolutionaries, and that we shall surely meet with shipwreck if we do not exterminate from our midst this philistinism, this domestic spirit in the solution of important questions of our construction? Is it not clear that by refraining from honest and straight-forward self-criticism, refraining from and honest and straight making good of mistakes, we block our road to progress, betterment of our cause, and new success for our cause? The process of our development is neither smooth nor general. No, comrades, we have classes, there are antagonisms within the country, we have a past, we have a present and a future, there are contradictions between them, and we cannot progress smoothly, tossed by the waves of life. Our progress proceeds in the form of struggle, in the form of developing contradictions, in the form of overcoming

these contradictions, in the form of revealing and liquidating these contradictions.

"As long as there are classes we shall never be able to have a situation when we shall be able to say, 'Thank goodness, everything is all right.' This will never be, comrades. There will always be something dying out. But that which dies does not want to die; it fights for its existence, it defends its dying cause. There is always something new coming into life. But that which is being born is not born quietly, but whimpers and screams, fighting for its right to live. Struggle between the old and the new, between the moribund and that which is being born—such is the basis of our development. Without pointing out and exposing openly and honestly, as Bolsheviks should do, the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, we block our road to progress. But we do want to go forward. And just because we go forward, we must make one of our foremost tasks an honest and revolutionary self-criticism. Without this there is no progress." (Stalin, *Report to the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, pp. 65-66.)

Two Kinds of Criticism

Self-criticism is a natural part of the life of the Party. How can the members fail to criticize the Bureau or committee if its work is poor, if it makes mistakes? Without self-criticism there can be no Communist Party. But this criticism must never depart from the line of the Party, from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We should make it very clear that there are two kinds of criticism: one which, on the basis of the line of the Party, on the basis of revolutionary theory and practice, analyzes mistakes and shortcomings, and offers concrete proposals for improvement in the work of the organization or individual member. This is Bolshevik self-criticism—constructive criticism. A good example of such self-criticism is the *Open Letter*, adopted at the Extraordinary Party Conference. The other is the kind of criticism which is based on distortion of the line of the Party or does not offer any proposal to improve the work, or to correct mistakes. This is destructive criticism, which, if tolerated, inevitably leads not only to driving out new members, discouraging the weaker elements and disrupting the work of the Party, but also leads to factionalism.

WHAT IS FACTIONALISM AND WHERE DOES IT LEAD?

Comrade Stalin, in his speech on the Communist Party of the U. S. A., in 1929, gave an excellent answer to this question:

"... factionalism weakens the Party spirit, it dulls the revolutionary sense and blinds the Party workers to such an extent that, in the factional passion, they are obliged to place the interests of faction above the interests of the Party, above the interests of the Comintern, above the interests of the working class. Factionalism not infrequently brings matters to such a pass that the Party workers, blinded by the factional struggle, are inclined to gauge all facts, all events in the life of the Party, not from the point of view of the interests of the Party and the working class, but from the point of view of the narrow interests of their own faction, from the point of view of their own factional kitchen.

"... factionalism interferes with the training of the Party in the spirit of a policy of principles; it prevents the training of the cadres in an honest, proletarian, incorruptible revolutionary spirit, free from rotten diplomacy and unprincipled intrigue. Leninism declares that a policy based on principles is the only correct policy. Factionalism, on the contrary, believes that the only correct policy is one of factional diplomacy and unprincipled factional intrigue. That is why an atmosphere of factional struggle cultivates not politicians of principle, but adroit factionalist manipulators, experienced rascals and Mensheviks, smart in fooling the 'enemy' and covering up traces. It is true that such 'educational' work of the factionalists is contrary to the fundamental interests of the Party and the working class. But the factionalists do not give a rap for that—all they care about is their own factional diplomatic kitchen, their own group interests. . . .

"It is, therefore, not surprising that politicians of principle and honest proletarian revolutionaries get no sympathy from the factionalists. On the other hand, factional tricksters and manipulators, unprincipled intriguers and backstage wire pullers and masters in the formation of unprincipled blocs are held by them in high honor.

“. . . factionalism, by weakening the will for unity in the Party and by undermining its iron discipline, creates within the Party a peculiar factional regime, as a result of which the whole internal life of our Party is robbed of its conspirative protection in the face of the class enemy, and the Party itself runs the danger of being transformed into a plaything of the agents of the bourgeoisie. This, as a rule, comes about in the following way: Let us say that some question is being decided in the Polit-Bureau of the Central Committee. Within the Polit-Bureau there is a minority and a majority which regard each decision from their factional standpoint. If a factional regime prevails in the Party, the wirepullers of both factions immediately inform the peripheral machine of this or that decision of the Polit-Bureau, endeavoring to prepare it for their own advantage and swing it in the direction they desire. As a rule, this process of information becomes a regular system. It becomes a regular system because each faction regards it as its duty to inform its peripheral machine in the way it thinks fit and to hold its periphery in a condition of mobilization in readiness for a scrap with the factional enemy. As a result, important secret decisions of the Party become general knowledge. In this way the agents of the bourgeoisie attain access to the secret decisions of the Party and make it easy to use the knowledge of the internal life of the Party against the interests of the Party. True, such a regime threatens the complete demoralization of the ranks of the Party. But the factionalists do not care about that, since, for them, the interests of their group are supreme.

“. . . factionalism consists in the fact that it completely nullifies all positive work done in the Party; it robs the Party workers of all desire to concern themselves with the day-to-day needs of the working class (wages, hours, the improvement of the material welfare of the workers, etc.); it weakens the work of the Party in preparing the working class for the class conflicts with the bourgeoisie and thereby creates a state of affairs in which the authority of the Party must inevitably suffer in the eyes of the workers, and the workers, instead of flocking to the Party, are compelled to quit the Party ranks. . . . What have the factional leaders of the majority and the minority been chiefly occupied with lately? With factional scandal-mongering, with every kind of petty factional trifle, the drawing up of useless platforms and sub-platforms, the introduction of tens and hundreds of amendments and sub-amendments to these platforms.

“Weeks and months are wasted lying in ambush for the factional enemy, trying to entrap him, trying to dig up something in the personal life of the factional enemy, or, if nothing can be found, inventing some fiction about him. It is obvious that positive work must suffer in such an atmosphere, the life of the Party becomes petty, the authority of the Party declines and the workers, the best, the revolutionary-minded workers, who want action and not scandal-mongering, are forced to leave the Party.

“That, fundamentally, is the evil of factionalism in the ranks of a Communist Party.” (*Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party*, pp. 27-30.)

III. STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The most important points where the Communist Party must work untiringly so as to fulfill the task of winning the majority of the working class for the struggle against capitalism are the following:

1. The big factories, mines, mills, docks, ships, railroads, etc., where the great masses of the basic sections of the proletariat are employed. The Communist Party puts its main energy into building Party organizations in these places.

2. The A. F. of L. unions and Railroad Brotherhoods, where millions of organized workers can be won for the Party program and led in decisive struggles. The Communist Party realizes that one of the most important tasks in winning the majority of the decisive sections of the proletariat is gaining influence among members of A. F. of L. unions. In order to achieve this, every available Party member must join the union of his industry, craft or occupation and work there in a real Bolshevik manner, helping to build the union, fighting for better conditions, exposing the bureaucratic, treacherous leaders as the agents of the employers and, in this way, proving to the rank and file what the leadership of the Communists means in the labor movement.

3. The independent unions where the Communists must work with the same energy and perspective as in the A. F. of L. unions.

4. The organized and unorganized masses of unemployed. The Communist Party fighting for unemployment relief and insurance leads and organizes the

unemployed masses, maintains fractions in all organizations of the unemployed and forges an unbreakable link between the unemployed and employed workers in the fight for social insurance and better conditions.

5. The fraternal cultural and sport organizations in which there are large numbers of working people. The Communist Party persistently works in the mass organizations of workers, especially workers in basic industries, and through the effective work of disciplined fraction leads them and wins their confidence in the Communist Party.

6. The Negro organizations (churches, fraternal, cultural, etc.). The Communist Party through well functioning fractions in these institutions of the Negro people, leads the fight for the special interests of the Negroes (against discrimination, segregation) for the liberation struggle of the Negro people.

7. The huge farms where large numbers of agricultural workers are employed. The Communist Party through its farm Units fights for the interests of the agricultural workers (farm laborers) and organizes them in unions.

The main strategic aim of the Communist Party is to win the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution. In order to achieve this aim the Communist Party establishes closely knit organizations everywhere where workers work for their living (factory), where they live (neighborhood), where they are organized for the defense of their economic interests (unions and unemployment organizations), or organized for satisfying their cultural desires (clubs, sports and cultural organizations). These Party organizations which lead the masses in the struggle for their economic and political demands are the following: (1) Shop and Street Units. Both of these forms of organizations are full-fledged Party bodies. (2) Fractions. The Party leads the masses organized in unions and other mass organizations through the fractions which are instruments in the hands of the Party to carry the policy of the Party among the masses.

THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The basic organization of the Party is the Shop Unit (Nucleus), which may consist of three members or more in a given place of employment, i. e., factory, shop, mine, mill, dock, ship, railway terminal, office, store, farm, etc.

The other form of membership organization is the Street or Town Unit, comprising a group of members living within a given territory.

The leadership of the Unit is the Unit Bureau, elected by the membership of the Unit.

The next higher organization is the Section. The Section is made up of a number of Shop, Street or Town Units in a given territory. The size of the territory of a Section is decided upon by the District Committee. The Party always strives to make the territory of the Sections as small as possible in order to be able to carry on work more effectively.

The highest body in the Section is the Section Convention. The Section Convention is a meeting of delegates elected by the Shop and Street Units of the Section. The leading committee in the Section is the Section Committee and is elected by the delegates at the Section Convention from among the best members of the Section. The Section Committee is the highest leading body in the Section between Conventions. It is responsible for all its actions and decisions to the Section Convention. The elected Section Committee must be approved by the District Committee. The Section Organizer is elected by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the District Committee. Should the District Committee not approve the election of a Section Organizer the reasons for this action are discussed and explanation made to the Section Committee.

The next highest organization in the Party is the District. The District organization is made up of the Sections in a territory assigned to it by the Central Committee. The District covers a certain portion of the country (a part of one, or one, two and sometimes three states, depending upon the industries, on the size of the membership, etc.). The highest body in the District is the District Convention, which is a meeting of delegates elected at the Conventions of the Sections in the District. Between Conventions, the highest committee in the District is the District Committee, elected by the delegates of the Sections at the District Convention. The District Committee is responsible for all its actions and decisions to the District Convention and Central Committee. The elected District Committee has to be approved by the Central Committee. The

District Organizer (political leader) is elected by the District Committee subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

The highest Party body is the National Convention. The National Convention is a meeting of delegates elected at the District Conventions. The highest committee of the Party in one country is the Central Committee, elected by the delegates at the National Convention. The Central Committee leads the Party organizations, with full authority, between Conventions and is responsible for its actions and decisions to the National Convention and to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION TO CONVENTIONS?

The number of delegates to Conventions is not fixed in the Constitution of the Party.

It depends on the conditions in a given situation, plus the numerical strength of the given Units, Sections and Districts.

The strategic importance of a Shop Unit, or Concentration Section, or of a District is the governing factor in deciding the number of delegates to the Convention. For example, the Section Committee can decide whether a Shop Unit from a big factory sends proportionately more delegates to the Section Convention than a Street Unit with the same number of, or perhaps even more, members.

The conditions under which the Party works are also an important factor in deciding the number of delegates. For example, a District which works partly illegally will have a smaller number of delegates to the District Convention than other District with the same number of units working more openly.

On the other hand, in one District, because of certain problems which have to be clarified before the broadest possible gathering, the situation may demand a much larger representation from the Units or Sections to the Section or District Convention than another District where no such problem exists.

At the Eighth Party Convention of our Party, the general rule of representation was the following:

1. The Units elected one delegate for each five members to the Section Convention.
2. The Section Conventions elected one delegate for each 15 members in the Section to the District Convention.
3. The District Conventions elected one delegate for each 100 members in the District to the National Convention.

THE PARTY CONFERENCES

The Sections, with the approval of the District Committee, and the Districts, with the approval of the Central Committee, may call meetings of delegates for a conference between Conventions. These conferences take up the work of the respective organizations and discuss problems concerning new tactics necessitated by changed situations. The difference between a convention and conference is that the conference does not elect a new leadership and that all decisions must be approved by the higher Party committee. The Party conference has the right to elect new members to the Committee if some old ones have been removed for one reason or another, and has the right to remove individual members from the committee if for sufficient reason it believes they are not fit to be leaders of the organization.

PARTY COMMITTEES AND THEIR SIZE

The Party committees elected at the Conventions are composed of the best, most developed comrades in the given organization. Representation to the Section Committee is not on the basis of representation from each Unit; nor does each Section elect a representative to the District Committee. At the same time we must bear in mind that the Section Committee or a higher Party committee must have among its members comrades who are working in the most important factories, as well as members of the most important trade unions, in order to maintain a living connection between the leadership and the masses at these important points.

The size of the Party committee always depends on the numerical strength of the organization which elects it, on the importance of the organization, and

on the given situation. The approximate average size of the committee is the following:

Unit Bureau	— 3-5 members
Section Committee	— 9-11 members
District Committee	—15-19 members
Central Committee	—30-35 members

WHAT ARE THE PARTY BUREAUS?

The Bureau is the leading body in the Section, District and Center between committee meetings, acts with full authority during this period, and is responsible to the committee by which it is elected. Their approximate size is:

Section Bureau	—about 5 members
District Bureau	—about 7-9 members
Political Bureau of the C. C.	—about 7-9 members

As a general rule the Party committees meet as follows:

Unit Bureau—once a week
Section Bureau—once a week
Section Committee—twice, usually, but at least once a month
District Bureau—once a week
District Committee—once a month
Political Bureau—once a week
Central Committee—once in two months

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (COMINTERN)

The Communist International is the international organization of Communist Parties in all countries. It is the World Communist Party. The Communist Parties in the various countries affiliated to the Comintern are called Sections of the Communist International.

The World Congress composed of delegates from all the parties affiliated to the Communist International (Comintern) is the highest authority in Communist Party organization.

The date of the Congress and the number of delegates from the various Communist Parties are decided upon by the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.). But the number of votes allocated to each Party at the World Congress is decided upon by special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the given Party and the political importance of the given country.

The leading body of the Communist International during the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.), elected by the delegates at the World Congress. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are binding for all Parties belonging to the Comintern and must be promptly carried out. The Communist Parties have the right to appeal against decisions of the E. C. C. I. to the World Congresses, but must proceed to carry out such decisions pending the final action of the World Congress on the appeal. The leadership of the Comintern (C. I.) is composed of the best, most developed, experienced, tried, leaders of the various Communist Parties.

The meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are in size similar to a World Congress. These meetings are called the Enlarged Plenums of the Executive Committee of the C. I. Besides the elected members of the Executive Committee of the C. I. there are invited to this Enlarged Plenum additional delegates from the various countries, so that these Plenums have 300 or 400 delegates present from the various Parties. The difference between a Congress and an Enlarged Plenum consists in the fact that while delegates to the Congress are elected on the basis of numerical strength and political importance of the Communist Parties, the number of additional invited delegates from the Communist Parties to the Enlarged Plenum is decided upon on the basis of the order of business of the Plenum. These delegates are selected by the Central Committees of the various Communist Parties. At the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. only the members of the E. C. C. I. have the right to vote. The other invited delegates have the right to participate in the discussion, but have only a consultative vote.

The E. C. C. I. elects from among its members a Presidium which is responsible to the E. C. C. I. The Presidium meets at least once a month and acts as the

permanent body carrying out all the business of the E. C. C. I. during the period between meetings of the latter.

The Presidium elects from among its members the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to make decisions between Presidium meetings, and is responsible to the Presidium.

STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Let us briefly sum up the structure of the Communist Party in the order of responsibility on the basis of the foregoing description*:

- Unit Bureau
- Unit Membership Meeting
- Section Bureau
- Section Committee
- Section Convention
- District Bureau
- District Committee
- District Convention
- Political Bureau of the C. C.
- Central Committee
- National Convention
- Political Secretariat of the C. I.
- Presidium of the C. I.
- Executive Committee of the C. I.
- World Congress of the C. I.

SHOP UNIT (NUCLEUS)

The Shop Unit (Nucleus) is the basic organization of our Party in the place of employment (factory, shop, mine, dock, ship, office, store, etc.). Shop Units should be organized in every factory, shop, mine, etc., where there are three or more members of the Party.

The main strength of our movement is in the Units (Nuclei) in large factories because:

1. The large factories and railroads are the nerve centers of the economic and political life of the country.
2. In the large factories the workers concentrated in large numbers.
3. Workers in these large factories have great influence on the workers in smaller shops.
4. The workers in large factories are better trained and disciplined by the process of large-scale production.
5. Workers in large factories are generally more militant because, concentrated in large numbers in one enterprise, they feel their strength.

Comrade Lenin, in "A Letter to a Comrade on Our Problems of Organization," states that:

"... The main strength of our movement lies in the workers' organizations in large factories, because in the large factories are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacities. Every factory must be our stronghold."

ADVANTAGES OF SHOP UNIT FORM

Why is the Shop Unit (Nucleus) the best form of basic Party organization?

1. Workers feel the pressure of exploitation most in the factory where they are employed. There they have common interests and problems (wages, working conditions, etc.).
2. A properly working, well-trained, politically developed Shop Unit, although it may have to work under the most difficult conditions, because of the highly developed spy system, etc., cannot be found out and gotten rid of by the boss. In order to stop the work of such a Unit, the boss must close the factory. That means stopping production—shutting off the profits.
3. The Shop Unit is trained to work in a conspirative manner, in order to organize and lead the other workers, to safeguard the organization and prevent its members from being fired. Because of this method of work the Shop

*See chart inserted at p. 714.

Unit will remain the most solid link with the masses under any conditions (terror, illegality).

4. The Shop Unit registers the reaction of the most decisive elements of the proletariat to every issue. The reaction, sentiment, opinion of the workers brought by the Shop Unit to the higher committee of the Party makes it possible to formulate the best policy or to correct and improve decisions. Through the Shop Units, Party Committees are in daily contact with the most important strata of the working class.

5. The leadership of the Party gets its strength from the Shop Units by drawing the most developed comrades into the leading Party committees. In this way direct contact with factory workers is established.

6. The Shop Units, through their daily activities in leading and organizing struggles in the factories, gain the confidence of the workers and spread the influence of the Party to wider and wider circles. At the same time the Shop Units bring into the Party the best elements of this decisive stratum of the proletariat, thus improving the social composition of the Party.

7. The Shop Unit is very effective in building real united fronts of workers on immediate issues (Grievance Committee, Shop Committee) and also on broader political issues (terror, election, war).

8. The Shop Units are instrumental in building and strengthening well-functioning fractions in the A. F. of L. and other unions.

9. The Shop Unit brings the *Daily Worker*, this mighty weapon of our Party, directly to the most important strata of the working class.

These are the main arguments for the necessity of building the Party in the factories. These arguments prove that in order to win the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat, the Party must be rooted in the factories, mines, ships, docks, offices, etc.

"The working class will be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital, as the leader of all toiling masses, only if it is headed by a Communist Party which is closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers. But a Communist Party with a very weak and inadequately functioning organization in the big factories and among the decisive sections of the American industrial workers, a Communist Party whose entire policy, whose entire agitation and propaganda, whose entire daily work is not concentrated on winning over and mobilizing these workers and winning the factories, a Communist Party which, through its revolutionary trade union work, does not build highways to the broadest masses of workers, cannot lay claim to a policy capable of making it the leader of the working class within the shortest possible time." (*Open Letter*, p. 12.)

WHAT ARE THE BASIC INDUSTRIES?

The Party should concentrate all its forces and energy to build Shop Units, first of all in the basic industries.

Basic industries are those upon which the whole economic system depends. They include:

1. Those which produce material for production, like steel, mining, oil, chemicals.

2. Those which deliver material to the place of production or consumption, like railroad, trucking, marine, etc.

3. Those which produce power for running the wheels of industry, electric power plants, steam and hydro-electric plants, etc.

It is also important to concentrate all our energy to build the Party in the auto, textile and packing house industries because of their strategic importance in the economic system. Strong Party organizations (Shop Units) in these basic industries with a mass following could really influence and lead the millions of workers engaged in these as well as in all lesser industries in their daily struggles, and deliver decisive blows to capitalism.

While it is of the utmost importance to concentrate all energy of the Party to build and strengthen the Units in the basic industries, the other industries cannot be neglected. The Party systematically builds Units in light industries (clothing, shoe and leather, etc., in offices, stores, laundries, hotels and restaurants, etc.).

HOW TO BUILD SHOP UNITS

The stronghold, the fortress of the revolutionary movement, is in the factory. But in order to build the revolutionary movement there, we must organize all Party members working in one factory into a Shop Unit. The main difference

between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party form of organization is that the Socialist Party organizations (branches) are built on the basis of bourgeois election wards and districts while the Communist Party is built on the basis of the place of employment. Party members who work in the same shop cannot belong to different Street Units. If such forms of organization were permitted, Party members working in the same factory and not knowing each other, would carry on their Party work in an anarchistic way. Each one individually would try to give leadership to the other workers.

The first step, therefore, in building the Unit in a factory is to find who the Party members are. This can be done by checking the membership registration or by getting information from the fraction of the union. If we find three or more members, a Shop Unit should immediately be organized.

Since the most effective work of the Party is inside the factory, it is necessary to find ways and means whereby developed Party members can get a job in a given factory, and in this way to start building the Party there.

The Street and Town Units have many members who are working in big factories. These single members should know that their main task is to build the Party inside the factory. But it is not sufficient to assign this basic task to these members. Their Street Units must help them politically and organizationally (forces from outside, shop papers, *Daily Worker* distribution from outside, finances, etc.). There are many good examples in our Party which prove that with proper help, one member in a big factory can recruit two, three or more members for the Party in two or three weeks, and organize a Shop Unit.

There are thousands of very close sympathizers, readers of our press (*Daily Worker* or the language papers), members of the unions and various fraternal and cultural organizations, who are working in important factories. Conscientious effort will help us to recruit them into the Party and thus build Shop Units.

CONCENTRATION

Besides these organizational measures, there are various other effective methods for organizing and strengthening the Shop Units. The best method is the concentration of our best forces around a factory. This concentration work consists of systematic mass agitation and propaganda among the workers in the selected factory through distribution of the *Daily Worker*, Party pamphlets, and other literature at the factory gates or at the workers' homes, combined with the holding of shop-gate meetings. This mass agitation will help prepare the ground for the carrying on of successful work by our members inside the factory.

A Shop Unit consisting of three members can be strengthened by adding one or two of the best, most developed, most reliable comrades from the Street or Town Unit. These comrades, as regular members of the Shop Unit, help in working out policies and making decisions for activity in the factory. They help the Shop Unit keep connection with the Section Committee, and help guide and participate in the mass work outside of the factory. It is absolutely essential that outside members (from Street Units) be always in the minority in the Shop Unit.

WHAT IS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR THE ORGANIZATIONAL FORM OF A UNIT?

The form of Party organization in the factory, shop, mine, dock, etc., is determined by two factors, which are very closely linked to each other:

1. That organizational form which will make the Party Unit the most effective leader of the workers; and

2. That organizational form which will best safeguard the Party members and the other militant workers from the bosses' stool-pigeons and thugs.

The organizational form must be such that it becomes possible for the Unit to do mass work and at the same time prevent, so far as possible, the exposure of the members, the discharge and blacklisting of sympathetic and active non-Party workers, and the exposure of militant union members.

The smaller the number of members who come together regularly, the smaller is the danger of exposure. The Shop Unit which grows to over 10-12 members should be divided into two independent working groups as quickly as possible. When we find it necessary to split a Shop Unit, the first question which should be considered is: Is it possible to organize a Unit in another department from among the Unit members? If there are three members in the Unit who work in the same department, a Unit in that department should be organized. If there are not enough members in one department, Party members working on several floors or in the same building should be organized in one Unit.

If a departmental Unit group is so big that it is too cumbersome for effective work, the department Unit should be divided into smaller groups on the basis of Party members working near each other in the department. The Shop Unit may also consider organizing Units on the basis of shifts. In this form of organization, the decisive factor will be whether the members on one shift are continually together in the same work group, and whether the changing of shift would not mean changing the composition of the members in the same group.

The best way to build an effective Party Unit in one factory is to concentrate on the most important, so-called "key" department or departments.

The Leading Bodies in the Factory

As the Party grows in one factory, the question arises: How will the work be coordinated? What body gives leadership for the whole factory? In order to make this problem clear, we will compare a factory in which we have many Units, with a Party Section. In the Section, the various units, as already stated, come to a Convention and elect their leadership, the Section Committee, which leads the work of the whole Section between Conventions. Because of the special conditions in a factory (spies, stool pigeons, etc.), it is inadvisable to bring all members together at one meeting. Therefore the best form of organization is the delegate conference of the Units.

The Units in the various departments and shifts elect their representatives, according to the size and importance of the Unit, to a conference, where these delegates elect the leading body of the Party organization: the factory Unit Bureau. This Bureau works in the same way as a Section Committee. It has the right to make decisions for the whole body (Party organization), in the factory. These decisions are binding for each department and shift Unit and for each individual member in the factory. The factory Unit Bureau is responsible for all its decisions and actions to the delegate conference, which is the highest body in the factory.

SAFEGUARDING THE UNITS

In order to coordinate the work of the various department units, the Bureau regularly meets with the department Unit Organizers, receiving reports about the activity of the department Units, and guides them in their work. It is necessary to emphasize again that in order to avoid the danger of spies, the factory Unit Bureau should not bring all department Unit Organizers to one meeting. The best method is to meet with the individual organizers separately.

There is need for continuous exchange of experiences between the various department Units. Therefore, it is necessary to call delegates to conferences as often as possible, and at least once a month.

The department and shift Units meet regularly every week and have their independent life. They elect their own Bureau, work out plans and activity in the department, discuss Party problems, etc., in the same manner as any other independent Unit of the Party. There is no need to point out that the factory Unit Bureau is constantly in touch with the Section Committee and receives guidance and directives from this body.

WHAT ARE THE FRACTIONS IN THE FACTORY, AND WHAT ARE THEIR RELATIONS TO THE FACTORY UNIT?

It must be emphasized again that the factory Unit, or, in big factories, the conferences of the delegates of the Units, is the deciding Party organization in the factory. It is responsible for all activity of all individual Party members in the factory. Its decisions are final on every question and only the higher Party Committees—the Section Committee, the District Committee, and the Central Committee, have the right to overrule them. It is necessary to emphasize this fact in order to clarify the relation between the Party organization in the factory and the leading fraction of the union which has members in the factory.

To further clarify this problem, let us take an example. In one city there are a number of steel factories. The steel union has members in all these factories. This union has a leading fraction on a city-wide scale. This leading fraction has no right to make decisions for any given factory over the head of the Party organization in this factory. In order to coordinate the work of the Units in the various factories, the Section or District Committee assigns one member of the leading fraction to each factory as a regular member of the factory Unit. They discuss the problems of the industry generally with the Units and they guide

them in their work, but they have no right to hand down decisions for the Unit. The decisions in this factory are made by the Unit itself.

FRACTION INSIDE FACTORY

Now, let us see how the fractions *inside* the factory are functioning. If there is only one union in the factory, we face the following problem:

Every member of the Party is or should be a member of the union. In other words, the Party Unit is at the same time the Party fraction in the local union of their factory. In this case there is no need for special fraction activities by the Party Unit as a whole. But even in this case we will have fractions. How? In the factory there are various committees elected by the members of the union (grievance committees, department committees, factory committees, etc.). These committees are elected by the workers in the factory. If the members of the Communist Party are active, are good fighters, and are recognized as such by the workers, we will have Party members on every committee. For example: The workers in the factory elect a factory or shop committee of fifteen. Out of this number, five are Party members. These five Party members compose the fraction of the committee, and they are responsible for all their activities in the committee to the factory Unit or delegate conference.

In factories where there is more than one union (craft unions), the Party members belonging to each craft union compose the fraction in that craft union. These Party members, as the fraction, are responsible for all their activities to the factory Unit or delegate conference.

Let us assume that in a factory there are other organizations, besides unions, such as a sports club, etc. The factory Unit appoints comrades to join these organizations and these comrades compose the fraction of the given organization and work under the direction of the factory Unit.

WHAT IS THE POLITICAL TASK OF THE SHOP UNIT?

The answer to this question may be divided into two parts: First, participation in working out the policy of the Party, and second, the application of this policy in the daily work (mass work) of the factory Unit.

The factory Units have not only the right, but it is their Communist duty to participate in formulating the general policy of the Party. *How is this task performed?* The policy of the Party is decided at the Convention in the form of adopted resolutions. These resolutions are prepared for discussion by the Central Committee. The draft (proposed) resolution is published in the Party press or in pamphlet form at least two months before the date of the Convention. The Unit membership organizes a thorough discussion on these draft resolutions. At the end of these discussions the Unit votes on this resolution, either adopting it as is, or making amendments as it thinks necessary.

The Unit always has the right to make proposals to the Section, District, or Central Committee as to the points on the order of business of the Convention as well as to suggest amendments to the draft resolutions. These amendments and proposals are presented to the Convention by the delegates. The delegates at the Convention, after discussing the resolution and the amendments, vote on them.

The delegates who bring up amendments cannot be *instructed* by their organizations to vote under all circumstances for these amendments. If a delegate, at the Convention, after his amendment is discussed, becomes convinced that the amendment is incorrect, he will vote as a good Communist against the proposals which he introduced.

After the Convention, the delegates report to their Units. The Unit discusses the report and works out the details for applying the resolutions to the concrete situations before them.

The Shop Unit should discuss and express its opinion on all important political problems and tasks of the Party. In this discussion the members of the Nuclei should report the reaction of the workers with whom they are in contact (A. F. of L., Socialists, non-party, etc.), to the given issue. This discussion will help also the Section, District, and Central Committees to formulate correct slogans, to prepare proper actions, to react quickly and correctly to every happening, to all changes of the political life of the community, to work out a correct tactical line.

BRING PARTY CAMPAIGNS INTO THE FACTORY

The Units should participate in all campaigns and actions of the Party, that is, bring them into the factory. In order to be able to carry on this very important

work. the Shop Units must develop their own initiative, and must be well acquainted with the general line of the Party. Otherwise, they will not be able to apply the line of the Party in their work in the factory.

It is especially important to understand how to carry on work during election campaigns. The Shop Units can counteract all the demagogy of the capitalist parties if concrete problems of the factory workers are used in exposing the programs of capitalist parties. The Units then can easily show the workers that only the Communists represent and fight for their interests.

The general task of the Party is to win over the majority of the working class for its program. To achieve this aim, the Shop Units must become the recognized leaders of the workers in the factories. In order to win the confidence of these workers, the Shop Units must react quickly on all issues. A Shop Unit must utilize the attacks of the bosses on their working conditions for agitation and organization, for the counter-offensive for higher wages, better working conditions, etc.

At the same time the Shop Unit must show the workers how, in their fight for their daily bread, they come up against the close connections between their bosses and the city, state and federal government, the political representative of the boss class. The Units conduct struggles for the daily demands of the workers in the shop, for social and unemployment insurance, against taxation of small incomes, against sales taxes, for better housing, lower rents, etc.

ANSWER THE WORKERS' QUESTIONS

In order to win the confidence of the workers, the Unit must be able to give a correct answer to every question which bothers the workers. However, this is possible only if the Unit systematically gathers as much material about the given situation as possible. With the help of the Section Committee, the Unit should equip itself with material about the profits of a company, *e.g.*, the dividends paid out to the coupon clippers, the income of the bosses, how they live (house, apartment), how many servants and automobiles they have, and their political connections with the city, state and federal government. If a Unit is armed with such important material, it will be easier for it to bring these facts to the attention of the workers, in connection with their grievances, through shop paper, leaflet and *Daily Worker*.

The Shop Units must convince the workers of the necessity for organizing unions, of the necessity for united struggle for better conditions, for freedom of organization (union recognition), for equal rights for Negroes, against police terror, against the factory spy system, against war and fascism, against lynching of Negroes, for the freedom of class war prisoners.

The Shop Units should mobilize the workers by continuous agitation for international solidarity actions (support of the struggles of colonial peoples; against fascism in Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland, etc.; for the defense of the Soviet Union) and should contrast the conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union with those in the given factory and neighborhood.

The Units must follow very carefully every step that is taken by the capitalist class in the city and county councils, state legislatures and Congress, and expose all their moves through leaflets, shop papers, and the Party press. This should always be done by starting out with the concrete problems of the workers in the given factory and neighborhood and bringing forward the slogans of the Party suited to the situation.

By bringing forward continuously the political problems of the workers, the Shop Units increase the general political understanding of the workers, increase their class consciousness and bring them into working class political activity.

In this way the circle of sympathizers will constantly broaden, the basis for recruiting new members into the Party will be established and thus increase its influence.

WHAT ARE THE ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF THE SHOP UNIT?

The main organizational task of the Shop Unit is to establish strong connections with all the workers in the factory. Thus the workers can be mobilized for quick action when the need arises. In order to achieve this aim, the factory Unit must throw all its energy into building the union in the factory and in organizing united front actions for the various campaigns of the Party (against war and fascism, election campaign, May First, etc.), and on the concrete issues in the factory (grievances, speed-up, wages, freedom

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of organization). In this organizational activity of the factory Unit, we must pay special attention to the problems of the Negro workers in the factory, because of the special form of exploitation they are subjected to and because they are discriminated against on the job. A special approach and methods should also be worked out to organize the women and the young workers in the factory. Every Shop Unit has the task of building as well as strengthening the Y. C. L. Unit in the factory.

The other organizational tasks of the factory Unit are the following: (1) To control and check whether the general decisions of the membership meeting and the concrete assignments are carried out by every member of the Unit. (2) To control the membership dues. (3) To get finances for the work of the Unit. (4) To see whether the members of the Unit are members of the union; to see whether Party members in the union and other mass organizations work regularly in the Party fractions. (5) To keep in constant touch with all sympathizers. (6) to distribute literature and to sell the *Daily Worker* every day. (7) To establish and carefully guard the printing apparatus which publishes papers and leaflets. (8) To find specific methods for detecting and exposing stool pigeons. (9) And last but not least, constantly to recruit new members into the Party.

SHOP PAPERS

The *shop paper*, the organ of the Communist Party Unit in a given factory, mine, dock, ship, office, etc., is the most effective instrument in the hand of the Unit for agitation and organization.

In every shop where we have a Unit, the shop paper should be issued regularly. In shops where there is no Unit as yet, but there are one or two Party members, the issuance of a shop paper will be a great help in building the Party Unit.

Who Is Responsible for the Shop Paper?

The Shop Unit is responsible for the paper. That does not mean that the Street Unit which helps the Shop Unit from the outside has no responsibility. On the contrary, the comrades should consider it their duty to help the Shop Unit not only in distributing, but also in producing the paper. Especially at the beginning, the printing, financial help and distribution of the paper will be on the shoulders of the Section Committee or concentration Unit. It should be understood, however, that the policy of the paper, the text of the articles, etc., is decided upon by the Shop Unit and not by the concentration Unit. From the very beginning the Shop Unit members should be trained by the Section Committee to edit and produce the paper themselves. Every Shop Unit should be equipped with a machine for printing its paper. The Section Committee should continuously aid the Shop Unit in this and all other needs.

Who Edits the Shop Paper?

The shop paper is edited by a committee elected by the Shop Unit. But we must keep one very important matter in mind. The shop paper as a Party organ is the paper of *all* the workers in the given shop, mine, etc. Therefore, it is essential to interest the best non-party workers in the actual editing of the paper. The larger the number of workers who take part in editing the shop paper, the more effective weapon will it be, and the closer will these non-party workers be drawn to the Party. Scores of workers should be induced to write articles for the paper. We must make every worker feel that the shop paper is his. The higher committees must give the utmost help in educating members for editing shop papers.

Who Finances the Shop Paper?

The Shop Unit finances the paper by getting the greatest possible number of workers in the factory to buy and otherwise support the paper. If the paper is good, raises the basic issues confronting workers, explains them well, and gives correct advice to the workers as to what to do about them, the workers will support it. A paper which has *no* financial support inside the factory will find it hard to keep going. We must bear in mind that under certain conditions (as in Germany today) it will be quite difficult to get money for the shop paper from the outside. It will have to be supported by the workers themselves *inside* of the factory. This financial basis must be

prepared *now*—today—by the Shop Unit (donations, subs, sale of paper, etc.)

The workers in Germany provide splendid examples of financing shop papers. There, under the most difficult conditions of terror, workers in the shop find ways and means of supporting their paper. For example, they leave their contribution for the paper either on the bench of the comrade who they think is a Communist, or in many cases put this contribution in the pocket of the comrade or leave it on their own bench, where the comrade can pick it up.

Who Distributes the Paper?

The most effective distribution of a shop paper is from the inside. Each Shop Unit, each individual member, should use the experiences of other Units and of other Communist Parties in methods of distribution. We realize how difficult it is in Hitler Germany to distribute shop papers and leaflets. In spite of this the Shop Units *do* distribute them. Members of the Shop Units will find thousands of ways of bringing the shop paper into the factory if we properly explain the importance of doing so. The shop paper could and should be distributed from outside also (Street Unit), but it must be emphasized that the workers will react more favorably to the paper if they get it from the inside, if they know that the paper is given to them by one who may be working in their department. The workers will have great respect for a Party which is skilled enough to spread the paper inside, in spite of the strenuous effort of the boss to keep it out. Besides this, we know that there will be a time when it will be more difficult to distribute Party material at the shop gate than inside the factory. We have to train ourselves, train our forces, *inside* the factories, *today*, for this work. The shop paper is and will be the most important link between the masses and the Party.

There is no need to emphasize that the printing, editing, financing and distribution of the shop paper must be organized in such a way that the company, through its stool pigeons, will not know what workers are involved.

WHAT IS THE STREET UNIT?

The Street Unit is the Party organization in the neighborhood.

The Street Unit is composed of those Party members who live in a certain territory, and cannot belong to a Shop Unit. (Housewives, professionals, small store-keepers, unemployed workers who are out of the shop for a long period and, for the time being, employed workers who have not as yet organized Shop Units.)

WHAT IS THE TOWN UNIT?

The Town Unit is the Party organization in a small town.

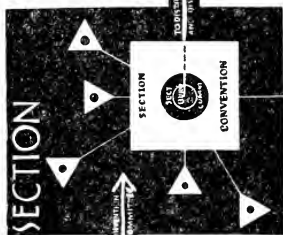
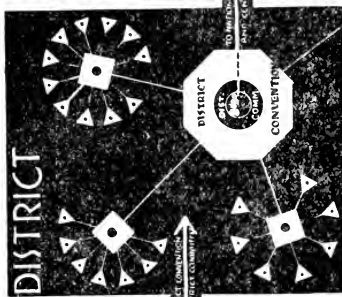
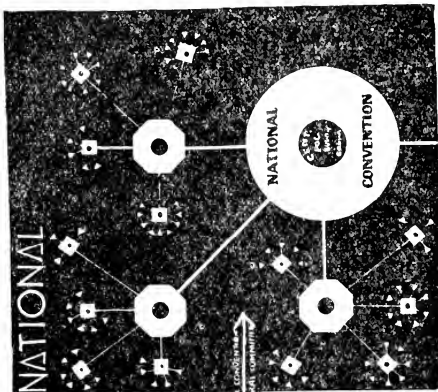
The Town Unit is composed of all those Party members in a given town who cannot belong to a Shop Unit and where there are not enough members to form Street Units.

WHAT ARE THE POLITICAL TASKS OF THE STREET AND TOWN UNITS?

The basic task of the Street Unit is to win over the majority of the working class in the neighborhood to the fight for the active support of the revolutionary struggles, and to make them conscious followers of the Communist Party.

In order to achieve this basic task the Street Unit must first of all concentrate on organizing and leading the struggle for unemployment relief and social insurance. In the daily work of the Street or Town Unit, we must always keep in mind that the Unit, *as the Party in the territory*, must win the confidence of the masses, must become the leader of the workers of the given street, district or town.

A Party Street Unit which is not involved in mass work, which does not organize and lead the struggles in the neighborhood, cannot become the leader of the proletarian masses. Patient, continuous, systematic work of the Unit among the workers in the neighborhood will bring results. The Unit must react to every issue which affects the workers. The problems of unemployment (relief, insurance); the high cost of living (high rent, high food prices, high electricity and gas rates, etc.); sanitary conditions (on the street, in the homes, in schools); free lunch, clothing for the children; the various taxes on necessities (sales tax, tax on small incomes, etc.); civil rights (free speech,



DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM
in the **COMMUNIST PARTY USA**



assembly, press); police brutality; injunctions, and many other problems which harass the workers are the problems which the Street and Town Units must tackle.

The Unit which knows these problems, which quickly reacts to all these issues and brings forward the proper slogans for action, will succeed in gathering around itself the working masses in the neighborhood. The unemployed organizations will grow, our fractions in the different workers' organizations will be strengthened, and the Unit will become the established and trusted leader of the workers in the street or town.

Must Be Known as Fighters

In order to gain these results, the Unit as a whole and every individual member of the Unit should be known by the workers in the street or town as fearless fighters in the interests of the working class. In the daily work of the Unit we should systematically gather all relevant information about the workers and other sections of the population in the street or town. We should know who is who; we should know not only those workers who voluntarily gather around the activities of the Party organization, but those who are inclined to be sympathetic as well as those poisoned by the capitalist propaganda of the enemies of the working class and by the counter-revolutionary Trotsky renegades. We should know those workers who are in the Socialist Party and other organizations led and influenced by reformist and reactionary leaders.

A Street or Town Unit acquainted with the individuals in its territory could formulate the correct, most compelling slogans and actions for the mobilization of the masses. Such a Unit would not have any great difficulties in taking its part in an election campaign, or any other campaign of the Party. In the election campaign, the Unit should be able to enlist all the sympathetic elements in the territory. A Unit should know in advance who will vote Communist, and who is inclined to vote for the bourgeois parties, and should adjust its activities accordingly—not only in the mass campaigns, but also in personal contacts.

If the workers know, through the Unit's activity, how bravely and uncompromisingly the Party fights for the interest of the workers, and if at the same time the Unit can convince the workers of the anti-working class role of the other parties—such a Unit can gain tremendous influence and a large vote during election campaigns. Such a Unit carrying on daily mass work (street meetings, house-to-house canvassing, distribution of leaflets, mass meetings, distribution of the *Daily Worker*, publication of a neighborhood paper, etc.), during the election campaign, will show results, not only in the number of votes cast for the Party, but in gaining better conditions for the workers and new recruits for the Party, as well as new readers for the *Daily Worker*.

Aids Shop Unit

Another important task of the Street and Town Unit is to help the Shop Units in its territory or near to it, in their daily work. The well-organized assistance of a Street or Town Unit to a Shop Unit can greatly increase the possibilities of building organization inside the factories. If there are not many forces in the Street Unit this assistance can be limited to one or two things: for example, systematic sale of the *Daily Worker* in front of the factory; or systematic holding of shop-gate meetings; distribution of leaflets or shop papers from the outside. The Street Unit can also help the Shop Unit do open work around the factory, in the street-car and bus stations, etc., etc.

The Street Unit must not adopt a patronizing attitude toward the Shop Unit. It cannot make any decisions for the Factory Unit. It must help from the outside in a manner determined by the Shop Unit.

Finally, a Street Unit or Town Unit should concentrate on a large factory in its territory. The concentration point, if there is more than one factory in the territory, should be decided upon in consultation with the Section Committee. The best method of organizing the work around the concentration factory is to set up a special concentration group from among the members of the Unit. This group should be composed of members who volunteer to carry out this very important task and at the same time have the necessary qualifications for the work.

It should be understood that after the group is set up on a *voluntary* basis, the carrying out of the work is *compulsory*. The Unit, as a whole, regularly discusses and controls the activities of this concentration group. This work

needs patient, systematic daily attention by the whole Unit and also by the higher committees of the Party. The Street Unit supports activity and takes part in the strike struggles of the factory workers, and also mobilizes the neighborhood for support, furnishing reserves for the picket lines, conducting demonstrations, collecting strike relief, etc.

Must Aid Members Working in Factories

We have listed the general tasks of the Unit in the street or town. All these tasks cannot always be taken care of by every Unit. Some of the Units will be able to tackle and carry out all of these tasks, and some of them only a part of them. We wish to emphasize again the need for systematic help and guidance for those members of the Units who are working in factories but who belong to the Street Units because there is no Shop Unit in their place of employment. These members should get continuous political organizational and financial help in building the Unit in their factory. With proper work, the Street or Town Units will be able to transfer all those members who are working in a shop, mine, office, etc., to their respective Shop Unit.

The fact that the member of a Street Unit works in a factory far from the Unit territory does not exclude the possibility of help from the Unit. This member should be encouraged to raise the problems of the factory at the Unit Bureau or Unit membership meeting, where, after a thorough discussion, steps should be taken to build the Party in the factory. It would be of help to issue a leaflet in the shop which could be distributed by one or two unemployed members in front of his factory.

Is it difficult for a Party member to get two or three more workers in his factory to join the Party in a period of two or three weeks if he is constantly helped and guided? We do not think so.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF THE STREET AND TOWN UNITS

The organizational tasks of the Street and Town Units are in the main the same as those of the Factory Units. However, these organizations must consider the special problem of building unemployment organizations, of building fractions in all workers' organizations in their territory, of building united fronts with these organizations on concrete issues.

The Street Unit in a Negro neighborhood, especially if the Unit is composed of a large majority of Negro Party comrades, must remember that a vital task of the Party is to establish strong bonds with the broadest masses. In Negro neighborhoods this can be done best by penetrating the Negro organizations: churches, fraternal organizations, societies, etc. In order to carry out this task it is essential that every member of a Street Unit in the Negro territory be a member of a Negro organization. The best solution to this problem is for the majority of a Unit to join one such organization—the most important and biggest Negro organization in the territory. The Party members in these organizations will work as a fraction under the guidance of the Street Unit. It is understood, however, that Street Units will not give up the work in the neighborhood generally while the main attention is directed towards the work in the organizations where the Party members belong.

WHAT IS A FARM UNIT?

The Farm Unit is the basic Party organization in the rural sections of the country. We have two kinds of Farm Units: (1) Farm Units in big farms composed of agricultural workers. These Units have the same standing in the Party as the factory units; (2) Farm Units composed of farm hands, tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and small farmers in a given territory.

There is no need here for dwelling on the necessity of Communist work among the toiling rural population. The question of allies of the proletarian revolution, of winning over the poor farmers and broad sections of the middle farmers to the side of the proletarian revolution, and of neutralizing other sections of the middle farmers as an important factor in a successful revolution, can be answered in our favor only if we succeed in building a strong Party organization on the big "industrial" farms, among the agricultural workers, and also among the poor, small farmers, tenants, sharecroppers, etc.

The main task of the Party in its work in the countryside consists first of all in the organization of the agricultural workers in the Party and trade

unions, in organizing and leading strikes of these terribly exploited workers who play an important role in the development of the revolutionary agrarian movement.

The general task of the Farm Unit is about the same as that of other Units of the Party. The issues they deal with, however, are entirely different. Here the issues are mortgages, interest rates, high taxes, roads, schools, low prices of farm products, high railroad rates, relief, etc., problems which the Farm Unit must tackle. The Communist Party in the countryside is in the forefront in fighting for the interests of the exploited and poverty-stricken rural population, against the big landlords, commission houses, mortgage companies, farm implement trusts, grain trusts, railroad companies, milk trusts, banks, etc. In this fight, the masses of the countryside will inevitably come into conflict with the suppressive machinery of the bourgeoisie (city, state, federal government, National Guard, courts, etc.).

The Communist Party has to show to these vast masses the role of this whole suppressive set-up, the necessity of fighting against it, and the only road which leads out of the misery created for them by capitalism—the road to Soviet Power. In these fights, the poor rural population will learn through their own experiences and by the work of the Communist Party that their place is on the side of the proletariat.

We have to work untiringly in the existing farm organizations in order to isolate the rich farmers, to win the poor farmers, and sections of the middle farmers to the side of the workers, and at least to neutralize other sections of the middle farmers.

HOW IS A UNIT MEETING PREPARED?

The Unit Bureau on the basis of the general directives of the Party (Central, District or Section Committees), prepares the agenda and proposals for the Unit meeting, and the activity for the coming week. In other words, it adapts the general campaign of the Party to the given situation in the shop or territory.

The Unit Bureau presents these well-prepared proposals to the Unit membership meeting, with a thorough explanation by one member of the Unit Bureau.

Are the plans or policies presented by the Unit Bureaus binding on the membership? No. The membership discusses the report of the Unit Bureau and decides the policy or activity by a majority vote, accepting, amending, or rejecting the proposals of the Unit Bureau.

HOW SHOULD A UNIT AGENDA (ORDER OF BUSINESS) BE DRAWN UP?

The first point should always be a well-prepared discussion on a certain actual political problem. For example: The city administration wants to put through a sales tax. The reporter assigned by the Unit membership or Unit Bureau should be given sufficient time to prepare this report—the meaning of the sales tax, how it will affect the workers in general, and in the shop or territory where the Unit is working in particular. Then he gives concrete proposals as to how to mobilize the workers to fight against the sales-tax proposal. In order to have a more effective discussion in the Unit, it is necessary not only to assign one comrade to prepare the report, but also to supply material for all members of the Unit on the subject at least one week in advance. A well-organized, well-prepared discussion should not last longer than from one to one and a half hours.

The next point on the agenda should be the check-up of the assignments of the individual members. The Unit membership as a whole should always know not only whether a comrade carries out his assignment, but also should discuss the experiences of the individual comrades in carrying out assignments.

The next point should be the plan of activity for the next week, with a proper evaluation of the work of the past week. This point also takes care of the assignments of tasks to the individual comrades. In discussing this point the problem of recruiting must be raised. How many members were recruited, and by whom as a result of last week's activities, and how many and through what activities do we intend to recruit next week?

The next point could be the problems of the unions or mass organizations in which the Unit is working.

The next point should be the problem of the *Daily Worker* (distribution, correspondence, routes, building circulation, etc.).

Literature

Literature distribution is a basic part of every activity of the Unit. This question should therefore be taken up in connection with every item on the agenda. For example if the Unit prepares a political discussion for the next Unit meeting, the question of literature with which our comrades can properly prepare themselves must be brought up then and there. If the question is one of organizing a campaign of the party, work in the shops, trade unions, mass organizations, house-to-house canvassing, or a street or mass meeting, the distribution of suitable literature must receive its rightful place in the discussion of the problem and in the assignments given to the comrades. The check-up of the assignments of the individual members must also include a check-up on the method of selling the literature, how much was sold, how it was received by the workers, what questions they raised about our Party policy, and what further literature is needed in order to clarify these workers on the questions raised. In order to save time in the Unit meeting, the actual obtaining of the literature by the unit members for use in their assignments may be placed on the agenda just before the close of the meeting, but the mobilization and assignments on this work must be made in connection with every question on the agenda.

Dues Payments

The dues payment should take place before the meeting opens, as the comrades come in one by one to the meeting. A special period may be allowed during the meeting for dues payment if it is necessary. The Financial Secretary should report to every Unit Bureau meeting about the dues payment and the Unit Bureau should prepare a report on this problem at least once a month for the Unit membership meetings.

If the points on the agenda are well prepared, and the proposals are concrete, a Unit meeting could easily be finished in no more than two and a half hours.

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of starting the meeting on time, and not to wait for one or two comrades who may come a little later.

HOW OFTEN SHOULD THE UNIT MEET?

Only in exceptional cases, when it is impossible to bring together the members every week, should we make exceptions from the rule of one meeting per week for each Unit.

Every member of the Unit knows a week in advance where the next meeting will be held. Members who are not present at the meeting must be notified through the group system.

WHAT IS THE GROUP SYSTEM?

This is the division of the membership of the Unit into small groups on the basis of the residence of the members. For example: A Street Unit has a territory of a number of blocks or a small town. The Unit has 25 or 30 members living all over the small town or scattered over a number of blocks. The four or five comrades living nearest to each other are organized into one group, the next five or six comrades near to each other into another group. Thus we divide the unit into six to eight groups.

The best developed comrade in the group is the group captain or leader.

The group captain is not elected. He is appointed by the Unit Bureau.

What Is the Task of the Group Captain?

To keep his group together. To see to it that every member in his group attends Unit meetings. If one fails to appear he must find out the reason. He must collect dues from and bring assignments to those who cannot come to the Unit meeting.

Should the Unit Bureau Consist of the Group Captains?

No. The Unit Bureau consists of the best developed comrades in the Unit, even if they live in the same block or neighborhood and belong to the same group. The group leaders must be selected from among the members of the group. In case of a Unit Bureau consisting of three members, each of whom lives in a different part of the Unit territory, and belong to different groups, they may each be a leader of their group.

Have Groups Any Independent Function in the Unit?

No. They are organized for the purpose of keeping the membership together and making it easier quickly to mobilize the Party—and the mass organizations as well, through the Party members in them.

WHY ARE MEMBERS OVERBURDENED WITH WORK AND HOW CAN WE CHANGE THE SITUATION?

Generally in our Party Units the members work to such an extent that they have very little time for reading and recreation. The main reason for this overburdening of our members is that the details of every campaign, action, activity, are carried out by the Party members and Party members only. At the same time we have exceptional cases in some Units where certain members of the Party, because of their lack of understanding of the political problems, are not as active as the others, and the Unit is forced to throw more and more work on the other members of the Unit. To change this situation which in many cases results in losing members from the Party, we have to find ways and means of distributing the work equally, not only among Party members, but also among sympathizers around the Party Units in the shop or street.

If every Party member were assigned to persuade and enlist five or six workers in the shop or neighborhood to help him carry out his tasks, many burning organizational problems would be on the way to solution. This would bring us more results, more prospective Party members from among these active workers and would develop every Party member as an organizer for certain activities of the worker.

Why can't we, in canvassing houses for signatures in the election campaign or for selling literature or soliciting subs for the *Daily Worker*, or collecting money for the *Daily Worker*, or in some other campaign, draw in the sympathetic workers? Why shouldn't we give them responsibility if they are willing to take it? And they are. Why shouldn't we trust them with literature, *Daily Worker* money? Why shouldn't the Shop Units enlist sympathetic workers to help edit, print, finance and distribute the shop paper? The activities of the Party would be increased manifold. The burden now carried by the Party members would be distributed among more workers, leaving more time for study, reading, making friends, and carrying on personal agitation.

How Can the Street Units Utilize Members Active in Mass Organizations?

By exchanging the experiences of these comrades through regular discussions of their activities in the mass organizations at the Unit meeting. That means that members who belong to mass organizations must systematically report to the Unit Bureau or to the Unit meeting about their work: How they bring the various political campaigns of the Party into their mass organizations; about their experiences in recruiting members for the Party; in getting subs for the *Daily Worker*; in strengthening the influence of the Party by organizing and leading struggles of the members of the unions, Unemployment Councils, I. L. D., or other mass organizations.

If the Unit regularly hears the reports of these active members, the membership will learn from the experiences of these members: they will be helped to solve their own problems, while at the same time continuously checking on the activities of the members.

How Should We Involve These Members in the Work of the Unit in the Territory?

We must realize and recognize the fact that the work of the comrades in the mass organizations is very important. Therefore the Unit should not demand that they take Unit assignments in the same proportion as those members who are not active in the mass organizations. But we should expect all of these comrades to act as Communists in the territory where they live; make friends in their free time among their neighbors; surround themselves with sympathizers and in this way help the Unit get connections with more workers in the territory. An active member of a union or other mass organization cannot excuse his negligence or failure to act as a Communist in the house or territory where he lives.

WHAT ARE THE TASKS OF THE UNIT BUREAU?

To prepare proposals for activities, policy, etc. for the Unit meetings; to organize the membership to carry out the decisions of the Unit meeting; to control the carrying out of the decisions; to show the members of the Unit in the daily work how to carry out decisions, by participating, organizing and leading the workers in the daily struggles, in the campaigns, etc.; to see that the Unit members join and are active in unions and other mass organizations, and in their fractions; to see if the members are in good standing; to prepare all necessary information about the new applicants (recruits) for the Unit meeting; to build up systematically a financial income other than that from dues; to watch carefully the development of each member and train and promote promising ones—supplying them with proper literature, sending them to Party schools, proposing them for work in the commissions of the higher Party committees, etc.

HOW TO ORGANIZE THE MEMBERSHIP FOR CARRYING OUT DECISIONS

First of all every important decision must come only after a thorough discussion in the Unit. If the Unit members understand why certain steps must be taken by the Party, what the facts in a given situation are which demand the outlined policy, what the perspectives of the Party are regarding this action (what we intend to achieve) then the organization and mobilization of the members for the carrying out of the decision will be much easier.

But in assigning members to certain work, the Unit Bureau must know everything about the members; consideration must be given, among other things, to what union or mass organization this or that member belongs, what assignments or posts he has there, his (or her) personal life (housewife, children, etc.), ability, desire for certain tasks, how long in the Party, etc.

If we know the members, and the members know the problems and the tasks of the Unit, then the Unit Bureau will not have much trouble in organizing the work. This can be done in the following way: The Unit Bureau, in preparing the proposals for activities, also prepares proposals for the assignment of the individual members. The Bureau brings these proposals to the meeting, where the decision is made. The member, before a decision is made, has the right to express his opinion about his ability, or state reasons why he couldn't or shouldn't be assigned to the given work. But after the Unit meeting decides on the assignment, he must carry it out. In better functioning Units, where the Unit Bureau is thoroughly acquainted with the members, there is no necessity for discussion on the individual assignment. The Bureau makes the assignment and if the individual member asks to be excused for one reason or another and the Bureau does not agree to release him, only then is the question taken up at the meeting. We should always have in mind that the most disillusioning effect on the new member is created by constant squabbling about assignments. Short, decisive reports on the division of work which take into account the situation and ability of each individual member will change the situation.

HOW TO ENSURE THE CARRYING OUT OF DECISIONS

The decisions and assignments are to be registered at the Unit meeting. At every meeting of the Unit Bureau all the decisions and assignments should be examined, and those not carried out should be noted. The facts should be reported to the Unit meeting. In this report the Unit Bureau sharply states the facts about the activities of the individuals in question, opening discussion on those members who shirk work. The open criticism will help the members take assignments more seriously. The members must learn from these discussions one important organizational principle of our Party, namely, that each individual member has the responsibility to build the mass movement of the toiling masses; to build the Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat.

THE "DAILY WORKER"—THE MAIN INSTRUMENT OF THE UNITS FOR REACHING THE MASSES

One of the main and most important instruments of agitation and propaganda in the hands of the Party Units is the *Daily Worker*, the central organ of our Party. Those comrades who can influence the masses, who can win over the workers in one factory or a certain territory, have no chance of speaking per-

sonally and daily to the workers in thousands of factories, thousands of cities, thousands of streets. And even if these comrades do talk to the workers in a certain factory occasionally, they can deal with only one or two of the most burning questions. But the *Daily Worker*, the collective agitator and organizer of our Party and of the masses, speaks to its readers every day.

The best leaders of our Party speak to the workers through articles in the *Daily Worker*. The Central Committee speaks to the workers through editorials. Comrades in the unions, worker correspondents from the factories and towns, tell the stories of their fight against capitalism. If we hand the *Daily Worker* to a worker, we get him in daily touch with the leadership of our Party, with the Central Committee, with the best, most experienced Communists. Is there any better instrument than the *Daily Worker* for reaching and winning the masses? No, there is not. Therefore, selling the *Daily Worker* in the neighborhood, and at the factory gates, getting subscribers and worker correspondents for it, is one of the most important duties of the Party organization.

WHAT IS THE METHOD OF DISTRIBUTING THE DAILY WORKER?

The workers in the big factories can be reached by selling the *Daily Worker* to them at the gate or inside the factory.

In the neighborhood (Street or Town Unit) the most effective method of getting new subscribers and buyers for the *Daily Worker* is through canvassing the homes of the workers. In order to make the reader interested in the *Daily Worker* at the beginning, we should get stories (worker correspondence) from the factories, neighborhood, town or city where the workers live, into the *Daily*. The territory to be covered should be limited to a couple of blocks. The worker and his family should be visited and told that sample copies of the *Daily Worker* will be left with them for a limited time; that they should read it, and if they like it, they should subscribe. The *Daily Worker* and the visit and talk of the canvassing comrades will make a good impression even if the worker does not subscribe. There should be no Street Unit, Town Unit, or Shop Unit of the Party without a good number of *Daily Worker* readers in the shop or territory.

WHAT IS THE NEIGHBORHOOD PAPER?

The neighborhood paper is the official organ of the Street or Town Unit, edited, printed (mimeographed) distributed (sold) in the Unit territory under the leadership of the Unit by the Party members and by sympathizers. The neighborhood paper should have the same role in the smaller territory that the *Daily Worker* has nationally. It is the agitator and organizer of the Party, dealing with the concrete problems of the population in the Unit territory, agitating and propagandizing the workers for our program, and organizing them. Simple language, neat appearance and pictures are necessary to make the neighborhood paper popular.

We should strive to issue the paper as often as possible, and build around it a large circle of active supporters (correspondents, distributors, financial supporters, etc.). We should consider the development of neighborhood papers as of the greatest importance. If, for the last few years, we had been issuing a paper in the territory of each Street and Town Unit, we would have today thousands and thousands of little Party papers all over the country, a larger Party, and a wider circle of supporters. If each neighborhood paper would be read by only 200 or 300 people we would have close to a million workers closely connected with the Party.

We have to bear in mind that under more suppressive conditions, when the printing and shipping of the *Daily Worker* will be made much more difficult by the class enemy, we must have these hundreds of thousands of Party papers systematically placed in the hands of the workers.

OUR AGITATIONAL AND PROPAGANDA LITERATURE—THEORY TO THE MASSES

In order to educate our party membership and the masses with whom we come in contact in our work, to combat the lies of the bourgeois press, books, radio, movies, etc., to expose and defeat the theories of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, the Lovestoneite renegades, and all the social-fascist and fascist demagogues and other agents of the bourgeoisie, our Party membership should study and spread as widely as possible among the masses the teachings of the great leaders of the revolutionary movement, as well as our current

theoretical publications, and our agitational pamphlets on the everyday issues and problems which confront the masses.

The Party has made and is making available the most important works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in low-priced editions. There can be no sound revolutionary movement built without the distribution of this literature. This is why the importance of literature distribution is stressed so much by the Party.

The Communist, the theoretical organ of the Central Committee, and *The Communist International*, organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, should be read by all the Party members, and receive a broad sale among the masses. There should be no Party member who does not read the *Party Organizer*, the monthly organ of the Central Committee which takes up all the current organizational problems of the Party giving concrete experiences and directives to aid our Party members in their every-day work.

Besides the theoretical books, pamphlets and magazines, the Central Committee, District Committees, and in some places, the Section Committees issue pamphlets on vital, every-day problems facing the broad masses. These are called our agitational pamphlets because they deal with specific questions affecting the broadest masses. Effective mass work, bringing the highest degree of political and organizational results, cannot be conducted without the distribution of this literature. Our Party literature will help to clarify the minds of the workers on the problems which face them, and will help bring them nearer to our Party. Without the broadest distribution of our Party literature the influence which our Party gains in its campaigns may soon give way in the minds of the workers to the influences of the bourgeois press, radio, movies, etc. Through distribution of our Party literature we can consolidate our influence and recruit thousands of new members for our Party.

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE UNIT ORGANIZER?

The Unit Organizer should be the most able, most politically developed member of the Unit. He is the political leader of the Unit. His duties are as follows:

1. As a political leader he directs all the work of the Unit.
 - a. He prepares the material for the Unit Bureau (agenda, proposals for action, assignments, etc.)
 - b. Helps the Agit-Prop Director in preparing material for discussion in the Unit on political problems; on the policy of the Party; on resolutions of the higher committees.
 - c. He must react immediately to any issue that arises in the factory or in the territory. If there is no time to wait for the next Bureau meeting, he must call together the members of the Unit Bureau and decide with them what action must be taken. If it is not possible to call the Bureau together, he must take responsibility for the action and notify the individual Party members of their tasks. Taking responsibility for an action is especially important in a factory where the Unit Organizer faces great difficulties in calling meetings during working hours. In this case he acts independently, notifies the members and takes the responsibility at the next Unit meeting.
2. He is responsible for controlling the decisions of the Unit. He is the one who should carefully check on whether the assignments are carried out, and report his findings without hesitation to the Unit Bureau and the membership.
3. He sees to it that the group captains take care of their work.
4. He is responsible for developing new forces from the Unit.
5. He must be in constant touch with the Section Committee, to whom he reports on the activities of the Unit and from whom he receives directives. In order to be able to make proposals and formulate policies for the Unit, he must be an example to the members of the Unit of how a good Party member works among the masses.

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE AGIT-PROP DIRECTOR?

He is the comrade on the Unit Bureau who is responsible for the agitational and propaganda work of the Unit. His functions are:

1. To carry out the decisions of the Unit Bureau concerning discussions in the Unit, by gathering material for the reporter selected by the Unit Bureau

or membership meeting. He must also supply material for these discussions to the individual members of the Unit.

2. He is in charge of the Editorial Board of the shop paper or neighborhood paper. He is responsible for organizing open forums, workers' schools, etc., in the territory.

3. He is also responsible for agitation and propaganda work not only *inside* the Party, but among the non-Party workers.

Does this mean that all of these tasks should be taken care of by the Agit-Prop Director alone? Of course not! A good Agit-Prop Director should be able to pick comrades in the Unit who will help him carry out these tasks.

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY?

He takes care of all the financial problems of the Unit. He checks on members' dues payments and reports to the Unit Bureau regularly on who is falling behind in dues and attendance. He takes steps, through the group captains, to see that these members are visited. He organizes special financial income for the Unit from sympathizers, individual contributors, various kinds of social affairs. He should establish a fund for the Unit through these various activities, a fund which will enable the Unit to be able to extend its mass agitation among the workers in the shop or territory.

He is responsible for the membership list of the Unit. This task puts great responsibility on the shoulders of the Financial Secretary. He has to see to it that this list is safeguarded properly so that agents of the class enemy do not get hold of it. The Financial Secretary has under his leadership the entire technical and business activities of the Unit.

We have to emphasize that all these problems have very *important political significance*. The assignment or election of a comrade to this post *must always be considered from this point of view*.

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE UNIT DAILY WORKER AGENT?

The *Daily Worker* agent should be one of the best developed, most energetic members of the Unit. If he is not an elected member of the Unit Bureau, he should attend all Bureau meetings in order to make it possible for him to participate in making plans for the spreading of the *Daily Worker* in all activities of the Unit. The task of the Unit *Daily Worker* agent must be considered as an important political function. His tasks are:

1. To mobilize the membership of the Unit to sell the *Daily Worker* every day in the factory or in the territory.

2. To mobilize the sympathizers around the Unit and make them enthusiastic distributors of the *Daily Worker*.

3. He is responsible for organizing a group of *Daily Worker* Builders from among the members of the Unit and sympathizers of the Party in the shop or territory where the Unit is operating.

4. He should check up whether the individual members are getting new readers for the *Daily Worker* in the unions or other mass organizations where they belong.

5. He has the duty of seeing whether the members of the Unit read the *Daily Worker* every day.

6. He should see to it that the experiences of the individual members in selling the *Daily Worker* should be discussed from time to time at Unit meetings and in that way improve the method of work in this respect.

WHAT ARE THE TASKS OF THE UNIT LITERATURE DIRECTOR?

The Unit Literature Director is not merely an "agent" or "salesman" who sells literature to the Party members at the Unit meeting, or who covers street and mass meetings for the sale of literature among the workers; neither is his task merely one of being a "go-between" bringing literature from Section Literature Department to the Unit meetings. Much of this work he must also do, but his tasks have a much broader aspect which we enumerate below:

1. To work in close collaboration with the Unit Bureau and the Unit Agit-Prop Director in planning the distribution of literature (what, where, when, how, how much, by whom).

2. To familiarize himself with our literature and be prepared to convince the Party members of the importance of reading and distributing each piece of literature.

3. To prepare the necessary literature at least a week beforehand for political discussion in the Units, and see to it that the Unit membership obtains same.

4. To check up and control that each Party member shall take out and sell literature in connection with his or her assignment, and establish regular distribution in his or her shop, trade union, or mass organization. To urge each member to mobilize workers and sympathizers to do likewise, and wherever possible establish a literature table or department officially in their organization. To mobilize also for sale of literature outside the shops particularly those in which we have no definite contact, at meetings of trade unions under reactionary leadership where we may not have organized contact inside, at opponent mass meetings, and at meetings of bourgeois-controlled fraternal, cultural, and religious organizations.

5. To check up and report on the reactions of workers to our literature and what literature is needed for their further clarification, and to become familiar with the conditions in the shops, organizations, neighborhoods, etc., and around what issues struggles could be developed and literature distributed. To see to it that all valuable experiences, particularly in distribution of literature inside the shops and trade unions are written up for the Party press or district literature bulletin.

6. To take the initiative in organizing collections, raffles, etc., at Unit meetings and affairs through which funds can be raised for the building of a Unit library of our basic theoretical books.

7. To keep a strict account of the Unit literature funds; see to it that all literature is paid for promptly by the Unit members, and that all bills for literature are paid promptly and exactly to the Section each week.

THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIT LEADERSHIP

The resolutions and decisions of the Communist International, and the Central, District and Section Committees will remain on paper unless we have in the Units well-functioning, developed leadership which is able to mobilize the membership for carrying out these decisions. This mobilization will be successful only if the Unit leadership (Unit Bureau) is capable of clarifying all decisions to the membership. Only through political understanding can the membership be activated to apply the decisions of the Party committees in their daily work among the masses. We should always remember the emphasis stressed by the *Open Letter* in discussing this question:

"The center of gravity of Party work must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, the factory nuclei, local organizations, and street nuclei." (*Open Letter*, pp. 20-21.)

In order to carry out this directive of the *Open Letter* we must strengthen and develop the leadership of the lower organizations. The main link of the masses to the Party is the Unit. If this link is faulty, if some of the links of the whole chain of Party organization do not function properly, the Party will have either very weak or no connections with the masses. In order to strengthen this link we must have a strong leadership (Unit Bureau).

FLUCTUATION IN UNIT LEADERSHIP

The Unit Bureau is the leader of the Party and the masses among which the Unit operates. In order to have a strong, able leadership in the factory or in the neighborhood, we must elect the most able, capable comrades to the Unit Bureaus—comrades who grew up in the Party in struggles and who have been trained for leadership. To change the leadership in the Unit frequently is a sign of insufficient understanding of the role of the Unit Bureau. Many Party Units in our Party fail to develop mass activity, fail in influencing broad strata of the workers in the shop or neighborhood where they are operating because they change their leadership (Unit Bureau) too often. There should be a rule in the Unit that no Unit leader should be changed unless he is proved to be incapable of leading the Unit, or if he has developed so well that his promotion to a higher Party committee is on the order of the day. But even in that case, no comrade should be changed unless another comrade who is well developed can take his place. Stability in the Unit leadership is as important as it is in the Section, District, or Center.

The basis of electing any functionary in the Party is precisely defined in the *Open Letter*:

"Every Party member and especially every Party functionary must be a real organizer of mass struggles in his particular sphere of work. From this standpoint the Party must judge the activity of its functionaries and must choose its leading bodies." (*Open Letter*, p. 23.)

THE SECTION COMMITTEE

Whether the Party Units fulfill their tasks among the masses depends to a great extent on a well-functioning Section Committee. The daily guidance of the Unit Bureaus, especially of the Shop Units, is one of the principal tasks of the Section Committees. This should be achieved mainly through personal contact between the Section Committees and the Unit Bureaus. While the organizational letter can give general guidance to the work of the Units, it alone is not sufficient to develop the Unit Bureaus; in many cases it curbs the initiative of the Units. A Section Committee should use the following method of giving leadership to the Units:

1. Regular meetings of the various Unit functionaries should be held where, besides discussing politically the most outstanding tasks of the coming week, a well-prepared discussion is conducted on basic organizational and political problems of the Party. These discussions should take the form of a regular class where the role and organizational principles of the Party are studied. Through these weekly meetings we can develop, strengthen and stabilize the leadership in the Units.

2. The Section Committees should discuss the work of one of the Units at each meeting. This point should be prepared very carefully in conjunction with the Bureau of that Unit. The Section Committee, discussing the problem of the given Unit, gives concrete suggestions, proposals to correct mistakes and to overcome weaknesses.

SECTION ORGANIZER

The Section Organizer is the political leader of the Section, and is responsible for the entire Section. He is the leader not only of the Party organization in the territory of the Section, but also must be or become a leader of the masses in the territory where the Section is operating. In order to be able to give leadership to the Party and to the masses, the Section Organizer must be in daily touch with the problems of the workers. He should be a member of the local union of his trade. In this way he strives to become the leader of the organized workers in that trade union. The Section Organizer has the task of preparing the agenda for the Section Bureau and Section Committee meetings, and he sees to it that the decisions adopted at these meetings are carried out by the Units of the Section. In order to be able to carry out this big task, other members of the Section Committee are made responsible for the various fields of activity of the Party. But the Section Organizer is responsible to the Section Committee also for the activity of these comrades. The work in the Section Committee is divided among the members of the Section Committee, around whom are built up the various commissions. In the Section Committees we have the following leading functionaries: Organizational Secretary, Agitational-Propaganda Director, head of Trade Union Commission, head of *Daily Worker* Committee, head of the Literature Committee, Financial Secretary, head of the Membership Committee.

INITIATIVE OF THE UNITS AND SECTIONS

From the foregoing we see how the Party is connected organizationally with the workers and their mass organizations. Let us sum up very briefly: The basic link between the Party and the decisive strata of the working class are the Units in the industries; the Street, Town, and Farm Units in the territory and the fractions, particularly in the unions but also in other mass organizations.

These organizations are the ones through which the Party leads the masses in the place of employment, or organization, and where they live. On the efficiency, independence, and initiative of these Party organizations depend the ability of the Party to lead the masses in the daily struggle against the bosses and for final victory.

In the statutes of the Communist Parties of the Communist International, we find the following point: All Party organizations may decide on local questions independently insofar as these decisions do not conflict with any decision of the higher Party organizations.

The problem is how are we to equip our units and Sections to function independently? How can we develop the initiative of these organizations to such an extent that they won't wait for directives from the higher bodies as they too often do now, but develop their own campaigns, react to every issue in their shop or territory? Naturally, these actions will always be based on the general policy or campaigns of the Party.

Why is it so important to develop the initiative of the lower organizations? In answering this question, we have to remember one very important fact. The Units are the organizations which are in direct touch with the masses. The Units are the leaders of the workers in the factories, neighborhoods, etc. In order to be able to give correct leadership to these workers, the Unit must raise slogans which fit the given situation. But the concrete issues are often quite different in each factory or neighborhood. The Unit, with its members among the masses, can react quickly on these issues. If we wait until the news about a wage cut or worsening of conditions reaches the Section, and is then transmitted to the Units, the issue will have become useless in many cases, or there is a danger that the workers will already be following the leadership of some reformist. Waiting for instructions will not make a Unit the leader of the masses. Too many decisive "moments" have been lost in this way.

In the Units where there is real initiative there will be constant development of the individual members. They will continuously discuss problems and study the line of the Party in order to be able to apply it to the given situation.

Proper Leadership Develops Initiative

The "independence" and "initiative" of the Unit must not be interpreted to mean that they have nothing to do with the higher committees of the Party. The Section, District and Central Committees, by the principle of democratic centralism, on which our Party structure and procedure are based, always have the right to approve or disapprove any decision of the lower organizations.

The initiative of the Units develops precisely because the proper leadership is given by the higher Party committees.

What are the best methods of developing the initiative of the Units? First of all, the personal guidance given by the Party committees, through representatives, or instructors, who work with the Unit for some time. These representatives or instructors assigned to a Unit participate in all activities of the Unit and not only help prepare proposals for actions, but take part in carrying out the decisions.

There is one more very important reason for hastening the process of developing the initiative of the Units to the highest degree. In a comparatively "peaceful" period, when the Party has the possibilities of working openly, the Units can come for advice to the Section or District headquarters. But in a situation when it may not be possible to have open headquarters, when it will be quite difficult to get in touch with the Section Committee quickly, the Unit will *have* to work independently. If we neglect to develop the initiative of the Units today, the work of the Party would be hampered in illegal conditions.

WHAT ARE THE COMMISSIONS IN THE SECTION, DISTRICT, AND CENTRAL COMMITTEES

The Commissions are the instruments in the hands of the respective Party Committees for the purpose of carrying out the work more effectively.

1. The role of the Commissions is to prepare material for the Committees in their respective field of work.

2. They are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Party Committee in their field of work and to see to it that the decisions made in the Committees are carried out by the lower organization.

These Commissions have no right to make decisions on general policies of the Party, but they have the right to make decisions in the process of carrying out the policy of the respective Party Committees. For example: The Section Committee decides that steps must be taken to stop membership fluctuation in the Units. The Organization Department, in carrying out this decision, examines a number of Units, finds out the basic weaknesses and in this way gathers material for a thorough campaign for stopping fluctuation. In the process of the examination the Organization Department makes decisions about the composition of the Commission and the method of work of this Commission which carries on the investigation.

The head of the Commission should be a member of the Party committee. The members of the Commissions are appointed by the Party committee from the best qualified members of the Party organization, not necessarily members of the Party committee. It is advisable to draw in as many comrades from the lower organizations into these Commissions as possible in order to develop them for more responsible work.

WHAT COMMISSIONS DO WE HAVE IN THE PARTY COMMITTEE?

1. Organizational Commission (Org. Commission),
2. Agitation and Propaganda Commission (Agit-Prop),
3. Trade Union Commission,
4. Negro Commission,
5. Women's Commission,
6. Agrarian Commission.

The other phases of activity (*Daily Worker*, Literature, Finances, etc.) are taken care of by one or the other of these Commissions.

WHAT IS THE TASK OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL COMMISSION IN THE SECTION OR DISTRICT?

1. To explain and popularize the Organizational decisions of the Conventions, Conferences (Communist International, Central Committee, District or Section Committee), and see to it that these decisions are carried out.

2. To prepare Org. Directives, outlines for the Party Committee, for all fields of organizational work in connection with the various campaigns of the Party (elections, May First, anti-war, anti-fascism, recruiting, *Daily Worker*, etc.).

3. To control and check upon whether the decisions of the Party Committees are carried out (control tasks).

4. To exchange the organizational experiences of the Party organizations through articles in the *Party Organizer*, "Party Life" column in the *Daily Worker*, special Organizational Bulletins, functionaries' meetings.

5. To watch and control constantly the composition of the Party and take the necessary steps if there is any danger of unstable non-proletarian elements attaining too great numerical and political influence.

6. To check on whether members have joined the unions in their industry.

7. To watch and check fluctuation (turn-over in membership).

8. To promote recruiting.

9. To give special guidance and assistance to the Factory Units.

10. To report systematically to the higher committees about dues, recruiting, Factory Units, shop papers, Fractions, etc.

11. To follow up systematically the behavior and development of the functionaries in the Party, and to promote new cadres.

12. To help the lower organizations through instructors.

13. To organize the Fractions in the mass organizations and see that they function.

HOW SHOULD THE ORGANIZATIONAL COMMISSION WORK?

Through personal contact with the lower organizations. Members of the Org. Commission should train instructors to help maintain this contact. These instructors, while helping the lower organizations in their daily work, at the same time bring problems up to the higher committees, problems which have not been solved in the lower organizations of the Party. These problems, after thorough discussion, should be written about in the *Party Organizer*, "Party Life" column, etc., in this way giving the experiences of one organization to the whole party. The Org. Commission should also use the method of bringing together promising comrades from the Units to classes, where they can be developed into new organizational forces for the Party.

THE TRADE UNION COMMISSION AND ITS TASKS

There is no need to emphasize again how important and vital it is to work in the A. F. of L. and other unions. This work must occupy one of the most predominant places in the work of all Party Committees. In order to be able to pay daily attention to all trade union problems, each Party committee should organize a special Commission for this work. Its duties are:

On problems which will be decided by the general membership meeting of the organization, the Fraction of this organization must take a stand. Every individual member of the Fraction must carry out the decisions of the Fraction at the membership meeting whether he agrees with it or not. At the present period it is especially important to organize the Fractions and make them work correctly in the A. F. of L. unions.

The Units and the Party committees must take the responsibility for this basic task of the Party. The decisions that every Party member who is eligible should belong to a union and function there as a member of the organized Fraction must be carried out in the shortest possible time. It must be emphasized that without good working Fractions, revolutionary mass work is impossible.

HOW DOES THE FRACTION FUNCTION?

The Party Fraction in a union or a branch of another mass organization meets regularly before the meeting of this organization. At this meeting the members of the Party Fraction discuss and decide how to apply the policy of the Party in the organization; how to introduce the Party campaigns; how to recruit new Party members from the union; how to get new readers for the *Daily Worker*; and what things can be done to improve the conditions of the members of the organization. On the various questions, the decisions are made by vote. The minority must help to carry out the decisions. No Party member has the right to speak or act in the union or other mass organization against the decisions of the Fraction. The Party members must always act as a solid unit in the union or other mass organization. Workers look upon the Party as a disciplined body. If they should see that the Party members come to a meeting with different opinions on certain questions they will lose confidence in the ability of our Party to give them leadership. They will inevitably raise the question: "How can the Party claim to be a disciplined organizational leader of the masses if they cannot unite their own members on certain issues?"

If certain members of the Fraction do not agree with the decision of the majority, they can bring the problem to the Party committee and ask for a discussion, but this appeal cannot keep back the minority from carrying out the decision if the mass organization meeting happens to take place before the Party committee can act on this appeal.

What Is the Function of the Fraction Secretary

The members of a Fraction elect one comrade as Secretary. His work is as follows:

1. He maintains connections between the Party committee and Fraction.
2. He is personally responsible to the Party committee for the proper functioning of the Fraction.
3. He checks up and sees to it that the Party members function in the Fraction.
4. He watches the behavior of the Party members in the mass organization.
5. He sees to it that the campaigns are brought into the mass organization (election campaign, May First, anti-fascism, anti-war, recruiting, *Daily Worker*, etc.).

IV. PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND CADRES

Continuous daily recruiting is the basic task of every Unit and each individual member of the Party. In the daily struggles of the workers in the factories and the neighborhood, the Unit must conscientiously develop its recruiting activities, getting into the Party the best fighters in these struggles.

WHOM TO RECRUIT

Emphasis in the daily recruiting must always be placed on the basic proletarian elements, especially those from the big factories. Special efforts must be made to get the native-born workers and Negroes into the Party. The necessity of recruiting women workers must also be emphasized because of the strategic position the women workers have in many industries. Besides this we shall never lose sight of the fact that during war the Communist women will play an important role in organizing and leading the workers in their revolutionary struggles.

The best method of getting new members into the Party is to place individual responsibility for recruiting on the Unit members. Each individual Party member has friends in the factory where he works, in the union of which he is a member, in the neighborhood where he lives. Each individual Party member has the Communist duty of convincing these friends of his of the correctness of the program of the C. I. and of the Communist Party, and in this way, recruiting them into the Party. It is understood that the individual Party members must pay special attention to those workers who prove to be fearless fighters on the picket line, in the unemployed struggles. The necessity for individual responsibility of each Party member in recruiting new members into the Party and in helping and guiding them after they join the Party cannot be over-emphasized.

While we have to bring into the Party tens of thousands of workers in order to build a real mass Party of the American proletariat, we must bear in mind always that our Party must be composed of the most courageous, most developed, most self-sacrificing elements of our class—the working class. That means that, in recruiting members, we must pay special attention not only to the quantity but also to the quality of the new recruits.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

Any person from the age of eighteen up, who accepts the program and statutes of the C. I., and the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

If a worker who is less than 18 years of age wants to join the Party, and there is no Young Communist League in the town or factory, the Party Unit has the right to accept him into the Unit, get him a book and permit him to remain of the Party Unit until, with the help of the Party Unit, he is able to build up a Unit of the Y. C. L.

WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

The conditions for membership in our Party are contained in the following pledge read by Comrade Browder to 2,000 workers who were initiated into the Party in the New York District in 1935.

"I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the Party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggle against fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparingly in the unions, in the shops, among the unemployed, to lead the struggles for the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim-Crowism and lynching, against the chauvinist lies of the ruling class. I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet Power in the United States."

Our Party application carries this declaration:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the C.I. and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

On the basis of this declaration we could enumerate the conditions for membership in the Party in the following way:

1. Activity in a unit;
2. Regular payment of membership dues;
3. Adherence to all decisions of the Comintern and of the Party;
4. Adherence to the discipline of the Party.

WHO DECIDES WHETHER A MEMBER SHOULD BE ACCEPTED INTO THE PARTY?

1. The membership meeting of the Unit into which the new member is recruited.

2. The application of a factory worker who works where a Shop Unit exists must be acted on by *that* Shop Unit, no matter where and by whom the worker is recruited (fractions, members of other Street or Shop Units).

In case the new member is not recruited from the shop or from the territory of the Unit, his application should be acted upon by the Unit to which the endorser belongs. The member who brings the application for acceptance to his Unit takes full responsibility for the new member.

The same procedure should be followed in cases where the new members are recruited by the fractions or members of fractions in unions or other mass organizations. The individual Party member who recruits the new member brings the application card to his own Unit. The Unit acts on the application, holding the endorser responsible for the new Party member.

WHERE SHALL THE NEW MEMBER BE ASSIGNED?

1. To the Shop Unit in his place of work.
2. If there is no Shop Unit where he works, he should be assigned to the Street Unit where he lives. If the new member wishes, he may be assigned to the Street Unit of the comrade who recruited him.

MEMBERSHIP DUES

According to the Constitution of our Party, the individual Party members pay their dues weekly on the following basis:

1. Members receiving weekly wages of \$15 or less (including housewives) pay 10 cents dues weekly.
2. Members receiving weekly wages of over \$15 and up to \$25 pay 25 cents dues weekly.
3. Members receiving over \$25 and up to \$30 pay 50 cents dues weekly.
4. Members receiving over \$30 and up to \$40 pay 75 cents dues weekly.
5. Members receiving over \$40 and up to \$50 pay \$1.00 dues weekly.
6. Members receiving over \$50 per week pay, in addition to their regular \$1.00 weekly dues, additional dues (special tax) at the rate of 50 cents for each \$5.00 (or fraction) of their weekly earnings above \$50.
7. Members who are unemployed pay two cents dues weekly.

Distribution of Dues

Dues paid by the individual members are divided among the Party organizations in the following proportion: the Unit retains 40 per cent of the amount collected from every individual member; 15 per cent goes to the Section; 15 per cent to the District and 30 per cent to the Center, of which amount one-third is for the special national trade-union fund. For example, the unit pays 60 cents to the Section for a \$1.00 dues stamp; the Section pays 45 cents to the District; and the District pays 30 cents to the Center, out of which 10 cents goes for the national trade-union fund.

As we see from the division of dues payments, the largest proportion remains in the Unit—40 per cent. The Eighth National Convention of our Party made this decision in order to enable the Party Units to intensify their agitation and propaganda among the masses. This amount was intended to be used for producing more leaflets, shop papers, neighborhood papers, etc. All tendencies to use this money for other purposes should be fought by the Party Units.

Special Assessments

No Unit, Section or District has the right to assess the membership without the permission of the Central Committee. Special assessment may be levied by the National Convention or the C. C. of the Communist Party. If such a decision is made by any of these bodies, no member shall be considered in good standing unless he has such special assessment stamp in his book.

Members who are four weeks in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members in good standing of the Party. Members who are three months in arrears shall be dropped from the rolls after all possible means to avoid this are exhausted. No member of the Party shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than six weeks. Exceptions can be made for such comrades who secure a leave of absence from the Party for a longer period.

TRANSFERS

If a member of the Party moves from one place to another, he must secure a transfer from the Party organization before he moves. No Party member has the right to leave his Unit without permission. The Units must not accept any member without a transfer. A transfer card must be secured from the Section

Committee in order to transfer from one Unit to another in the same Section; from one Section to another in the same District, the transfer is issued by the District Committee; from one District to another, the Central Committee issues the transfer; from the Communist Party of the U. S. A. to a Communist Party in another country, the Central Committee issues the transfer.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

The members of the Party can secure permission for a leave of absence in case of sickness or necessity for travel from the Party Unit or committees. If a member leaves the Party Unit without permission, his case will be handled in a disciplinary way.

FORCES—CADRES

One of the main conditions for developing the initiative of the Units is the systematic development of *forces, cadres, leadership*. We must realize that without good leadership in the Units and Sections the Party cannot function properly. We must have in each Unit of our Party a core of comrades who are politically developed, capable of making, quickly and boldly, responsible decisions in the most intricate situation—comrades who are experienced, steeled, stable, who will not be weakened under any circumstances, who will follow the line of the Party.

Where are these forces trained? They are trained in militant actions of the masses. These militant, courageous members are our future leading forces. We must help them, encourage them, school them in action, teach them in training schools, persuade them to study and read fundamental Marxist-Leninist classics. We need thousands upon thousands of such forces, in order to be able to give leadership to the Leftward moving masses.

There are other important problems to be considered in connection with the question of forces:

First, the development and proper utilization of the old and new forces. We have spoken already about the necessity of developing forces, about building up a mighty force of new cadres. This is done in our Party by the following methods:

1. Conference of functionaries, where discussions about basic problems help to develop our cadres;
2. Regular meetings of Unit and Section functionaries, where the decisions of the Party committees are clarified through discussion;
3. Workers' schools;
4. Section schools;
5. District schools;
6. National schools;
7. Study circles composed of promising comrades;
8. Individual study with the help of a more developed comrade.

It should be emphasized that in discussing the question of training forces, we have in mind not only the new forces, but also the old forces who need further training, and in some cases re-education.

The Party, in selecting the members for further training, examines the comrade for the qualifications needed for leadership—not only reliability, loyalty, capacity for development, but also whether he is a mass worker, or capable of being one. Our Party emphasizes the need of American, proletarian elements, the need of Negroes and women in the leadership.

Party Must Know Its Forces

The Party leadership must know its forces, must be able to assign each one to the place where he is most suitable and most needed.

Comrade Lenin, dealing with the problem of the proper utilization of forces, gives a splendid example. To enable the Party leadership,

“. . . not only to advise (as this has been done until now), but really conduct the orchestra, one must know exactly who is playing first or second fiddle, and where, what instrument he was taught, where and how, where and why he plays out of tune (when the music begins to be trying to the ear), and what changes should be made in the orchestra so as to remedy the dissonance. . . .”

The systematic control of the carrying out of decisions and the proper application of Bolshevik self-criticism, will help the Units and Sections to discover who is occupying a position which suits him, and who is in the wrong place, or who has no business to have any responsible position in the Party. We must know our forces. We must know who we can rely on, who can and who cannot, who will and who will not carry out decisions.

The second problem is the continuous control of the existing forces. We are conducting today, and will lead on a much larger scale tomorrow, mighty battles. In these struggles we are in the forefront. The fighting masses follow us, because they have confidence in the Party, because the Communists are brave, self-sacrificing. But if the workers see that one of the Communist leaders is a coward, or unable to lead them, this will have serious consequences. We cannot have in our leadership members who cannot stand up before the class enemy, who get panicky, who lose their heads in a serious situation. We must know whom we can trust under any circumstances, who will be shaken.

Comrade Stalin in his speech in 1929 in the American Commission, said:

"The struggle for the winning of the millions of the working masses to the side of Communism must be intensified. The fight must be intensified for the forging of real revolutionary Party cadres and for the selection of real revolutionary leaders of the Party, of individuals capable of entering the fight and bringing the proletariat with them, individuals who will not run before the face of storm and will not fall into panic, but will sail into the face of the storm. But in order to carry out this task, it is necessary at once, without the loss of a single moment, for time does not wait, to set about cleaning the Communist Parties of Right and conciliatory elements, who objectively represent the agency of Social-Democracy within the ranks of the Communist Party. And we must set about this matter, not at the usual pace, but at an accelerated pace, for, I repeat, time does not wait, and we must not allow events to catch us unawares." *Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party* (p. 34).

What Kind of Forces Do We Need Most Now?

We need proletarian forces who grow up from the masses, who are popular leaders of their fellow workers in a shop, union, block, town, or farm community, forces who are in close contact with the masses and reflect the feelings of the proletariat, who can best bring into life the correct fighting slogans of the Party. We need forces, first of all, from the native-born workers, from among the Negro proletariat, from among the women workers. The basic forces of the Party should come from the big factories. These members should be drawn into leadership, preparing them in the process of Party work for the actual carrying out of Party tasks, training them politically also. One of the main conditions of becoming a real mass Party, leading the revolutionary struggles of the American proletariat, is that the Party basically be made up of native American workers, and that its cadres consist of native American revolutionists.

WHO ARE THE PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONISTS?

Comrade Lenin in his writings always stressed the necessity of developing a core of comrades from among the best, tested mass leaders, to such a point that they would be able to serve the proletariat as trained, skilled revolutionary leaders. There is a misconception in the ranks of the Party as to what a professional revolutionist, in the Leninist sense, is. Some are of the opinion that a professional revolutionist is a comrade whom the Party takes out of the factory and assigns as full-time functionary; in other words, that the Party organization (Section—District—Center) supports him while he spends all his time on Party work. This notion is wrong.

A professional revolutionist is a highly developed comrade, trained in revolutionary theory and practice, tested in struggles, who gives his whole life to the fight for the interests of his own class. A professional revolutionist is ready to go whenever and wherever the Party sends him. Today he may be working in a mine, organizing the Party, the trade unions, leading struggles; tomorrow, if the Party so decides, he may be in a steel mill; the day after tomorrow, he may be a leader and organizer of the unemployed. Naturally, these professional revolutionists are supported by the Party organization if their assignment doesn't send them to work in shops or mines. From these comrades the Party demands everything. They accept Party assignments—the matter of family associations and other personal problems are considered, but are not decisive. If the class struggle demands it, he will leave his family for months, even years. The professional revolutionist cannot be demoralized; he is steeled, stable. Nothing can shake him. Our task is to make every Party member a professional revolutionist in this sense.

COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND WORK

Collective leadership is composed of two inseparable parts:

1. All decisions of a Unit or Party Committee are made by the whole body and not by one or two members of that body.
2. Each member of the Unit or Committee is individually responsible for carrying out *not only the decisions concerning himself, but of the Unit or Committee.*

If one of the two conditions is missing, we are faced with the problem of bureaucracy or looseness in the organization. If the members of an elected committee do not participate in hammering out (discussing) the steps to be taken by them, but only the organizer or another functionary makes the decision, the carrying out of this decision will be mechanical. On the other hand, if the members are not held individually responsible for carrying out the decisions made collectively, the leadership will be narrowed down to one or two members of the Unit. The proper Bolshevik method of working collectively is the following:

The organizer or another functionary of the Unit or Party committee prepares the proposals and distributes them among the members of the Unit Bureau or committee at least one day before the meeting. The members come to the meeting well prepared for discussion, bringing additional proposals or amendments. These proposals are thoroughly discussed and the final decision is worked out together.

It is not sufficient to adopt the plan of work: *to lay down the line.* This must be accompanied by the assignment of the tasks to the individual members. While the organizer is responsible for checking whether the assigned comrades carry out their tasks, at the same time each member of the Committee and Unit must feel the responsibility and must fight for the carrying out of the decisions.

In order to make it possible to divide the responsibility among the members of the Party Committees, the individual members of the Committee are assigned to be responsible for the various phases of the work of the Committee. Besides the organizer of a Section or District who is actually the political leader of the organization, we assign members of the Committee to be responsible for organizational work, agitational and propaganda work, trade union work, work among Negroes, work among women, work among youth, *Daily Worker* distribution, literature distribution, finances, etc. These comrades assigned to the various phases of the work are helped by a number of developed comrades who form a commission around them.

V. Rules and Methods for Disciplinary Cases

Party discipline would remain an empty phrase if the Party constitution did not provide for necessary measures against those who break it. Breaches of Party discipline by individual members, such as financial irregularities, conduct or action harmful to the prestige and influence of the Party among the masses, failure to carry out decisions especially during strikes, etc., may be punished by (1) censure; (2) public censure; (3) removal from committees; (4) removal from all responsible work; (5) expulsion from the Party.

There is no such disciplinary measure in our Party as suspension or probation. For example, if a member commits an offense against the Party for which removal from his responsible post is not sufficient punishment, but where there is reason to believe he can be corrected, the Party can decide that he is to be expelled from the Party with the right to apply for membership in a certain period of time (six months—one year). The person is not considered a Party member during the period of his expulsion. In order to be able to judge his attitude at the end of the period, the Party, in deciding on his expulsion, also decides on the work to which he is to be assigned to test his ability and willingness to follow the line and instructions of the Party. If the expelled member proves to be sincere, honest and revolutionary and corrects the faults for which he was expelled, the Party will consider his application for membership at the end of the disciplinary period—and in some special cases before.

Who Has the Right To Prefer Charges?

Charges against individual members may be made either in the Units of the Party, or in any Party committee by any individual Party member, or any Unit or Party committee.

Charges made by one member against another, as a rule, should be made in writing, but the Party unit or any Party Committee may take up a case for investigation, even without definite charges. A member must submit to examination by any Party body even when no definite charges are communicated to him. Loose spreading of charges or rumors from one member to another is not permitted in our Party. All charges and suspicions must be taken up only with the Party unit or the proper Party Committee, and are to be acted upon promptly. Those questioned in the course of the investigation or hearing should be warned against loose talking about the case outside.

Who Has the Right To Make Decisions on Charges?

Decisions on charges may be made by any of the following organizations: Unit membership meeting, Section Bureau or Section Committee, District Bureau or District Committee, Political Bureau of the Central Committee, or Central Committee. These Party bodies have the right to decide on any of the disciplinary measures to be taken against Party members.

Street or shop units of the Party have the right to take disciplinary action up to and including expulsion against any of their members, not exempting members or functionaries who are members of higher committees.

A Section Committee has the right to act against any member in its section. At the same time it may refer the case to the unit which the accused member belongs.

A District Committee has the right to act against any member in its district, or it may refer the case to the respective section or unit, if it finds it necessary to do so.

The Central Committee of the Party has the right to take disciplinary action against any member of the Party, or to refer the case to the district, section or unit to which the accused member belongs.

Expulsion decisions of the units require the approval of the respective Section Committee, and must be approved also by the District Bureau or District Committee. No expulsion or readmission of previously expelled members can take effect without the approval or direct decision of the respective District Bureau or District Committee. An expulsion decision passed by the District Committee is final, except in cases of District Committee members themselves, and in cases of appeals to the Central Committee when the final decision rests with the Central Committee.

Expulsion decisions of units and of Section Committees must be promptly reported to the district for approval, together with materials of the investigation and findings. The member against whom the expulsion decision has been made should be immediately notified and disconnected from unit and fraction. It should be definitely understood however that the final action on the expulsion, which must be obtained quickly, rests with the District.

Hearings and Appeals

Every accused member has the right to a hearing before any disciplinary action can be taken against him. The main thing in the examination is to establish the essential facts in each case and to give an opportunity to the accused member to present his side with his witnesses and documents.

Every member against whom any disciplinary action has been taken has the right to appeal to a higher Party committee. The appeal, however, does not interfere with the carrying out of the decision. The decision has to be carried out and remains in force until the appeal is acted upon by the higher committee.

It must be emphasized that judgment of the seriousness of violations of Party discipline must be based on the question of fulfilling and carrying out the basic political and organizational directives of the Party Unit or the higher Party committees. Action taken against an individual member, or Party committee, must never be mechanical. The action must be explained to the Party membership and also to the masses if the issues involved are so serious that it is necessary to destroy any confidence non-Party workers may have had in the expelled member and to make the reasons for the Party action clear.

What is the Disciplinary Committee in the Districts?

A subcommittee of the District Committee has the task of gathering material on the disciplinary cases for the District Committee. The Disciplinary Committee receiving the charges from the District Bureau against a member conducts the investigation on the case, calls witnesses and examines the member who is up on charges. After proper examination, the Disciplinary Committee formulates its recommendation on the case and presents it to the District Committee or Bureau and this body makes the decision. The Disciplinary Committee has no right to make a decision. The members of the Disciplinary Committee are appointed by the District Committee.

Is There Any Disciplinary Committee in the Section or Unit?

No. Disciplinary cases are handled by the Section Committee proper or the Section Bureau or the Unit membership. The Unit or Section Committee, however, can appoint a small committee to investigate a given case and report to the body. But this committee is not permanent. After the case is investigated the committee is dissolved.

HOW SHALL WE SAFEGUARD THE PARTY ORGANIZATION AGAINST STOOL-PIGEONS AND SPIES?

The working class is constantly at war with its enemy, the capitalist class, in this war (class struggle), as in any other war, the capitalist class has one main objective—to defeat its enemy, the working class. In order to achieve this aim, the capitalists use all possible methods to disorganize, demoralize and divide the ranks of the proletariat. One of the most effective weapons in the hands of the enemy is the agent-provocateur, the stool-pigeon, the spy in the ranks of the working class, and especially in the ranks of the vanguard of the proletariat—the Communist Party.

The activities of these human rats can be listed as follows:

1. Agents-provocateurs are planted in the Party either by the police department, Department of Justice, "patriotic" organizations, or counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, with the aim of disrupting the work of the Party organizations. The methods they use are:

- (a) Creating sentiment against the leadership of the Party;
- (b) Systematic destructive criticism against the line of the Party;
- (c) Provocative proposals for certain actions, which, if adopted, would lessen the confidence of the masses in the ability of the Communist Party to lead them, because of the unnecessary sacrifice as a result of such provocative action;
- (d) The spreading of rumors about individual leaders of the Party, concerning their political integrity or personal life;
- (e) Creating an atmosphere of spy mania in the Party organization by skillfully spreading rumors about certain individuals being spies;
- (f) Accepting important assignments at strategic points and certain activity and then sabotaging the carrying out of the assignment, in this way disrupting the action of the Party organization.

The most effective weapon in the hands of the Communist Party against these agents-provocateurs is the carrying out of the general line of the Party, the uncompromising fight against any one who attempts to deviate from this line, Bolshevik self-criticism and correction of mistakes and shortcomings in the work of the Party organization or individuals in the process of applying or carrying out the general line of the Party. In a Party organization where these principles are strictly adhered to, agents-provocateur will be exposed very quickly.

2. The second type of class enemy in the ranks of the Party and in other workers' organizations is the stool pigeon. They have the task of gathering information about the Party and the individual members. They work diligently, attend every meeting, and take responsible assignments in the organization. They strive to be promoted to higher positions in order to get more important information to the Police Department, or to their bosses. They are very inquisitive about individuals, their names and addresses; they always like to get some inside "dope" from and about higher committees. They are present in every possible place they can get into. They try to get hold of documents and keep

them for a day or so. They try to find ways and means of getting to other Party organizations and Fractions than their own.

Against both types of rats, the best safeguard is the proper selection of new members. While we do not create difficulties for workers to join the Communist Party, we have to be careful in accepting new members, especially those who have had no previous connections with any workers' organizations or with individual members of the Party, or whose previous record is hard to obtain. In order to counteract the activities of the stool pigeon, we have to keep before our eyes, always, the following general rules:

1. Do not tell any member anything about Party members which does not concern that member.

2. Do not discuss any Party question outside of the meeting of the Party organization (Unit, membership, Unit Bureau, Section Committee, Fraction). Stop discussing inner Party questions on the street corners or cafeterias, where anyone can listen in. Do not broadcast inner Party decisions to long-eared stool pigeons who are waiting for the information.

3. Avoid, as much as possible, keeping membership lists with names and addresses, and if you have such lists, do not keep them in your home, or in the headquarters of the Party Unit or Section, or in your pocket.

4. Documents which are not for publication should be read only by those Party members to whom they are addressed, and should be destroyed immediately after reading. Documents which need study must be carefully safeguarded. Every member who has such a document must return it after reading it to the Party committee, which destroys it immediately.

HOW SHALL WE EXPOSE THE STOOL PIGEON?

There is a tendency among some comrades to hide from the masses the fact that a stool pigeon has been discovered in the organization. In certain places, the comrades develop the theory that if we expose the stool pigeons the workers will be afraid to join the Party—because there are spies in the organization. This conception is entirely incorrect. The mass exposure of a stool pigeon will greatly increase the confidence of the masses in the Party, since it proves the Party is able to find out who the class enemies are in its ranks.

There is only one proper method of exposing the stool pigeons—and that is *mass exposure*, creating and organizing *mass* hatred against these rats. Experience of the Communist Parties prove that such mass exposures not only do not scare away workers, but have resulted in hundreds of new recruits to the Party.

The following methods have been used very effectively in many places and can serve as a model for exposing spies:

1. Photograph the spy, and print his picture in the *Daily Worker* and in leaflets and stickers. Spread this material in the place where the spy was operating.

2. Organize systematic agitation among the workers where the spy was discovered.

3. Mobilize the children and women in the block in the part of town where the stool pigeon lives to make his life miserable; let them picket the store where his wife purchases groceries and other necessities; let the children in the street shout after him or after any member of his family that they are spies, rats, stool pigeons.

4. Chalk his home with the slogan: "So-and-So who lives here is a spy." Let the children boycott his children or child; organize the children not to talk to his children, etc.

Such forms of agitation will gather around the issue hundreds of workers who were outside of the influence of the Party before, and who will now come with us on some action. At the same time, we will expose and get rid of the spy, not through individual action, *but through real mass mobilization*.

FOR THE BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE PARTY

"What is meant by Bolshevizing the Party?

"It means to master all the lessons taught us by that first Communist Party, the most successful one, created and led to victory by Lenin, and now successfully building Socialism under the leadership of Stalin. It means to become the Party of the masses; to be a Party with its strongest roots among

the decisive workers in the basic industries; it means to be a Party whose stronghold is in the shops, mines and factories, and especially in the biggest and most important ones; it means to be a Party that leads and organizes the struggles of all the oppressed peoples, brings them into firm alliance with the working class; it means to be a Party that answers every question of the struggle; that can solve every problem; it means to be a Party that never shrinks from difficulties, that never turns aside to find the easiest way; that learns how to overcome all deviations in its own ranks—fight on two fronts; it means to become a Party that knows how to take difficulties and dangers and transform them into advantages and victories." (Earl Browder: *Report to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A.*, pp. 78-79.)

Millions of American workers are going through the school of the class struggle. Masses of impoverished farmers have begun to learn through their own experiences the real role of the capitalist parties. Millions of them are searching for the way out of their misery and poverty. Fascist demagogues, small and big, grow like mushrooms after a rain. These fascist demagogues, following the road of Hitler and Mussolini, try to capitalize on the dissatisfaction of the masses. Huey Long, Coughlin, Johnson, and Co. are subtly spreading the gospel of fascism among the masses. They will "share the wealth" without hurting capitalism. They preach righteousness, justice for the poor, while protecting the private property of the big bourgeoisie.

The toiling masses in the United States are looking for leadership. The Communist Party, which is equipped to give leadership to these masses, must show them the only way out of their misery, must expose the demagogy, the "radical" phrases of the fascist leaders and the hypocritical promises of the capitalist government. The Communist Party, in order to be able to give this leadership, must be entrenched among the workers and poor farmers. We must build and strengthen our Units in the factories. We must build and strengthen our Units in the neighborhoods, in the small towns, etc. We must spread our Party organizations all over the country. We must build and strengthen the Fractions in the A. F. of L. unions and other mass organizations of the workers.

Every Communist must become a leader of the workers. Every Communist must know that the Party has a historical mission to fulfill, that it has the mission of liberating the oppressed exploited masses from the yoke of capitalism, that it has the mission of organizing and leading the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of the new world, a Soviet America.

EXHIBIT No. 101

[Source: Excerpts from *Why Communism?* by M. J. Olgin, a pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: second revised edition, May, 1935. Pages 27-28, 32, 33, 43, 58-72]

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NO NEED OF REVOLUTION?

The Socialists say there is no need of a revolution. They say democracy has prepared for the workers all the means necessary to achieve Socialism. Let the workers use universal suffrage, they say, to send Socialists into the legislative assemblies. Let the Socialists form a majority in these assemblies. When this is done, the road is open to pass laws abolishing the capitalist system. Of course, there is the Federal Constitution which prohibits the confiscation of property by legal procedure, but this, says the leader of American Socialists, Mr. Norman Thomas, can be overcome. Let us have a Constitutional Convention to amend the Constitution so as to permit Congress to enact Socialist legislation. Let Congress then enact a law which orders the big corporations to cede their industrial establishments and all their property to the State. Let us not expropriate them, say the Socialists, not by any means! Let us pay them with bonds issued by the government and redeemable in thirty years. This will mean introducing Socialism by pacific methods. No revolutions; no seizure of power; no infringement upon the law; no mass action; no expropriation of the exploiters. Everything lawful. Everything in a gentlemanly fashion. The electoral law works. The citizens vote. The legislators assemble. They count noses and find a Socialist majority. The Socialist majority, both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, passes a law.

Capitalism passes out. The big trusts bow before the "will of the people". "Gentlemen, you are the lawful heirs of our system," they say politely, and leave the stage for the Norman Thomases and their associates.

What a sweet picture! And how deceptive! We are sorry to mar such an idyllic scene. But we Communists are realists, and we do not wish to be carried away by fancies, especially when these fancies are beneficial to the capitalist system as they tend to keep workers from fighting the capitalist State.

Let us not argue at length about the ingenious invention of paying the owners of industrial establishments with bonds, which means recognizing that the exploiters are entitled to their monopoly of the means of production and that, if they are to give them up, it is to be only through sale. It is not really difficult to see that if you pay your exploiters with bonds, you continue their exploitation in another form. You may have taken over the factories but you still continue working for the profits of the former owners. Everybody can see that. Let us rather examine the proposal of introducing Socialism by means of the ballot.

What does the State consist of? It consists not only of the legislative assemblies, which, by the way, play a lesser and lesser role as big monopoly capitalism grows. It consists first of all of the army with its commanding staff, the militia, the police force and the executive branch of the government which uses the armed forces to achieve the ends of capitalism. Is it possible to get a majority of Socialist Congressmen? Even assuming that such a miracle would happen, it still wouldn't spell Socialism. Even before there is any danger of a majority of Socialists actually ready to legislate Socialism, the electoral laws can be changed to prevent such an emergency. Even were a Socialist majority to convene, their decisions may not be carried out. One squad of soldiers is sufficient to disperse an entire legislative assembly, the way this was done in Italy, in Germany, and in many other countries.

In case of a Socialist majority, we have before us one of two possibilities. Either the capitalists are certain that the Socialist leaders are harmless to capitalism—as was the case on numerous occasions in Germany and England when power was in the hands of the Socialist leaders; in such a case they will rather be glad to have them carry the burden of government for capitalism; or the capitalists do not like that Socialist majority, because it suits their interests better to have an open dictatorship,—and then they will have every means to get rid of the unwelcome legislators.

Remember that the Socialists are against revolutionary methods. Remember that they do not appeal to the masses to offer resistance against brutal capitalist oppression. And do not forget that capitalism is *armed to the teeth* and that it will use its armed force to secure its domination. Capitalism never gives up its wealth and power voluntarily and it has little respect for its own laws when it comes to defend its rule.

He who says that you can use the capitalist State to abolish capitalism verily resembles one who says you can demolish the enemy fortress by sounds of trumpets.

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The capitalist State is a glaring fact. It is flesh and blood of the capitalist system. It stands in the way of the workers' progress towards a new, free life. Can it be abolished by gradual transformation? Those who say it can are the staunchest supporters of the capitalist robbers and the most active promoters of imperialist wars. Their theory is not harmless, indeed. It is a poisonous theory. It is a smoke screen behind which cruel capitalist exploitation is hiding.

We Communists say that there is one way to abolish the capitalist State, and that is to smash it by force. To make Communism possible the workers must take hold of the State machinery of capitalism and destroy it.

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It is therefore inevitable that whenever the workers are bent on actually defending their economic demands they are forced to fight the State.

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The fight against the war danger is a political fight. The working class must be aroused. There must be protest meetings, mass petitions, demonstrations, strikes. The powers that be must be given to understand in an unmistakable way that the workers and farmers are dead set against war. This spirit must be communicated to the army.

If this fight has been carried on with sufficient determination, the ground is prepared for action when war comes. The workers do not realize that it is in

their power to postpone war. It is. Workers in ammunition plants, go on strike! Shut down your plants! Prevent governmental strike-breakers from resuming work! Railroad men, refuse to handle war materials or to transport troops! Keep guard over your railroad yards and depots lest transportation facilities be used by governmental agents. Marine workers, do not load either men or ammunition! Truck drivers, refuse to assist in war work! Workers of other industries, help the strikers. Farmers, refuse to give your foodstuffs and raw materials to be used for slaughter!

If the workers rise in this way against war, the capitalists with their armed forces will try to break the deadlock. There will be attacks on strikers. The workers will have to offer resistance. We Communists do not close our eyes to the fact that this means *civil war*. But when the masses are organized and fight in great numbers under revolutionary leadership the victory is assured. Part of the army is certain to waver and to join the people. There may be victims, but their number can not be compared to the losses in life and limb that the workers would suffer in the imperialist war.

Victory in the civil war spells the doom of the capitalist State.

We Communists do not say to the workers that they have to begin the civil war today or tomorrow. We say that the civil war is the inevitable outcome of long and arduous struggles against the capitalists and their State and that these struggles must be made the everyday practice of the working class.

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VI. THE REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The overthrow of the State power, and with it, of the capitalist system, grows out of the everyday struggles of the workers. One is historically inseparable from the other.

As the organization of the workers grows, as their struggles become fiercer, while many non-proletarian elements like farmers, intellectuals, and oppressed members of the lower middle class join the revolutionary movement, the final onslaught on the fortress of capitalism draws nearer. These struggles are the reaction of the masses to the misery wrought by the crisis of capitalism. The capitalists try to overcome the crisis by putting additional burdens on the shoulders of the masses, but they cannot cure the incurable disease. There comes a time when large sections of the population say that this simply "cannot go on." The government seems to be entirely incompetent to cope with the political and social difficulties. The belief of the population in the wisdom and all-powerfulness of the "men higher up" is shaken. These men are losing their confidence. The confidence of the masses in their own strength is growing apace. The struggles of the masses meanwhile become broader and deeper. The government tries suppression. It does not succeed in crushing the spirit of revolt. It cannot stem the tide. The previous struggles of the workers count greatly. The clearer the class-consciousness of the workers, the more steely they are in fighting, the better the revolutionary leadership they have developed in the course of years (the Communist Party), the greater the number of friends they have allied with themselves from among the other oppressed classes, the more capable are they to deal the final blow.

It is not necessary that this final blow, *i. e.*, the revolution, should come in connection with an imperialist war, although this is very likely. Capitalism will seek to prevent a revolution by plunging the country into war. War is to serve not only as a way out of the crisis but as a means to arouse the patriotism of the masses, to increase governmental terror (martial law), and to divert public attention from internal affairs. War, under such conditions, for a while retarding the revolutionary movement, may hasten it later when the war sufferings begin to tell on the masses.

A time comes when there is demoralization above, a growing revolt below; the morale of the army is also undermined. The old structure of society is tottering. These are actual insurrections; the army wavers. Panic seizes the rulers. A general uprising begins.

Workers stop work, many of them seize arms by attacking arsenals. Many had armed themselves before as the struggles sharpened. Street fights become frequent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers organize Revolutionary Committees to be in command of the uprising. There are battles in the principal cities. Barricades are built and defended. The workers' fighting has a decisive influence with the soldiers. Army units begin to join the

revolutionary fighters; there is fraternization between the workers and the soldiers, the workers and the marines. The movement among the soldiers and marines spreads. Capitalism is losing its strongest weapon, the army. The police as a rule continue fighting, but they are soon silenced and made to flee by the united revolutionary forces of workers and soldiers. The revolution is victorious.

Historic Examples

Can it be done? It has been done more than once. A revolution broke the backbone of tsarism in Russia in 1905, but was soon defeated. A revolution abolished tsarism in March 1917 when a provisional revolutionary capitalist government was established. In each case the workers played the leading role. A workers' revolution was accomplished in Russia in November 1917 when the Soviet Government, which is the government of the workers and peasants, was established. The Soviet system has been in existence for nearly 18 years. A workers' revolution took place in Germany in 1918, in Hungary and Bavaria in 1919, in China in 1927. A revolution took place in Spain in 1932. In most of these revolutions the workers were betrayed; they were either deprived by shrewd capitalist politicians of the fruits of their revolutionary struggle or defeated in armed combat, with Socialist leaders aiding the exploiters. In Russia the revolution has survived first of all because the workers had a strong, well organized Bolshevik (Communist) Party that headed their fight. The defeat of the other revolutions does not argue against the eventuality of revolution. In fact, revolutions are inevitable. They are a natural outcome of the existing system. Our time is a time of workers' revolutions. If not all of the revolutions of the last 15 years succeeded in securing the workers' rule, this was due either to the absence of a strong Communist Party entrenched among the workers, or to the absence of other strong working-class organizations, or to the intervention of foreign imperialists, or to some of these causes combined. And in either case, the reformists were playing the role both of enemies within the working class betraying the revolution and of leaders of the capitalist forces from without the working class against the revolution—all in the name of "democracy" and freedom".

Can a revolution be won? Capitalism creates a situation where large masses of the people are dissatisfied, embittered, emboldened by intolerable hardships. Capitalism itself prepares the conditions for its cataclysm. If under conditions of a severe capitalist crisis the majority of the working class is ready to wage a determined armed fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system, then the revolution may be victorious, provided there is in existence a mass Communist Party recognized by the workers as their leader in struggles against capitalism.

A standard reformist argument against the revolution is: "The weapons of warfare are so strong in our days that the workers have no chance of winning in open conflict". The wish is father to the thought of the reformists in this respect. Because they hate a revolution of the workers, they maintain that a revolution cannot win. What is true is that a revolution cannot win unless the armed forces, or at least *part of them*, join the workers. But once they join, the workers have not only rifles and cannon but also airships and poison gas and battleships to fight the bosses. Poison gases are destructive, to be sure, but their destructive power can be turned also against the old system. There is no reason why the workers should not use them against the enemy when the final conflict has arrived. In all revolutions throughout history the armed forces of the old system were at the beginning *stronger* than the armed forces of the revolutionists.

THE QUESTION OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE

"But this is force and violence", somebody will contend. "Don't you Communists know that the use of force and violence is wrong? We reply to this, first, that if being a "red-blooded American" means anything, it means that you must not take punishment lying down, that you must offer resistance; secondly, that it is not the workers but the capitalists and their State that start the use of force and violence. When you wish to stay on in your place of work and the employer who wants you "fired" sends for the watchmen and has you thrown out, it is he that uses force. When you wish to stay on in the apartment of a house you and the like of you have built, and the landlord calls the sheriff to evict you, it is he that uses force. When you go

out on a demonstration in the open in front of a governmental office and the government sends the police and armed thugs to beat you up and disperse you, it is the government that is using force. When you are thrown in jail for refusing to transport ammunition in time of war, it is the government that is using violence against you. Force and violence are the daily bread of the exploiters and their government in dealing with the exploited. Force and violence are the very essence of the State. When the warehouses are bulging with foodstuffs you and the like of you have produced while you, the hungry, are kept from them by the armed force of watchmen and police, force and violence are used against you. How can you live and breathe if you do not resist? How can you defend your fundamental interests if you do not defy boss restrictions? To defy boss restrictions, to resist the attacks of the enemy class is just as natural for the working class as it is for a red-blooded human being not to take punishment lying down.

What a picture! Those who live on your sweat and blood tell you it is not "right" to resist this robbery. Those who hold the big stick over you tell you to be meek as a lamb. Those who make the oppressive laws against you preach among you about the sanctity of the law. This is boss law, boss justice, boss ideas of right and wrong. If the workers were to submit they would not be able to live; they would be reduced to something worse than chattled slavery.

We Communists say the workers cannot have respect for boss law and boss morality directed against them. The class interests of the working class—these are the supreme law for the workers. Defending their lives and their future they must inevitably come into conflict with boss law. Defending their very lives they are driven to stand up against boss force. Fighting against the boss system they are defending not only their own class interests but the interests of mankind. For capitalism has reduced mankind to a state of chronic misery, poverty, insecurity, fear, periodic carnage, insane luxury for the few, hunger and degradation for the many—a state that simply cannot continue if mankind is to progress. Capitalism is decaying and, to save humanity, this putrid wound on its body must be removed.

When you fight capitalism you are doing what is right and just and lawful from the point of view of your class interests and of the future of humanity. You are not "outlaws" the way the capitalist world brands revolutionary fighters. You are fighting for a higher morality and a higher law that will forever abolish exploitation—the morality and the law of the social revolution.

Having crushed the capitalist State the social revolution, acting through armed workers and soldiers, will establish the *Soviet State* as the instrument of the workers' and poor farmers' power.

The Soviet State

The Soviet State was first established in Russia, but it was later introduced wherever workers seized power: in Bavaria, Hungary, in large sections of China, and, most recently, in Asturias and Biscay (Spain). The Soviets are composed of Deputies elected at the places where men and women work. In cities, the Soviets are elected by the workers in factories, plants, offices and educational establishments. In villages, the Soviets are elected by all working peasants. Each person engaged in any kind of work is entitled to a vote. Owners of wealth, capitalists, land-owners, and other exploiters, as long as they have not yet been turned into useful citizens working for the community, are excluded from suffrage. They have no voice in the administration of public affairs. On the other hand, suffrage is extended to vastly greater numbers of working people than is the case under capitalism. The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies form the local government everywhere. Representatives of the local Soviets form the central Soviet which is the government of the country.

The Government of the Soviets is a government of those who work. It is elected in the places of work from among those who work, and it is responsible to those who elected it. It consists exclusively of workers and peasants, which means that it is the greatest democracy in the world. It is a real government of the rank and file. Exploiters are barred from it. Its deputies and other officials are paid no more than the average wage of a skilled worker. Its deputies are subject to instant recall by their electors. Under the Soviets the workers and peasants are armed, and police and judicial functions are carried out by the workers and peasants themselves.

This government has the great task of taking away from the owners the plants, factories, railroads, banks, and turning them into public property to

be administered by the workers for the common benefit of all. In other words, it is the task of the Soviets to *abolish private property in the means of production* and to establish *Socialist production and distribution*.

This cannot be accomplished peacefully. The exploiters won't give up their loot even after their State power is crushed. They will have to be routed. The Soviet government will have to *expropriate the expropriators by force*. The latter will conspire and plot against the new system; they will organize counter-revolutionary uprisings. The Soviet State will have to crush these with an iron hand. The former exploiters will be given no quarter. The old system of robbery with all its rubbish will have to be cleared away. This means that the Soviet State must be ruthless; it must destroy the counter-revolutionary forces—the quicker the better for the workers and for the future of mankind. This is why the Soviet State is named *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. It is the reverse of capitalist dictatorship. It does not pretend to be a government treating all on the basis of equality. It openly declares itself to be a *class* government directed against the former ruling class. It is avowedly an instrument for the expropriation and suppression of the former exploiters and oppressors. It is a government of the former exploited and oppressed. *And it does away with exploitation and oppression forever*. As soon as private property is abolished, as soon as the industrial machinery of the country has become socialized, as soon as the individual farmers have been induced, for their own advantage, to unite in collective farms, exploitation of man by man ceases to exist. That means freedom.

With the workers coming into their own, the road is open for economic and cultural progress undreamed of under capitalism. Production is rapidly increased. Standards of living rise higher and higher. Education, letters, art, invention blossom under proletarian rule. Exploitation of man by man is abolished. Differences between farmers and workers disappear. Minority nationalities, oppressed and kept backward under capitalism and granted self-determination by the revolution, rapidly develop. The whole country becomes one big working community on a high plane. The rule is soon established: "Let each person work according to his ability; let each person receive from the common stock of goods according to his needs". This is Communism.

Man himself changes under such conditions. Soon the State is no more needed. In a *classless* society there is nobody to suppress or keep in check. Highly cultured men and women, bred in a spirit of collective life, masters of nature and of their own society, do not need the big stick of the State. They manage their affairs without the State force. Mankind is free, forever.

VII. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party is the vanguard and general staff of the workers in their struggle against the old system, in their revolution against it and in the upbuilding of the new system.

The Communist Party is a political party, which means that its concern is the struggle of the working class as a whole for State power. Whereas the primary concern of the militant unions is the economic struggle for better conditions while preparing the workers for their ultimate struggle; whereas the primary concern of the Unemployment Councils is the fight for unemployment and social insurance; whereas the fraternal organizations concern themselves primarily with mutual aid and the struggle for social insurance (none of these struggles is isolated from the others and all of them must be fought on a political basis), the Communist Party concerns itself with all phases of the movement, unifying them, giving them direction, filling them with the spirit of the class struggle, orientating them towards the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist system.

The Communist Party is a political party. Its aim is to effect the seizure of political power by the workers. It therefore looks upon every activity of the workers (and poor farmers) from this point of view. But there is no contradiction between the ultimate aim and the immediate interests of the workers. Whatever contradicts the political aim of the workers is also harmful to them at present and therefore rejected by the Party. The outlook of the Communist Party is wider and more all-embracing than the outlook of the other working-class organizations, even those that assume the point of view of the class struggle.

The Communist Party not only draws into its ranks the most advanced and most militant workers, but it gives them political training. It teaches them

Marxism-Leninism, which equips the worker with a thorough understanding of the society he lives in and of the historic task of the working class. The Communist Party looks upon its members as leaders in the struggle and it trains them to be fit for this work. The Communist Party is a school of the class struggle in every one of its phases.

At the bottom of all the activities of the Communist Party lies a clear and exhaustive analysis of the social forces in the society of the present.* The Communist Party watches very carefully every turn in the development of the country, whether economic, political, social or cultural, and at every turn it points out to the workers what they have to do in order finally to achieve the maximum results, the overthrow of capitalism. This plan of struggle for the working class is called the *Party line*. The Communist Party is the only political organization that works out a line of activity for every branch of the labor movement at every given moment.

The Communist Party is active directly as an organization and indirectly through its members within other organizations. The Communist Party leads political as well as economic struggles, like the fight for the liberation of political prisoners, the fight against high taxes levied upon the workers, the fight for better housing, free lunches for school children, the fight against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the fight against governmental terror, the fight against the Jim-Crow system and lynchings, the fight against fascism, the fight for the liberation of the oppressed colonial peoples, and many other. These fights are conducted through literature, through mass meetings, through demonstrations and, when the occasion demands, through open mass combat with the police in the streets.

The Communist Party also participates in the election campaigns as a separate and distinct political party. It nominates its candidates for federal and local offices and it solicits votes. It is anxious to have its representatives in the legislative bodies. But its election campaigns and its activities within parliament are fundamentally different from those of say, the Socialist Party. We Communists are not here to help the capitalists govern the masses. We are here to help the masses press their masters, get from the capitalists and their government a maximum of concessions. We do not spread the false notion that there can be cooperation between the exploited and their exploiters. On the contrary, we go to the legislatures to prove to the workers that such cooperation must not be because it is good only for the bosses. In other words, we go to the legislatures—and we conduct our election campaigns—in the spirit of the class struggle. We use the platform of the legislatures, from which our voice can be heard better than the voice of private citizens, to help organize the workers and help them conduct all their daily struggles. At the same time we try to force the law-makers to pass legislation that would bring relief to the workers. We do so, not by pretty speeches, not by telling the law-makers, who are servants of the big money bags, how fine and noble they are, but by heading great movements of the masses which would make those gentlemen sit up and take notice. In other words, while the Socialists solicit votes in order to reform the State and thereby to make it more effective for the capitalists, we Communists practice *revolutionary parliamentarism*, by which is meant strengthening the working class and weakening its enemies. We go to the law-making institutions, not to tinker them up for the benefit of the capitalists, but to be a monkey wrench in their machinery, preventing it from working smoothly on behalf of the masters. We use, while there, every step of those agents of the capitalists to expose them before the people, to show what these so-called representatives of the people and what these so-called democratic institutions actually are.

THE PARTY UNIT

Aside from these political activities directly conducted in the name of the Communist Party, every Communist is obliged to be active in the organization to which he belongs and in the place where he works. Wherever there are three or more Communists, whether in a factory or in a mine, in a union or in a fraternal organization, they have to get together and form a group. A group formed in a place of work is called *Party nucleus*. A group formed in an organization is called a *Party fraction*. The group discusses the problems of the

*For the daily opinion of the Communist Party on all economic and political questions read the *Daily Worker*, published at 50 East 13th St., New York City.

shop or the organization and instructs its members to act in the best interests of the working class. A good Communist is a worker who thoroughly understands the problems of his place of work or his organization and who develops activity that can serve as an example for his fellow workers. A good Communist is a social being who has the interests of his fellow workers at heart and who is devoting his best energies to advance the cause of the workers wherever he happens to be. A good Communist is a man or a woman who by virtue of these qualities becomes a leader amongst his fellow workers—not a leader by dint of some mechanical control, but a leader by dint of better understanding, more courage and superior organizing abilities. Communists are trained to be that way. This is why a small number of Communists will often achieve more than greater numbers of unorganized workers pulling in different directions. What is important to remember is this, that Communists have no interests other than the interests of the working class, the improvement of its life at present and the destruction of capitalism in the future. You have undoubtedly heard about the "sinister plots" of the Communists. There is nothing sinister about the Communist organization. Here are a dozen Communists working in the same shop. It is natural for them to get together and form a shop nucleus. It is natural for them to constitute themselves as a *permanent body*. They may use secrecy to avoid the spying eye of the employers; but this again is most natural under capitalism; the workers would be foolhardy to expose their plans of activity to the bosses.

A Party nucleus holds its meetings regularly every week. Our shop nucleus will discuss at nearly every meeting how to organize the struggle of the workers against the employer in that particular shop. The shop nucleus will not keep itself isolated from the rest of the workers. On the contrary, it will be the duty of every Communist to be in closest touch with the workers, to be part of the workers, to understand every issue of their shop life. The Communists will distribute papers and pamphlets among the workers. If need be, they will publish a local paper which will expose the evils of the shop and organize the workers for struggle. The Communists will keep secret from the management and the stool pigeons but not from the workers. They will invite non-party workers to their nucleus meetings to discuss certain problems. They will gain the confidence of the workers just because they have a well-thought-out and fitting solution for the pressing problems and because they show resistance in dealing with the boss or with the foreman. They have got to stand up as fighters or else they cannot be Communists. They will soon become known to the workers as a militant group. Many more will join. The influence of the Communist Party will grow.

The time comes when the Communists head an open struggle against the employer or the State. It may be a strike for higher wages. In this case the Communists will help organize a *strike committee* from among the rank-and-file workers, this committee to consist of Party and non-Party workers and to act under the direct leadership of the trade union of that industry. It may be a mass demonstration for unemployment insurance. In that case the Communists will help organize a local rank-and-file *Unemployment Council*. It may be any other act of struggle. In either case the Communists will not force their will upon the workers. On the contrary, they will see to it that they share the initiative with as many workers as possible. They are not here to give orders. They are workers themselves who suffer like all the other workers but give a clearer voice to the protest that is brewing among the workers. The more workers participate in preparing an act of struggle the greater the chances of victory.

In such struggles some of the workers will move to the front as more clear-sighted, more active, more able to express the needs of the workers, and more quick-minded in finding a solution to an emergency problem. These will become the *mass leaders*. Some of them will be Communists, some non-Party workers, but in the long run every fighting mass leader will find his way to the Communist Party because he will realize its advantages for the workers' struggle.

Thus the Communist nucleus will establish itself as the fighting organization recognized by the workers. It will lead. It will put fear in the heart of the boss. It will put confidence in the hearts of the workers. It will become the vanguard and the leader of the local workers.

The Communists who, for one reason or another, are not members of a shop nucleus (or mine or mill nucleus) organize locally in the place of residence into a *street nucleus*. The street nucleus is composed of the Communists living

in the same neighborhood. It may consist of from ten to thirty, but rarely more members, because a large nucleus becomes unwieldy. When a street nucleus grows too large, part of it is organized into another nucleus and given another territory to work in. The street nucleus organizes and leads the workers' struggles in its territory. Suppose there is a shop in that territory and the workers are unorganized. The street nucleus concentrates on that shop. It organizes open air meetings in front of the shop just at the time when the workers finish work. Some of the workers stop to listen, become interested, receive papers and pamphlets distributed around the meeting place, The nucleus repeats this action until contacts are established with the shop. Once there is a group of sympathetic workers inside, the task of organizing the shop workers to defend their interests becomes much easier. One street nucleus may concentrate on a number of local shops. It also concentrates on unemployed work. It makes a canvass of all the unemployed in its territory, organizes from among them an Unemployment Council, fights together with it for unemployed relief; if need be, the street nucleus calls a demonstration in front of the local Home Relief Bureau to insist on aid for those discriminated against. The street nucleus heads many other workers' struggles in its territory. The fight against the eviction of unemployed, the fight for free gas and electricity for the unemployed, the fight for the release of imprisoned local workers, assistance to strikers' pickets, local demonstrations against the oppression of Negroes in the neighborhood—all these and many other activities are the almost daily tasks of the street nucleus.

Both the shop and the street nuclei, thus, exist not for themselves, not for "Communist interests", as you are so often told, for there are no Communist interests outside of the interests of the working class. The Party nucleus is a center of fighting workers in a shop or neighborhood. That is a bad nucleus which stews in its own juice. A good nucleus is one that is in various ways connected with the workers in the shop or neighborhood, is recognized by them as a fighting unit, is supported by them, is continually increased by the joining of new workers, and is proved as leader in many class conflicts for the benefit of the workers.

Not the least among the functions of the shop and street nuclei is the distribution of the Communist papers, magazines and pamphlets. After all, the press is a good propagandist and a good organizer. Its influence can be great, if the workers are induced to read it and to spread it. The Communists make it their business to talk to non-Party workers, explaining to them the meaning of the Communist press as the workers' press, and offering to provide them with a paper or magazine. In the same way they distribute pamphlets and books. Once a worker has begun to read a paper or pamphlet explaining to him the class struggle, he soon recognizes the truth of that explanation which he can supplement by numerous facts from his own experience. Reading about the class struggle, recognizing the correctness of the class struggle, is a step to actual participation in the class struggle.

Here as elsewhere there is a deep gulf between us Communists and the Socialist leaders. They say the American workers are difficult to move and that there is no hope of workers putting up a stiff fight in this country. We say, but let the American worker recognize his class interests, and he will fight in great working-class militant organizations for his life, for his freedom, for the final liberation of his class and all oppressed.

Aside from shop (mine, plant) nuclei and street nuclei of the Communist Party, there are *Party fractions*. The Communists belonging to any organization form a special fraction which discusses the problems of its organization and proposes a line of action for its members. This enables the Communists in a reformist union or fraternal organization to follow the same line. The Party fraction advocates militancy and strives to transform the whole organization into a real fighting unit.

It is quite obvious that Communist activity requires training. Every Party nucleus is in fact a training school in the practice of the class struggle. It also gives theoretical classes to its members. It conducts discussions on current questions. Its most capable, militant members are sent to special training schools. The whole Party is engaged in raising, as we call it, the theoretical level of its members.

You will now understand what there is to those tales about "Communist plots." The Communists have a good organization and a uniform line: they plan work and they carry it out. The bosses certainly dislike such a method, when used by the workers. You will also understand why the enemies speak so much

about "rigid Communist discipline". They would like the workers to be undecided, without unity and cohesion. That would be good for the capitalist interests. When they see a party of revolutionary workers organized, enlightened, trained to do revolutionary work and acting in harmony with one another in accordance with a preconceived plan, they deery it. In this plan, unity and cohesion, however, is the strength of every workers' organization, including that of the Communist Party. We discuss problems, we study them carefully, but once a decision is made it is binding for every member. We are a democratic organization because every member has a vote and every rank and filer is entitled and invited to criticize the activities of the organization or of individual leaders, and to participate in shaping the policies of the Party. We are at the same time a centralized organization because we work according to one plan and because decisions of the higher Party bodies are obligatory for the lower bodies—from the center down to the units. The Communist Party is thus built on the basis of *democratic centralism*. That makes for unity of action.

THE PARTY IN ACTION

Let us now have a look at the Party as a whole. At the head of it is the Central Committee elected at the national convention. In the Districts there are District Committees elected at District conventions (the country is divided into 27 districts). Each District is divided into Sections and each Section comprises a number of units, *i. e.*, shop and street nuclei. Under the District and Section Committees are the various *fractions*. The interests of the Party require that all members should have thoroughly discussed every issue that comes up in the life of the working class. They should have discussed in each unit what every member has to do in the coming few days. Directives are given from the Center to the Districts, from the Districts to the Sections and the units. Everybody must be prepared. Everybody must understand the meaning of what is to be done. Everybody is obliged to assist his comrade. There should be complete unity of purpose and unity of action. Today we are having a unit meeting which first discusses an important problem, theoretical or practical, and then assigns work to each member. It is at this meeting that the fundamental unity of the Party is forged. Tomorrow each one of these Party members will plunge headlong into one or the other realm of work. One will confront the boss with the demand of the workers in his shop; another will lead a group of unemployed workers to the Home Relief Bureau to demand immediate relief for those that have been discriminated against; a third will participate in the picket line facing the clubs of armed thugs; a fourth will be active in putting back into an apartment the furniture of an evicted family; a fifth will be speaking to a group of marine workers, trying to make them join the union; a sixth will be speaking to a group of workers engaged in an ammunition plant, trying to make them understand the necessity of organizing in order to be ready to stop work in case of war; a seventh will distribute leaflets calling for a demonstration to protest against U. S. imperialist intervention in Cuba; an eighth will be speaking in the open air in favor of the local Communist candidate for mayor; a ninth will be showing the workers a Soviet film in which the free life of the workers under the proletarian dictatorship is vividly depicted. All these Communists will be animated with one ideal. They will all work along the same line. They will work hand in hand with all the workers they are connected with, trying to make them understand the better ways of struggle and to make their struggle more effective. At the next unit meeting every comrade will have to report as to how he or she carried out the assignment. All the Communist units, forming concentration points of the workers' struggle, are engaged in practical everyday work, the more practical the better, but at the same time they never for a moment lose sight of the ultimate goal of the movement—the destruction of capitalism.

When you observe the Communist Party in action you cannot fail to compare it with the blood-stream of the human body. Like the blood-stream it brings life to every section of the body of the working class. Like the blood-stream it helps build up every tissue. Like the blood-stream it makes the organism live, act, grow.

There can be working class movements without the Communist Party, but there can be no real movement for the liberation of the working class without the Communist Party. There can be no ultimate overthrow of the entire capitalist system without the Communist Party.

Hand in hand with the Communist Party and under its guidance functions the Young Communist League, the revolutionary organization of the young workers.

Many other organizations function under the guidance of and in close cooperation with the Communist Party.

There is a Communist Party in every country of the world. All of them work for the same end, and all of them adapt their activities to conditions existing in their country. Delegates from each Communist Party gather once in a few years to an international Communist Congress (there have been six of them so far). The Congress meets for two or three weeks and discusses thoroughly the international situation and the situation in every country. Experiences of a world-wide struggle are shared and a general line of further struggles mapped out. (The Congress elects an Executive Committee which is the leading body between one congress and the other. The decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International guide the activities of the parties. The Executive Committee meets at intervals of a few months. Its meetings very much resemble a small congress. Between one meeting and the other a smaller body called Presidium is conducting the affairs of the organization. The organization is called the Communist International and expresses the common purpose and common decisions of all the Communist Parties of the world. The Communist International (Comintern) gives unity of policy and leadership to the entire revolutionary movement of the world. It is the general staff of the world revolution of all the exploited and oppressed.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is affiliated with the Communist International. It is the most influential but not the only influential Party in the International. It is one part but not the whole of the International. Its advice is highly precious because it has long accomplished what the Communist Parties of the world are only striving at—the proletarian revolution. The advice and experiences of the other Parties, however, are also of great value in determining the policies of the Comintern. The seat of the Comintern is Moscow because this is the capital of the only workers' and peasants' government in the world, and the Comintern can meet there freely. As the workers become the rulers of other countries, the Comintern will not have to confine its meetings to Moscow alone.

The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is thus part of a world-wide organization which gives it guidance and enhances its fighting power. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the workers of the U. S. A. will proceed from struggle to struggle, from victory to victory, until, rising in a revolution, they will crush the capitalist State, establish a Soviet State, abolish the cruel and bloody system of capitalism and proceed to the upbuilding of Socialism.

That is why every worker must join the Communist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 102

[Source: Excerpt from a pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: June, 1935: pamphlet entitled "The Negroes in a Soviet America," by James W. Ford and James S. Allen, pages 13-14, 46]

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One of the principal lessons to be gained from the fight for the Scottsboro boys is this: It is possible to obtain certain victories from the ruling class, but not by cringing, Uncle Tom or Judas methods. The only way such victories can be obtained is by rousing and organizing the masses, by refusing to accept sops.

The reformers have still another idea. They have a great reverence for the ballot, they think it can produce wonders. The leaders of the Socialist Party still cling to this old fairy-tale. The workers, they say, can elect themselves into power and then peacefully bring about a change in capitalism. But what if the capitalists refuse to abdicate? They reply: "We'll see then."

The miracle of the ballot! If the ballot can do all they say it can how are the Negroes going to use it when 4,000,000 Negroes, eligible to vote, are disfranchised? When two out of three Negro eligible voters are not even permitted into a voting booth?

We say that Negroes must have this right to vote, as well as the other rights of citizenship. We must fight for these rights. We say that the workers and the oppressed masses should use the ballot, the right of free speech and assembly, to elect their own representatives, and create their own organizations. We fight against every effort to take these rights away.

But at the same time we emphasize that capitalism cannot be done away with by the ballot. We believe in using elections and our representatives in elected bodies to rally the people against capitalism. As long as capitalism

permits the rights of citizenship, the working class should use these rights against the capitalists. But anyone who tells you to depend upon the ballot and civil rights for your defense is betraying you.

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We have only indicated some of the possibilities. Still greater ones would unfold in a Soviet America. This much is important and certain: with the overthrow of the landlord capitalist power and the establishment of the Soviet Negro Republic, the most backward section of the United States would develop into an advanced, wealthy area. The rich resources of the territory, until now wasted and plundered by the capitalists, would be turned to their own account by the workers and farmers, with the aid of the working class of the North and northern resources. Then would the basis of Negro equality be established. And the so-called poor whites would also be liberated from poverty, extreme exploitation and backwardness.

EXHIBIT No. 103

[Source: Excerpt from *Marxism vs. Liberalism—An Interview of Joseph Stalin by H. G. Wells*; a pamphlet published by the International Publishers, New York: 1935. Pages 16, 17]

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STALIN: Of course the old system is breaking down, decaying. That is true. But it is also true that new efforts are being made by other methods, by every means, to protect, to save this dying system. You draw a wrong conclusion from a correct postulate. You rightly state that the old world is breaking down. But you are wrong in thinking that it is breaking down of its own accord. No, the substitution of one social system for another is a complicated and long revolutionary process. It is not simply a spontaneous clash, but a struggle, it is a process connected with the clash of classes. Capitalism is decaying, but it must not be compared simply with a tree which has decayed to such an extent that it must fall to the ground of its own accord. No, revolution, the substitution of one social system for another, has always been a struggle, a painful and a cruel struggle, a life and death struggle. And every time the people of the new world came into power they had to defend themselves against the attempts of the old world to restore the old order by force; these people of the new world always had to be on the alert, always had to be ready to repel the attacks of the old world upon the new system. . . . That is why the Communists say to the working class: Answer violence with violence; do all you can to prevent the old dying order from crushing you, do not permit it to put manacles on your hands, on the hands with which you will overthrow the old system. As you see, the Communists regard the substitution of one social system for another, not simply as a spontaneous and peaceful process, but as a complicated, long and violent process. Communists cannot ignore facts.

EXHIBIT No. 104

[Source: A pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: November, 1935. Excerpt from pamphlet, pages 14-19, 28-30]

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YOUTH AND FASCISM

(By O. Kuusinen)

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THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The experiences recently gained by the *Young Communist League of the U.S.A.* are also highly instructive.

There matters began with the calling of a general congress of the youth organizations of the country as a result of the wide organizational initiative displayed by a fascist group, with the support of the government. The Young Communist League was faced by the question of whether it should send its

representatives to this congress or not. It is not surprising that opinion within the Young Communist League should have been divided on so novel a question.

A few years earlier a question of this kind would in all probability have been settled even without discussion: any participation would have been rejected, and our Young Communist League would probably have received such a sectarian decision with self-complacency, as the best solution to a difficult question. But now this question was discussed in the Young Communist League, and it turned out that the comrades who were opposed to participating in the congress had very poor arguments to offer. "We are afraid that we are too weak to put up a stand against such powerful forces", they said.

You see, comrades, how the old sectarianism, which has so often taken the shape of exaggerated self-assertion, on this occasion, when a great practical task demanded a clear and bold decision, revealed itself as a *lack* of confidence in our own forces, in the leading rôle of the working class youth.

The leaders of the Young Communist League of the United States, headed by Comrade Green, brushed this faint-hearted argument aside, rolled up their sleeves and went to the congress, at which an extremely variegated group of young people from most diverse strata was assembled. Our American comrades achieved a great success at this youth congress. The agents of fascism were completely isolated, and the congress was transformed into a great united front congress of the radical youth. And when, somewhat later, a second general youth congress was held, our young comrades already enjoyed a position of authority at it. This authoritative position was due to the confidence which they had gained by their new mass policy, and also to the fact that they had learned to approach and conduct the work in the right way.

What did they learn concretely?

First, they learned *soberly to estimate the degree of radicalization of the youth masses*, that is, to estimate it correctly, without Right under-valuations and without "Left" over-valuations.

Previously, many comrades had to simple an idea of the matter, and believed that once a radicalization of the toiling masses and an upsurge of the mass movement had begun—which was actually the case in America—it could be "stamped" without further ado a real "revolutionary" upsurge and one had only then to look up the program of the Young Communist International for the revolutionary slogans that should be issued in such a situation and the revolutionary tasks that should be undertaken.

Our American young comrades now learned that although a great process of radicalization and activation of the youth masses had indeed set in in the United States, these masses—indeed even their most active representatives—still did not understand the most ordinary Communist slogans, battle cries and demands. They did not even understand so "simple" a thing as fascism. This had first to be explained to them in a popular way. And even when they grasped that fascism is an enemy, it was found that many of them considered it quite in order when the Hearst press issued the cry, "Against Communism and Fascism!" They failed to observe that genuine American fascist agitation was being carried on under this treacherous guise. They had to be convinced in the most patient manner possible of the true state of affairs, without our own opinion being *forced on them*. Whereupon it was discovered for instance, that many of those who were already prepared to join with the Young Communist League in the fight against the war danger and fascism could still not be gotten to take part in street demonstrations. They were entirely unaccustomed to this method of struggle, and one had at first to join with them in other, more elementary forms of struggle, which could be regarded by the members of their organizations as their *own* forms of struggle, in order later, as their fighting spirit grew, to lead them *further*.

Second, our American young comrades convinced themselves that they indeed *had a lot to learn from the non-Communist masses*.

For instance, they learnt "a new language", the fresh, concrete, popular and expressive language of youth—the language which Comrade Dimitroff here demanded—in place of the old, dry, stereotyped jargon which is almost incomprehensible to the normal human mind. Comrade Green has explained how, in connection with the youth congress, they succeeded in framing the highly important "Declaration of Rights of the American Youth" in the language of youth:

"... We did all in our power to see to it that as many youth and their organizations as possible were drawn in to help formulate and finalize this document."

And he added:

"By working in this manner we did not weaken the prestige of the Y.C.L. but strengthened it; we showed large numbers of youth that the Y.C.L. had no narrow interests but that its main concern was to broaden the youth congress and make it the most effective mass movement against reaction and for the immediate needs of the youth."

In particular, the representatives of the American Young Communist League have learnt from the masses how to approach the *non-proletarian* strata of the youth correctly. Formerly, many members of the Young Communist League looked down, for instance, on the student youth, and thereby, of course, made it difficult to set up closer contacts with them. This was also an expression of sectarianism and had to be eliminated from the ranks of the Communist youth movement. If the representatives of the Young Communist League of the United States had not known how to approach the student youth in a comradely fashion, it would have been impossible for them to have developed their great united front actions among the students, the most important of which was the big students' strike against war and fascism on April 12, 1935, in which 184,000 students took part.

Third, the American young comrades have also learned to overcome their former inflexibility in tactics and to apply *elastic tactics*.

Comrade Green has quoted two characteristic examples of this. The first example is that the religious members of the congress, who were at first particularly skeptical of the possibility of a united front with the Communists, on Sunday morning were given the opportunity of the private enjoyment of divine service. The second example is that the Roosevelt project for making provision for the youth by an appropriation of \$50,000,000 for the purpose of immediate assistance to the youth, on the initiative of our comrades was not labeled demagogic, but rather credited as a *concession* which the government was obliged to make in view of the growing united front movement. At the same time, the leaders of the youth united front exposed the utter inadequacy of this measure and also pointed out how the government's plan threatened to impair the condition of certain sections of the youth. Comrade Green was quite right when he summarized the results of these tactics in the following terms:

"Thus it turns this project of Roosevelt from a weapon against the Youth Congress into an instrument for mobilizing the youth for increased government aid."

Here you see the same result as in France; you see how the sword was wrested from the hand of the enemy and turned against him.

Fourth, the comrades of the Young Communist League of the United States have learned that it is essential to enter the *big youth organizations* led by the *bourgeoisie*. And not only that, they have also learned how to work in these organizations.

Formerly, such bourgeois youth organizations were simply counted by the Young Communists among the enemy organizations, and their millions of members were without more ado regarded as "enemies".

The fact was ignored that in the United States—and not only there—the *great majority of the toiling youth* belong to such organizations. You must not think that the majority of the youth are unorganized. No, in many countries the majority are organized, and not only in the army, not only in the schools—they too are bourgeois organizations—but directly in these bourgeois youth organizations. But even after we really began to say that we must work within the ranks of these organizations, this work was understood in an entirely sectarian way as so-called "destructive work". Now, "destructive work" in this sphere was so little in place, that it is not to be regretted that, as was mostly the case, it simply remained on paper.

The American young comrades are speaking from experience when they say today that we must work in these mass organizations not with the purpose of destroying or weakening them, but to work "to transform them from centers of bourgeois influence into centers of united front struggle, into centers of proletarian influence". The mass of the youth regard these organizations as their own, and only by earnestly working to represent the needs and interests of the youth through these organizations can we extend our influence among the masses.

In these organizations our American young comrades have discovered a large number of functionaries and cadres who are prepared to fight side by side with the Communists against reaction, and in the course of not quite a

year the Young Communist League in the United States has succeeded in creating 175 fractions in these mass organizations. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, these are only a few—not all—of the positive experiences gained by the Young Communist League of the United States in the course of the work recently carried on by our American young comrades.

WORK IN BOURGEOIS YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Is the work which the Young Communist League of the U. S. A. has initiated so successfully within the ranks of the bourgeois mass organizations possible and necessary only in the United States?

Of course not. It is equally possible in many other countries, if not in the same forms. In Great Britain, our comrades have begun something similar, although in different forms. Or, more exactly, they are only just beginning; they are considerably belated. In the Scandinavian countries, our comrades are so late in starting that they even still have not seriously set themselves this task.

Naturally, in the fascist countries this work has to be carried on differently from the way it is carried on under legal conditions. Comrade Dimitroff has very excellently shown you this in his brilliant comparison with the Trojan horse.

But these tactics must be applied not only in the fascist countries, but also in many colonial countries, for instance, in China. You know that our Chinese young comrades in the Soviet regions have performed truly legendary deeds of heroism. In the regions where fighting is going on they understand in a masterly fashion also how to pursue the tactics characterized by the comparison with the Trojan horse. But in the White regions, where the Kuomintang terror is raging, it is precisely in these tactics that they are weak. The heroism of our young Chinese comrades is testified to by the prominent French writer, André Malraux, who went to China and there recorded in his descriptions the its own efforts have also given the Party leadership a better understanding of the role and needs of the Young Communist League. [sic in original]

But *all Communist Parties*, all leaders of the Communist Parties must understand once for all that the youth movement is the *heart* of the movement for social emancipation. Our youth, our hopes, are growing. But they would grow ten times faster if the Party leadership earnestly helped the Young Communist Leagues and if they assigned really capable forces to assist the youth. Some leaders of our youth movement have during the past few years grown to the stature of real youth leaders. But it will not do for every functionary of a Young Communist League who has proved himself to be a capable worker in the youth movement to be immediately taken away from this work by the leadership of the Party, as is now often the case.

Of course, the Young Communist League is among other things a school of cadres for the Party. But a school that is robbed of every capable teacher and leader is of no value. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrades, *the second imperialist world war is approaching.* Preparations are being made for the most criminal of all criminal wars—a counter-revolutionary imperialist attack on the Soviet country, the fatherland of the workers of all countries.

Well, we know that this war—as Comrade Stalin said—will be a most dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. But whom the gods would destroy, they first make blind.

The ruling bourgeoisie is steering towards a most dangerous military adventure. In many countries it has already selected stone-blind and insane adventurers as “leaders”, and has turned over the government to their hands.

Perhaps the German bourgeoisie does not deserve better leaders, but the world must be protected against the frenzy of such leaders.

The Japanese military leaders are “apostles of peace” (as General Araki called himself and his accomplices) not less dangerous to the common weal. In Poland, too, it is not political wisdom that stands at the helm of government; and British imperialism, insatiable in its lust for conquest, is prepared to support, directly or indirectly, any adventurist government in a war against the Soviet country. They are all from various ends and corners driving the world into a new massacre of the peoples. Hence the menace of war.

Well, all this does not frighten us. But it demands an earnest and energetic mobilization of the toiling population for the purpose of resisting, for combatting the war preparations of the bourgeoisie; it demands that the millions of members of the younger generation must be summoned to the united front.

How else can we resist the imperialist warmongers?

We want to attack our class enemies in the rear, when they start the war against the Soviet Union. But how can we do so if the majority of the toiling youth follow not us, but, for instance, the Catholic priests or the liberal chameleons?

We often repeat the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. In itself, the slogan is a good one, but it becomes an empty and dangerous phrase if we do nothing serious in advance to create a united youth front. (*Loud applause.*)

We need a revolutionary youth movement at least ten times as broad as our Parties, and a united youth front hundreds of times broader still. That this is entirely possible in many countries is shown by the achievements of our French and American young comrades.

Only if we undertake and press this work everywhere with the greatest possible energy, only if we achieve really important successes in this work, shall we be able to say that we are preparing the masses in a Bolshevik way against the event of an imperialist war.

"You will be given a gun. Take it and learn well the art of war. This is necessary for the proletarians, not in order to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries . . . but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, not by means of good intentions, but by a victory over the bourgeoisie and by disarming them."

If our Parties and our youth carry on the fight against war in this spirit, there can be no doubt that in a number of countries the counter-revolutionary imperialist war will lead to revolution, and that by the end of this world war many a Goering will present as pitiful a picture as van der Lubbe did in Leipzig. (*Loud applause.*)

Long live the Bolshevik youth!

Long live the glorious Soviet fatherland!

Long live the great leader of the world proletariat—Stalin!

(*Loud and prolonged applause. All stand amidst cries of "Red Front!" "Hurrah!" and "Brazzil!" The "Junge Garde", "Carmagnole" and other revolutionary songs are sung.*)

EXHIBIT No. 105

[Source: Excerpt from *State and Revolution*, by V. I. Lenin, published by International Publishers, New York; fourth printing, 1935 (third printing in 1935 was an edition of 100,000.) Pages 7-20]

STATE AND REVOLUTION

CHAPTER I. CLASS SOCIETY AND THE STATE

1. THE STATE AS THE PRODUCT OF THE IRRECONCILABILITY OF CLASS ANTAGONISMS

WHAT is now happening to Marx's doctrine has, in the course of history, often happened to the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have visited relentless persecution on them and received their teaching with the most savage hostility, the most furious hatred, the most ruthless campaign of lies and slanders. After their death, attempts are made to turn them into harmless icons, canonise them, and surround their *names* with a certain halo for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating and vulgarising the *real essence* of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge. At the present time, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labour movement are co-operating in this work of adulterating Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is, or seems, acceptable to the bourgeoisie. All the social-chauvinists are now "Marxists"—joking aside! And more and more do German bourgeois professors, erstwhile specialists in the demolition of Marx, speak now of the "national-German" Marx, who, they aver, has educated the labour unions which are so splendidly organised for conducting the present predatory war!

In such circumstances, the distortion of Marxism being so widespread, it is our first task to *resuscitate* the real teachings of Marx on the state. For this

purpose it will be necessary to quote at length from the works of Marx and Engels themselves. Of course, long quotations will make the text cumbersome and in no way help to make it popular reading, but we cannot possibly avoid them. All, or at any rate, all the most essential passages in the works of Marx and Engels on the subject of the state must necessarily be given as fully as possible, in order that the reader may form an independent opinion of all the views of the founders of scientific Socialism and of the development of those views, and in order that their distortions by the present predominant "Kautskyism" may be proved in black and white and rendered plain to all.

Let us begin with the most popular of Engels' works, *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*,¹ the sixth edition of which was published in Struttgart as far back as 1894. We must translate the quotations from the German originals, as the Russian translations, although very numerous, are for the most part either incomplete or very unsatisfactory.

Summarising his historical analysis Engels says:

The state is therefore by no means a power imposed on society from the outside; just as little is it "the reality of the moral idea," "the image and reality of reason," as Hegel asserted. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, may not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power apparently standing above society becomes necessary, whose purpose is to moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of "order"; and this power arising out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly separating itself from it, is the state.²

Here we have, expressed in all its clearness, the basic idea of Marxism on the question of the historical rôle and meaning of the state. The state is the product and the manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms. The state arises when, where, and to the extent that the class antagonisms *cannot* be objectively reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms *are* irreconcilable.

It is precisely on this most important and fundamental point that distortions of Marxism arise along two main lines.

On the one hand, the bourgeois, and particularly the petty-bourgeois, ideologists, compelled under the pressure of indisputable historical facts to admit that the state only exists where there are class antagonisms and the class struggle, "correct" Marx in such a way as to make it appear that the state is an organ for *reconciling* the classes. According to Marx, the state could neither arise nor maintain itself if a reconciliation of classes were possible. But with the petty-bourgeois and philistine professors and publicists, the state—and this frequently on the strength of benevolent references to Marx!—becomes a conciliator of the classes. According to Marx, the state is an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another; its aim is the creation of "order" which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes. But in the opinion of the petty-bourgeois politicians, order means reconciliation of the classes, and not oppression of one class by another; to moderate collisions does not mean, they say, to deprive the oppressed classes of certain definite means and methods of struggle for overthrowing the oppressors, but to practice reconciliation.

For instance, when, in the Revolution of 1917, the question of the real meaning and rôle of the state arose in all its vastness as a practical question demanding immediate action on a wide mass scale, all the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks suddenly and completely sank to the petty-bourgeois theory of "reconciliation" of the classes by the "state." Innumerable resolutions and articles by politicians of both these parties are saturated through and through with this purely petty-bourgeois and philistine theory of "reconciliation." That the state is an organ of domination of a definite class which *cannot* be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposed to it)—this petty-bourgeois democracy is never able to understand. Its attitude towards the state is one of the most telling proofs that our Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks are not Socialists at all (which

¹ Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, London and New York, 1933.—Ed.

² *Ibid.*—Ed.

we Bolsheviks have always maintained), but petty-bourgeois democrats with a near-Socialist phraseology.

On the other hand, the "Kautskyist" distortion of Marx is far more subtle. "Theoretically," there is no denying that the state is the organ of class domination, or that class antagonisms are irreconcilable. But what is forgotten or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, if it is a force standing *above* society and "increasingly separating itself from it," then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, *but also without the destruction* of the apparatus of state power, which was created by the ruling class and in which this "separation" is embodied. As we shall see later, Marx drew this theoretically self-evident conclusion from a concrete historical analysis of the problems of revolution. And it is exactly this conclusion which Kautsky—as we shall show fully in our subsequent remarks—has "forgotten" and distorted.

2. SPECIAL BODIES OF ARMED MEN, PRISONS, ETC.

Engels continues:

In contrast with the ancient organisation of the *gens*, the first distinguishing characteristic of the state is the grouping of the subjects of the state *on a territorial basis*. . . .

Such a grouping seems "natural" to us, but it came after a prolonged and costly struggle against the old form of tribal or gentile society.

. . . The second is the establishment of a *public force*, which is no longer absolutely identical with the population organising itself as an armed power. This special public force is necessary, because a self-acting armed organization of the population has become impossible since the cleavage of society into classes. . . . This public force exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men, but of material appendages, prisons and repressive institutions of all kinds, of which gentile society knew nothing. . . .²

Engels develops the conception of that "power" which is termed the state—a power arising from society, but placing itself above it and becoming more and more separated from it. What does this power mainly consist of? It consists of special bodies of armed men who have at their disposal prisons, etc.

We are justified in speaking of special bodies of armed men, because the public power peculiar to every state is not "absolutely identical" with the armed population, with its "self-acting armed organisation."

Like all the great revolutionary thinkers, Engels tries to draw the attention of the class-conscious workers to that very fact which to prevailing philistinism appears least of all worthy of attention, most common and sanctified by solid, indeed, one might say, petrified prejudices. A standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power. But can this be otherwise?

From the point of view of the vast majority of Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century whom Engels was addressing, and who had neither lived through nor closely observed a single great revolution, this cannot be otherwise. They cannot understand at all what this "self-acting armed organisation of the population" means. To the question, whence arose the need for special bodies of armed men, standing above society and becoming separated from it (police and standing army), the Western European and Russian philistines are inclined to answer with a few phrases borrowed from Spencer or Mikhailovsky, by reference to the complexity of social life, the differentiation of functions, and so forth.

Such a reference seems "scientific" and effectively dulls the senses of the average man, obscuring the most important and basic fact, namely, the break-up of society into irreconcilably antagonistic classes.

Without such a break-up, the "self-acting armed organisation of the population" might have differed from the primitive organisation of a herd of monkeys grasping sticks, or of primitive men, or men united in a tribal form of society, by its complexity, its high technique, and so forth, but would still have been possible.

It is impossible now, because society, in the period of civilisation, is broken up into antagonistic and, indeed, irreconcilably antagonistic classes, which, if armed in a "self-acting" manner, would come into armed struggle with each other. A state is formed, a special power is created in the form of special bodies of armed men, and every revolution, by shattering the state apparatus, demonstrates to

² *Ibid.*—Ed.

us how the ruling class aims at the restoration of the special bodies of armed men at *its* service, and how the oppressed class tries to create a new organisation of this kind, capable of serving not the exploiters, but the exploited.

In the above observation, Engels raises theoretically the very same question which every great revolution raises practically, palpably, and on a mass scale of action, namely, the question of the relation between special bodies of armed men and the "self-acting armed organisation of the population." We shall see how this is concretely illustrated by the experience of the European and Russian revolutions.

But let us return to Engels' discourse.

He points out that sometimes, for instance, here and there in North America, this public power is weak (he has in mind an exception that is rare in capitalist society, and he speaks about parts of North America in its pre-imperialist days, where the free colonist predominated), but that in general it tends to become stronger :

It [the public power] grows stronger, however, in proportion as the class antagonisms within the state grow sharper, and with the growth in size and population of the adjacent states. We have only to look at our present-day Europe, where class struggle and rivalry in conquest have screwed up the public power to such a pitch that it threatens to devour the whole of society and even the state itself.²

This was written as early as the beginning of the 'nineties of last century, Engels' last preface being dated June 16, 1891. The turn towards imperialism, understood to mean complete domination of the trusts, full sway of the large banks, and a colonial policy on a grand scale, and so forth, was only just beginning in France, and was even weaker in North America and in Germany. Since then the "rivalry in conquest" has made gigantic progress—especially as, by the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, the whole world had been finally divided up between these "rivals in conquest," *i. e.*, between the great predatory powers. Military and naval armaments since then have grown to monstrous proportions, and the predatory war of 1914–1917 for the domination of the world by England or Germany, for the division of the spoils, has brought the "swallowing up" of all the forces of society by the rapacious state power nearer to a complete catastrophe.

As early as 1891 Engels was able to point to "rivalry in conquest" as one of the most important features of the foreign policy of the great powers, but in 1914–1917, when this rivalry, many times intensified, has given birth to an imperialist war, the rascally social-chauvinists cover up their defence of the predatory policy of "their" capitalist classes by phrases about the "defence of the fatherland," or the "defence of the republic and the revolution," etc.!

3. THE STATE AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF THE OPPRESSED CLASS

For the maintenance of a special public force standing above society, taxes and state loans are needed.

Having at their disposal the public force and the right to exact taxes, the officials now stand as organs of society *above* society. The free, voluntary respect which was accorded to the organs of the gentile form of government does not satisfy them, even if they could have it. . . .

Special laws are enacted regarding the sanctity and the inviolability of the officials. "The shabbiest police servant . . . has more authority" than the representative of the clan, but even the head of the military power of a civilised state "may well envy the least among the chiefs of the clan the unconstrained and uncontested respect which is paid to him."²

Here the question regarding the privileged position of the officials as organs of state power is clearly stated. The main point is indicated as follows: what is it that places them *above* society? We shall see how this theoretical problem was solved in practice by the Paris Commune in 1871 and how it was slurred over in a reactionary manner by Kautsky in 1912.

As the state arose out of the need to hold class antagonisms in check: but as it, at the same time, arose in the midst of the conflict of these classes, it is,

² *Ibid.*—Ed.

as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which by virtue thereof becomes also the dominant class politically, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. . . .

Not only the ancient and feudal states were organs of exploitation of the slaves and serfs, but

the modern representative state is the instrument of the exploitation of wage-labour by capital. By way of exception, however, there are periods when the warring classes so nearly attain equilibrium that the state power, ostensibly appearing as a mediator, assumes for the moment a certain independence in relation to both. . . .²

Such were, for instance, the absolute monarchies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Bonapartism of the First and Second Empires in France, and the Bismarck régime in Germany.

Such, we may add, is now the Kerensky government in republican Russia after its shift to persecuting the revolutionary proletariat, at a moment when the Soviets, thanks to the leadership of the petty-bourgeois democrats, have *already* become impotent, while the bourgeoisie is *not yet* strong enough to disperse them outright.

In a democratic republic, Engels continues, "wealth wields its power indirectly, but all the more effectively," first, by means of "direct corruption of the officials" (America); second, by means of "the alliance of the government with the stock exchange" (France and America).

At the present time, imperialism and the domination of the banks have "developed" to an unusually fine art both these methods of defending and asserting the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all descriptions. If, for instance, in the very first months of the Russian democratic republic, one might say during the honeymoon of the union of the "Socialists"—Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks—with the bourgeoisie, Mr. Palchinsky obstructed every measure in the coalition cabinet, restraining the capitalists and their war profiteering, their plundering of the public treasury by means of army contracts; and if, after his resignation Mr. Palchinsky (replaced, of course, by an exactly similar Palchinsky) was "rewarded" by the capitalists with a "soft" job carrying a salary of 120,000 rubles per annum, what was this? Direct or indirect bribery? A league of the government with the capitalist syndicates, or "only" friendly relations? What is the role played by the Chernovs, Tseretelis, Avksentyevs and Skobelevs? Are they the "direct" or only the indirect allies of the millionaire treasury looters?

The omnipotence of "wealth" is thus more *secure* in a democratic republic, since it does not depend on the poor political shell of capitalism. A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism, and therefore once capital has gained control (through the Palchinskys, Chernovs, Tseretelis and Co.) of this very best shell, it establishes its power so securely, so firmly that *no* change, either of persons, or institutions, or parties in the bourgeois republic can shake it.

We must also note that Engels quite definitely regards universal suffrage as a means of bourgeois domination. Universal suffrage, he says, obviously summing up the long experience of German Social-Democracy, is "an index of the maturity of the working class; it cannot, and never will, be anything else but that in the modern state."

The petty-bourgeois democrats, such as our Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and also their twin brothers, the social-chauvinists and opportunists of Western Europe, all expect "more" from universal suffrage. They themselves share, and instil into the minds of the people, the wrong idea that universal suffrage "in the *modern* state" is really capable of expressing the will of the majority of the toilers and of assuring its realisation.

We can here only note this wrong idea, only point out that this perfectly clear, exact and concrete statement by Engels is distorted at every step in the propaganda and agitation of the "official" (i. e., opportunist) Socialist parties. A detailed analysis of all the falseness of this idea, which Engels brushes aside, is given in our further account of the views of Marx and Engels on the "modern" state.

² *Ibid.*—Ed.

A general summary of his views is given by Engels in the most popular of his works in the following words:

The state, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which managed without it, which had no conception of the state and state power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was necessarily bound up with the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity owing to this cleavage. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but is becoming a positive hindrance to production. They will disappear as inevitably as they arose at an earlier stage. Along with them, the state will inevitably disappear. The society that organises production anew on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machine where it will then belong: in the museum of antiquities, side by side with the spinning wheel and the bronze axe.²

It is not often that we find this passage quoted in the propaganda and agitation literature of contemporary Social-Democracy. But even when we do come across it, it is generally quoted in the same manner as one bows before an icon. *I. e.*, it is done merely to show official respect for Engels, without any attempt to gauge the breadth and depth of revolutionary action presupposed by this relegating of "the whole state machine . . . to the museum of antiquities." In most cases we do not even find an understanding of what Engels calls the state machine.

4. THE "WITHERING AWAY" OF THE STATE AND VIOLENT REVOLUTION

Engels' words regarding the "withering away" of the state enjoy such popularity, they are so often quoted, and they show so clearly the essence of the usual adulteration by means of which Marxism is made to look like opportunism, that we must dwell on them in detail. Let us quote the whole passage from which they are taken.

The proletariat seizes state power, and then transforms the means of production into state property. But in doing this, it puts an end to itself as the proletariat, it puts an end to all class differences and class antagonisms, it puts an end also to the state as the state. Former society, moving in class antagonisms, had need of the state, that is, an organisation of the exploiting class at each period for the maintenance of its external conditions of production: therefore, in particular, for the forcible holding down of the exploited class in the conditions of oppression (slavery, bondage or serfdom, wage-labour) determined by the existing mode of production. The state was the official representative of society as a whole, its embodiment in a visible corporate body; but it was this only in so far as it was the state of that class which itself, in its epoch, represented society as a whole: in ancient times, the state of the slave-owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, of the feudal nobility; in our epoch, of the bourgeoisie. When ultimately it becomes really representative of society as a whole, it makes itself superfluous. As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole—the seizure of the means of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of a state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then becomes dormant of itself. Government over persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production. The state is not "abolished," *it withers away*. It is from this standpoint that we must appraise the phrase "people's free state"—both its justification at times for agitational purposes, and its ultimate scientific inadequacy—and also the

² *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

demand of the so-called Anarchists that the state should be abolished overnight.³

Without fear of committing an error, it may be said that of this argument by Engels so singularly rich in ideas, only one point has become an integral part of Socialist thought among modern Socialist parties, namely, that unlike the Anarchist doctrine of the "abolition" of the state, according to Marx the state "withers away." To emasculate Marxism in such a manner is to reduce it to opportunism, for such an "interpretation" only leaves the hazy conception of a slow, even, gradual change, free from leaps and storms, free from revolution. The current popular conception, if one may say so, of the "withering away" of the state undoubtedly means a slurring over, if not a negation, of revolution.

Yet, such an "interpretation" is the crudest distortion of Marxism, which is advantageous only to the bourgeoisie; in point of theory, it is based on a disregard for the most important circumstances and considerations pointed out in the very passage summarising Engels' ideas, which we have just quoted in full.

In the first place, Engels at the very outset of his argument says that, in assuming state power, the proletariat by that very act "puts an end to the state as the state." One is "not accustomed" to reflect on what this really means. Generally, it is either ignored altogether, or it is considered as a piece of "Hegelian weakness" on Engels' part. As a matter of fact, however, these words express succinctly the experience of one of the greatest proletarian revolutions—the Paris Commune of 1871, of which we shall speak in greater detail in its proper place. As a matter of fact, Engels speaks here of the destruction of the bourgeois state by the proletarian revolution, while the words about its withering away refer to the remains of *proletarian* statehood *after* the Socialist revolution. The bourgeois state does not "wither away," according to Engels, but is "put an end to" by the proletariat in the course of the revolution. What withers away after the revolution is the proletarian state or semi-state.

Secondly, the state is a "special repressive force." This splendid and extremely profound definition of Engels' is given by him here with complete lucidity. It follows from this that the "special repressive force" of the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the proletariat, of the millions of workers by a handful of the rich, must be replaced by a "special repressive force" of the proletariat for the suppression of the bourgeoisie (the dictatorship of the proletariat). It is just this that constitutes the destruction of "the state as the state." It is just this that constitutes the "act" of "the seizure of the means of production in the name of society." And it is obvious that such a substitution of one (proletarian) "special repressive force" for another (bourgeois) "special repressive force" can in no way take place in the form of a "withering away."

Thirdly, as to the "withering away" or, more expressively and colourfully, as to the state "becoming dormant," Engels refers quite clearly and definitely to the period *after* "the seizure of the means of production [by the state] in the name of society," that is, *after* the Socialist revolution. We all know that the political form of the "state" at that time is complete democracy. But it never enters the head of any of the opportunists who shamelessly distort Marx that when Engels speaks here of the state "withering away" or "becoming dormant," he speaks of *democracy*. At first sight this seems very strange. But is "unintelligible" only to one who has not reflected on the fact that democracy is *also* a state and that, consequently, democracy will *also* disappear when the state disappears. The bourgeois state can only be "put an end to" by a revolution. The state in general, *i. e.*, most complete democracy, can only "wither away."

Fourthly, having formulated his famous proposition that "the state withers away," Engels at once explains concretely that this proposition is directed equally against the opportunists and the Anarchists. In doing this, however, Engels puts in the first place that conclusion from his proposition about the "withering away" of the state which is directed against the opportunists.

One can wager that out of every 10,000 persons who have read or heard about the "withering away" of the state, 9,990 do not know at all, or do not remember, that Engels did not direct his conclusions from this proposition against the Anarchists *alone*. And out of the remaining ten, probably nine do not know the meaning of a people's free state" nor the reason why an attack on this watchword contains an attack on the opportunists. This is

³ Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, London and New York, 1933.—*Ed.*

how history is written! This is how a great revolutionary doctrine is imperceptibly adulterated and adapted to current philistinism! The conclusion drawn against the Anarchists has been repeated thousands of times, vulgarized, harangued about in the crudest fashion possible until it has acquired the strength of a prejudice, whereas the conclusion drawn against the opportunists has been hushed up and "forgotten"!

The "people's free state" was a demand in the programme of the German Social-Democrats and their current slogan in the 'seventies. There is no political substance in this slogan other than a pompous middle-class circumlocution of the idea of democracy. In so far as it referred in a lawful manner to a democratic republic, Engels was prepared to "justify" its use "at times" from a propaganda point of view. But this slogan was opportunist, for it not only expressed an exaggerated view of the attractiveness of bourgeois democracy, but also a lack of understanding of the Socialist criticism of every state in general. We are in favour of a democratic republic as the best form of the state for the proletariat under capitalism, but we have no right to forget that wage slavery is the lot of the people even in the most democratic bourgeois republic. Furthermore, every state is a "special repressive force" for the suppression of the oppressed class. Consequently, no state is either "free" or a "people's state." Marx and Engels explained this repeatedly to their party comrades in the 'seventies.

Fifthly, in the same work of Engels, from which every one remembers his argument on the "withering away" of the state, there is also a disquisition on the significance of a violent revolution. The historical analysis of its rôle becomes, with Engels, a veritable panegyric on violent revolution. This, of course, "no one remembers"; to talk or even to think of the importance of this idea is not considered good form by contemporary Socialist parties, and in the daily propaganda and agitation among the masses it plays no part whatever. Yet it is indissolubly bound up with the "withering away" of the state in one harmonious whole.

Here is Engels' argument :

... That force, however, plays another rôle (other than that of a diabolical power) in history, a revolutionary rôle; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with the new; that it is the instrument with whose aid social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilised political forms—of this there is not a word in Herr Dühring. It is only with sighs and groans that he admits the possibility that force will perhaps be necessary for the overthrow of the economic system of exploitation—unfortunately! because, all use of force, forsooth, demoralises the person who uses it. And this in spite of the immense moral and spiritual impetus which has resulted from every victorious revolution! And this in Germany, where a violent collision—which indeed may be forced on the people—would at least have the advantage of wiping out the servility which has permeated the national consciousness as a result of the humiliation of the Thirty Years' War. And this parson's mode of thought—lifeless, insipid and impotent—claims to impose itself on the most revolutionary party which history has known?²

How can this panegyric on violent revolution, which Engels insistently brought to the attention of the German Social-Democrats between 1878 and 1894, *i. e.*, right to the time of his death, be combined with the theory of the "withering away" of the state to form one doctrine?

Usually the two views are combined by means of eclecticism, by an unprincipled, sophistic, arbitrary selection (to oblige the powers that be) of either one or the other argument, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred (if not more often), it is the idea of the "withering away" that is specially emphasised. Eclecticism is substituted for dialectics—this is the most usual, the most widespread phenomenon to be met with in the official Social-Democratic literature of our day in relation to Marxism. Such a substitution is, of course, nothing new; it may be observed even in the history of classic Greek philosophy. When Marxism is adulterated to become opportunism, the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics is the best method of deceiving the masses; it gives an illusory satisfaction; it seems to take into account all sides of the process, all the tendencies of development, all the contradictory factors and so forth, whereas in reality it offers no consistent and revolutionary view of the process of social development at all.

² *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

We have already said above and shall show more fully later that the teaching of Marx and Engels regarding the inevitability of a violent revolution refers to the bourgeois state. It *cannot* be replaced by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through "withering away," but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution. The panegyric sung in its honour by Engels and fully corresponding to the repeated declarations of Marx (remember the concluding passages of the *Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Communist Manifesto*, with its proud and open declaration of the inevitability of a violent revolution; remember Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* of 1875 in which, almost thirty years later, he mercilessly castigates the opportunist character of that programme³)—this praise is by no means a mere "impulse," a mere declamation, or a polemical sally. The necessity of systematically fostering among the masses *this* and just this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the *whole* of Marx's and Engels' teaching. The neglect of such propaganda and agitation by both the present predominant social-chauvinist and the Kautskyst currents brings their betrayal of Marx's and Engels' teaching into prominent relief.

The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution. The abolition of the proletarian state, *i. e.*, of all state, is only possible through "withering away."

Marx and Engels gave a full and concrete exposition of these views in studying each revolutionary situation separately, in analysing the lessons of the experience of each individual revolution. We now pass to this, undoubtedly the most important part of their work.

EXHIBIT No. 106

[Source: Excerpt from *State and Revolution*, by V. I. Lenin, published by International Publishers, New York: fourth printing, 1935 (third printing in 1935 was an edition of 100,000). Pages 39-44]

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3. THE DESTRUCTION OF PARLIAMENTARISM

The Commune—says Marx—was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time. . . .

Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business.²

This remarkable criticism of parliamentarism made in 1871 also belongs to the "forgotten words" of Marxism, thanks to the prevalence of social-chauvinism and opportunism. Ministers and professional parliamentarians, traitors to the proletariat and Socialist "sharks" of our day, have left all criticism of parliamentarism to the Anarchists, and, on this wonderfully intelligent ground, denounce *all* criticism of parliamentarism as "Anarchism"! It is not surprising that the proletariat of the most "advanced" parliamentary countries, being disgusted with such "Socialists" as Messrs. Scheidemann, David, Legien, Sembat, Renaudel, Henderson, Vandervelde, Stauning, Branting, Bissolati and Co. has been giving its sympathies more and more to Anarcho-syndicalism, in spite of the fact that it is but the twin brother of opportunism.

But to Marx, revolutionary dialectics was never the empty fashionable phrase, the toy rattle, which Plekhanov, Kautsky and the others have made of it. Marx knew how to break with Anarchism ruthlessly for its inability to make use of the "stable" of bourgeois parliamentarism, especially at a time when the situation was not revolutionary; but at the same time he knew how to subject parliamentarism to a really revolutionary-proletarian criticism.

To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and oppress the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics.

² *Ibid.*—Ed.

But, if the question of the state is raised, if parliamentarism is to be regarded as one institution of the state, what then, from the point of view of the tasks of the proletariat in *this* realm, is to be the way out of parliamentarism? How can we do without it?

Again and again we must repeat: the teaching of Marx, based on the study of the Commune, has been so completely forgotten that any criticism of parliamentarism other than Anarchist or reactionary is quite unintelligible to a present-day "Social-Democrat" (read: present-day traitor to Socialism).

The way out of parliamentarism is to be found, of course, not in the abolition of the representative institutions and the elective principle, but in the conversion of the representative institutions from mere "talking shops" into working bodies. "The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time."

"A working, not a parliamentary body"—this hits the vital spot of present-day parliamentarians and the parliamentary Social-Democratic "lap-dogs"! Take any parliamentary country, from America to Switzerland, from France to England, Norway and so forth—the actual work of the "state" there is done behind the scenes and is carried out by the departments, the offices and the staffs. Parliament itself gives up to talk for the special purposes of fooling the "common people." This is so true that even in the Russian republic, a bourgeois-democratic republic, all these aims of parliamentarism were immediately revealed, even before a real parliament was created. Such heroes of rotten philistinism as the Skobelevs and the Tseretelis, Chernovs and Avksentyevs, have managed to pollute even the Soviets, after the model of the most despicable petty-bourgeois parliamentarism, by turning them into hollow talking shops. In the Soviets, the Right Honourable "Socialist" Ministers are fooling the confiding peasants with phrase-mongering and resolutions. In the government itself a sort of permanent quadrille is going on in order that, on the one hand, as many S.-R.'s and Mensheviks as possible may get at the "gravy," the "soft" jobs, and, on the other hand, the attention of the people may be occupied. All the while the real "state" business is being done in the offices, in the staffs.

The *Dyelo Naroda*, organ of the ruling Socialist-Revolutionary Party, recently admitted in an editorial article—with the incomparable candour of people of "good society," in which "all" are engaged in political prostitution—that even in those ministries which belong to the "Socialists" (please excuse the term), the whole bureaucratic apparatus remains essentially the same as of old, working as of old, and "freely" obstructing revolutionary measures. Even if we did not have this admission, would not the actual history of the participation of the S.-R.'s and Mensheviks in the government prove this? It is only characteristic that—while in ministerial company with the Cadets—Messrs. Chernov, Rusanov, Zenzinov and other editors of the *Dyelo Naroda* have so completely lost all shame that they unblushingly proclaim, as if it were a mere bagatelle, that in "their" ministries everything remains as of old!! Revolutionary-democratic phrases to gull the Simple Simons; bureaucracy and red tape for the "benefit" of the capitalists—here you have the *essence* of the "honourable" coalition.

The venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society is replaced in the Commune by institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians must themselves work, must themselves execute their own laws, must themselves verify their results in actual life, must themselves be directly responsible to their electorate. Representative institutions remain, but parliamentarism as a special system, as a division of labour between the legislative and the executive functions, as a privileged position for the deputies, *no longer exists*. Without representative institutions we cannot imagine democracy, not even proletarian democracy; but we can and *must* think of democracy without parliamentarism, if criticism of bourgeois society is not mere empty words for us, if the desire to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie is our serious and sincere desire, and not a mere "election cry" for catching workingmen's votes, as it is with the Mensheviks and S.-R.'s, the Scheidemanns, the Legiens, the Sembats and the Vanderveides.

It is most instructive to notice that, in speaking of the functions of *those* officials who are necessary both in the Commune and in the proletarian democracy, Marx compares them with the workers of "every other employer," that is, of the usual capitalist concern, with its "workers and managers."

There is no trace of Utopianism in Marx, in the sense of inventing or imagining a "new" society. No, he studies, as a process of natural history, the

birth of the new society from the old, the forms of transition from the latter to the former. He takes the actual experience of a mass proletarian movement and tries to draw practical lessons from it. He "learns" from the Commune, as all great revolutionary thinkers have not been afraid to learn from the experience of great movements of the oppressed classes, never preaching them pedantic "sermons" (such as Plekhanov's: "They should not have taken up arms"; or Tsereteli's: "A class must know how to limit itself").

To destroy officialdom immediately, everywhere, completely—this cannot be thought of. That is a Utopia. But to *break up* at once the old bureaucratic machine and to start immediately the construction of a new one which will enable us gradually to reduce all officialdom to naught—this is *no* Utopia, it is the experience of the Commune, it is the direct and urgent task of the revolutionary proletariat.

Capitalism simplifies the functions of "state" administration; it makes it possible to throw off "commanding" methods and to reduce everything to a matter of the organisation of the proletarians (as the ruling class), hiring "workmen and managers" in the name of the whole of society.

We are not Utopians, we do not indulge in "dreams" of how best to do away *immediately* with all administration, with all subordination; these Anarchist dreams, based upon a lack of understanding of the task of proletarian dictatorship, are basically foreign to Marxism, and, as a matter of fact, they serve but to put off the Socialist revolution until human nature is different. No, we want the Socialist revolution with human nature as it is now, with human nature that cannot do without subordination, control, and "managers."

But if there be subordination, it must be to the armed vanguard of all the exploited and the labouring—to the proletariat. The specific "commanding" methods of the state officials can and must begin to be replaced—immediately, within twenty-four hours—by the simple functions of "managers" and bookkeepers, functions which are now already within the capacity of the average city dweller and can well be performed for "workingmen's wages."

We organise large-scale production, starting from what capitalism has already created; we workers *ourselves*, relying on our own experience as workers, establishing a strict, an iron discipline, supported by the state power of the armed workers, shall reduce the rôle of the state officials to that of simply carrying out our instructions as responsible, moderately paid "managers" (of course, with technical knowledge of all sorts, types and degrees). That is *our* proletarian task, with this we can and must *begin* when carrying through a proletarian revolution. Such a beginning, on the basis of large-scale production, of itself leads to the gradual "withering away" of all bureaucracy, to the gradual creation of a new order, an order without quotation marks, an order which has nothing to do with wage slavery, an order in which the more and more simplified functions of control and accounting will be performed by each in turn, will then become a habit, and will finally die out as *special* functions of a special stratum of the population.

A witty German Social-Democrat of the 'seventies of the last century called the *post-office* an example of the socialist system. This is very true. At present the post-office is a business organised on the lines of a state *capitalist* monopoly. Imperialism is gradually transforming all trusts into organisations of a similar type. Above the "common" workers, who are overloaded with work and starving, these stands here the same bourgeois bureaucracy. But the mechanism of social management is here already to hand. Overthrow the capitalists, crush with the iron hand of the armed workers the resistance of these exploiters, break the bureaucratic machine of the modern state—and you have before you a mechanism of the highest technical equipment, freed of "parasites," capable of being set into motion by the united workers themselves who hire their own technicians, managers, bookkeepers, and pay them *all*, as, indeed, every "state" official, with the usual workers' wage. Here is a concrete, practical task, immediately realisable in relation to all trusts, a task that frees the workers of exploitation and makes use of the experience (especially in the realm of the construction of the state) which the Commune began to reveal in practice.

To organise the *whole* national economy like the postal system, in such a way that the technicians, managers, bookkeepers as well as *all* officials, should receive no higher wages than "workingmen's wages," all under the control and leadership of the armed proletariat—this is our immediate aim. This is the kind of state and economic basis we need. This is what will produce the destruction of parliamentarism, while retaining representative institutions. This is what will free the labouring classes from the prostitution of these institutions by the bourgeoisie.

EXHIBIT No. 107

[Source: Excerpt from *State and Revolution*, by V. I. Lenin, published by International Publishers, New York: fourth printing, 1935 (third printing in 1935 was an edition of 100,000). Page 73]

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But the dictatorship of the proletariat—*i.e.*, the organisation of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of crushing the oppressors—cannot produce merely an expansion of democracy. *Together* with an immense expansion of democracy which *for the first time* becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich folk, the dictatorship of the proletariat produces a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force; it is clear that where there is suppression there is also violence, there is no liberty, no democracy.

EXHIBIT No. 108

[Source: *What Is Communism?* by Earl Browder, published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: second edition, 1936. Chapter XIV, entitled "Force and Violence," pages 124-130]

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CHAPTER XIV

FORCE AND VIOLENCE¹

It is obvious to everyone that the capitalist system is breaking down, that millions of people are condemned to a life of slow starvation because the capitalists can profitably operate only a small part of the existing means of production. But it would be a fatal mistake to conclude that the capitalist social order will simply collapse of its own weight, or that the capitalists will peacefully surrender their present power and then all of us will join together in the building of a new social system. No ruling class group has ever behaved in such peaceful fashion. As the crisis becomes worse, the more desperately will the capitalists cling to their property and their power, the more murderous will become their attacks on the masses of the people. It must be emphasized that capitalism will not simply come to an end; it can only be ended by the organized actions of the working class in collaboration with its allies from other sections of the population.

The revolution does not simply *happen*; it must be *made*. This does not imply that the Communist Party "makes" the revolution. The socialist revolution is carried out by the great masses of toilers. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the most conscious toilers, acts as their organizer and guide. It gives the masses political awareness of their problems, a realistic program that will solve these problems; the heightened class consciousness of the workers leads them to follow the Communist Party.

The transfer of state power from the capitalists to the working class, which begins the social revolution, can be accomplished only under certain conditions which have an objective existence independent of the desires of the struggling classes. There must be what we Communists call "a revolutionary situation".

¹ At the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party, held June 24-28, 1936, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Communist Party must use the opportunity of this election campaign to smash once and for all the superstition, which has been embodied in a maze of court decisions having the force of law, that our Party is an advocate of force and violence, that it is subject to laws (Federal immigration laws, state 'criminal syndicalism' laws) directed against such advocacy. The Communist Party is not a conspirative organization, it is an open revolutionary party, continuing the traditions of 1776 and 1861; it is the only organization that is really entitled by its program and work to designate itself as 'sons and daughters of the American revolution'. Communists are not anarchists, not terrorists. The Communist Party is a legal party and defends its legality. Prohibition of advocacy of force and violence does not apply to the Communist Party; it is properly applied only to the Black Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, and other fascist groupings, and to the strike-breaking agencies and the open-shop employers who use them against the working class, who are responsible for the terrible toll of violence which shames our country."

Such a situation develops when the ruling class can no longer dominate society in the old way; when the economic system breaks down and can no longer feed the masses; when the middle classes are wavering and a considerable part have turned against the rulers; when the capitalists themselves have lost confidence in their ability to solve their own problems; and when capitalist control of the armed forces of the state has been undermined and shaken.

Under such circumstances the revolutionary will-to-power of the workers, their heroism, their self-sacrifice, their enthusiasm to struggle for a new order, strike telling blows against a ruling class which is already shaken and conscious of its own doom. In this revolutionary situation, the Communist Party, which has won the active support of the majority of the working class and of the decisive sections of the other exploited classes, wins some of the armed forces to its side, and leads the effective majority of the population to the seizure of state power. There can be no such first step if there is no revolutionary situation, or if the Communist Party has failed to rally the support of the majority of the population. After this first step of taking state power has been realized, the workers make use of the state power to take possession of the instruments of production. Then the new government, at the head of the masses, reorganizes the entire national economy of the country in an organized and planned manner, along socialist lines.

So long as the capitalists retain complete control of the armed forces and their deadly weapons, they can defeat the revolt of the masses. In a revolutionary situation, however, the capitalists lose their former complete control of the armed forces. Capitalists do not fight their own battles; we have seen that they are but a tiny fraction of the population. To maintain their rule they need the support of sections of the population whom they bribe or dope with demagogy. Above all, they need the armed forces. But soldiers and sailors come from the ranks of the workers. They can be, and must be, won for the revolution. *All revolutions have been made with weapons which the overthrown rulers had relied on for their protection.*

We must dispose of the false notion that Communists believe that a revolutionary situation can only arise out of a second world war. Communists are opposed to another imperialist war and strive to organize the workers to defeat the plans of the warmongers. It is the uncompromising fight against war, not the imperialist war as such, which leads to revolution. Revolution arises out of imperialist war, not because revolutionists "welcome the war", but because they fight against the war before it comes with all their power, and if this is insufficient to stop the war, they lead the masses in struggles for peace that transform the imperialist war into a civil war against the oppressing class. It must be pointed out that a revolutionary situation could arise independently of whether an international war was being fought or not. At the same time, any large scale imperialist war, under the present conditions of capitalist decline, will inevitably bring about a revolutionary situation.

History does not show a single example in which state power was transferred from one class to another by peaceful means, whether in the form of voting or some other method of formal democracy. We have seen that the United States was able to win its independence only after a fierce and costly war. The elimination of chattel slavery in the South and the subsequent opening up of the entire country to the unchecked development of capitalism required four years of bloody civil war. These American examples can be duplicated in every country. We have seen how, in Italy and Germany, when capitalism faced the danger of the growing revolt of the masses, fascism emerged right out of the womb of the bourgeois democracy. Fascism is truly the enemy of democracy, which it devours in the most bestial fashion the world has ever seen. Wherever capitalism is confronted with a life-and-death crisis, it turns to fascist force and violence to destroy the civil liberties of the masses. It is the capitalist who utilizes unlimited violence against the toilers; it is the fascists who raise mass sadism to a ruling principle.

Communists, despite what their enemies say, do not advocate or idealize violence. A violent struggle with the capitalists is by no means our choice or preference. We know only too well the terrible price workers have to pay as the result of the violence employed by the capitalists against them every day. We would be only too delighted if the capitalists would voluntarily scrap the deadly weapons which they use against the population at home, and which they are piling up in unprecedented quantities for a second world war. But we would be more than fools, we would be criminals, if we did not warn the toilers that capitalists will not peacefully submit to the dictates of history. They will not allow the human race to move smoothly to a new

and better society. We know that rather than turn over control to the workers they would first destroy all of civilization.

The more that capitalism disintegrates the more desperate will be its actions against the masses of the people, the more fiercely will it use unrestrained violence to keep down rising discontent, and the more frantically will it destroy those formal democratic rights that once it granted when it felt itself strong and secure. Here in the United States, the classic hand of bourgeois democracy, the most authoritative spokesmen for the ruling class have openly declared that they will abolish all civil liberties and establish a fascist dictatorship, rather than allow any fundamental change in the economic system. Under the Roosevelt administration big strides in this direction were taken. The martial law and terror used against strikers throughout the strike wave of 1933-35 gave a pretty good sample of what the capitalist class has in store for the workers. Would even the most optimistic pacifist pretend that the white landlords in the South will ever peacefully grant democratic rights to the Negroes, not to speak of land? Would the mine operators, the textile mill owners, and all the capitalists who have murdered their workers in cold blood when they merely asked for union recognition, ever turn over their mines, mills and factories to the workers without a struggle?

The workers are permitted democratic rights only so long as they do not employ them against capitalism. The moment they begin to use these limited democratic rights to better their economic conditions, then the capitalists immediately move against these democratic rights. That is why it is so necessary for the anti-fascist movement in the present situation in the United States to fight for the democratic rights of the toilers.

But for the workers to win a real democracy for themselves they must organize the dictatorship of the proletariat against the capitalists. Just as the capitalists enjoy democracy among themselves by suppressing the toilers, so can the latter enjoy democracy only by suppressing the capitalist class. The decisive question is democracy for whom, and dictatorship against whom. We Communists propose to reverse the present situation, to provide democracy for all the toilers and dictatorship against the bankers, monopolists and other capitalist racketeers.

If bourgeois property is to be maintained under the present conditions of capitalist crisis, then the ruling class says there must be the destruction of surplus goods and productive forces accompanied by the most brutal suppression of the suffering masses. If the productive forces and accumulated wealth of society are to be preserved and further developed, the property rights of the capitalists and the institutions by which they are maintained must be abolished, and the exploiting minority and its agents suppressed. Thus, some form of violence is unavoidable. There is no possible choice between violence and non-violence. The only choice is between the two sides of the class struggle.

If the capitalists should win the immediate fight, it will not mean a solution of the problems of the capitalist crisis. All the antagonisms which brought on the decline of capitalism will be intensified many-fold and a new and more violent crisis will develop. But if the progressive forces in society can overcome the violence of the capitalists, then mankind will be able to leap forward to a new and higher stage of history. The planned utilization of all productive possibilities will for the first time release humanity from the tyranny of man over man, and the subjection of mankind to the whims of nature. As Engels said, mankind will then be able to go from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

EXHIBIT No. 109

[Source: What Is Communism? by Earl Browder, published by Workers Library Publishers, New York; second edition, 1936. Chapter XVII, entitled "What About Religion?" pages 146-150]

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CHAPTER XVII

WHAT ABOUT RELIGION?

The united front work of Communists, especially their anti-war work, brings them into contact with large sections of the American population which are

connected with church institutions in one form or another. In working with these masses to forge the united front against fascism and war, Communists take their religious beliefs into account. We respect these beliefs, because we think that religious-minded people will participate in the Socialist revolution. This does not mean that we cease to regard religion as a capitalist controlled institution. But we do respect the right of the masses to hold on to their views, and are entirely opposed to any system of coercion, such as the fascists in Germany are trying to impose upon Protestants and Catholics.

Communists believe, as Marx pointed out at the very beginning of his career, that the social function of religion and religious institutions is to act as an opiate. They keep the masses passive and persuade them to accept bad conditions in the hope of a reward after death. It is this social role of religious institutions that the Communist Party fights against uncompromisingly. We try to rouse the masses from passivity, and organize them in struggle for a better life on earth. Naturally we fight against anything and any institution that propagates the idea of passive submission to the ruling class.

But the Communists maintain that the religious beliefs of a person are his private concern in relation to the state and governmental policies. The state should not dictate religious beliefs. We Communists are completely opposed on principle to state coercion in regard to religious beliefs.

Of course, Communists do not consider religion to be a private matter insofar as it concerns members in our revolutionary Party. We stand without any reservations for education that will root out beliefs in the supernatural, that will remove the religious prejudices which stand in the way of organizing the masses for socialism, that will withdraw the special privileges of religious institutions. But as far as religious workers go, the Party does not insist that they abandon their beliefs before they join the Party. Our test for such people is whether they represent and fight for the aspirations of the masses. If they do, we welcome them into our Party, and we exercise no coercion against their religious beliefs within our movement. We subject their religious beliefs to careful and systematic criticism, and we expect that they will not be able to withstand this educational process. It is our experience that their work in the movement will bring them to see the correctness of our viewpoint on this question.

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successful united fronts with church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such, on our part. In fact, by going among the religious masses, we are for the first time able to bring our anti-religious ideas to them. We have been able to unite with them because we have been able to convince many church leaders, and especially their followers, of the necessity for unity if we are to protect our rights, among them religious freedom, which are endangered by the rise of fascism. They have found that it is the anti-religious Communists who fight for freedom of religious belief. They have seen that it is the fascists, who supposedly march under the flag of religion, as in Germany, who destroy all freedom including religious freedom. Hence, many church organizations have joined in the broad united front against war and fascism, and are glad to find the anti-religious Communists fighting alongside of them, shoulder to shoulder.

It is true that we have learned to be much more careful about the quality of our mass work in this field. We take pains not to offend any religious belief. We don't want to close the minds of religious people to what we have to tell them about capitalism, because of some remark or action offensive to their religion. We can well say that the cessation of ineffective, rude and vulgar attacks upon religion is a positive improvement in our work.

Our aim is to remove all obstacles that stand in the way of mobilizing the religious masses of this country into a movement against fascism and war. This is especially important work because the greatest organized section of our population is in or around church groups. Only a "Leftist" simpleton would suggest that we Communists should keep ourselves "pure" and uncontaminated by association with the millions of church-goers in this country; only a reactionary will advise the church followers to keep themselves uncontaminated by the united front with the Communists.

This aim of ours clears up a question much discussed by critics of the Communists, namely, our united front activities with the followers of the self-styled God of Harlem, Father Divine. It is significant that most of those people who criticize us for associating with Father Divine and the members of his

church are willing enough to permit us to have united activities with more "respectable" church organizations. In other words, they demand that we should be "discriminating", and should not associate ourselves with "bad" religious organizations, but only with "good" ones. They are especially outraged by the fact that Father Divine's followers place their God on 115th Street in Harlem, instead of the more romantic regions of the heavenly firmament. Their sense of decorum is outraged because Father Divine's flock loudly demonstrates its religious enthusiasm in the streets, and not quietly behind stained-glass windows.

But these critics do not understand that we Communists do not distinguish between good and bad religions, because we think they are all bad for the masses. We are not interested in the exact location of God's residence or in the enthusiasm or lack of enthusiasm in religious worship.

We judge religious organizations and their leaders by their attitude to the fundamental social issues of the day. What church organization has so completely demonstrated its opposition to fascism and war as that of Father Divine? Other churches could very well follow his example. We would be delighted if thousands of other churches would support the Workers' Social Insurance Bill, the fight to free the Scottsboro Boys, and would fight against Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, as the followers of Father Divine have done.

It is especially important that we bring our united front program to the Negro masses where there are the greatest suffering and oppression, and where there has been the greatest response to our message of organization and struggle. Our activity is gradually succeeding in giving a social and political education to the Negro men and women who belong to Father Divine's church? Who would deny the tremendous importance of this education in the center of Harlem, where a people are bound in the chains of segregation, misery and oppression? These masses will be liberated from religious superstitions only by our economic and political work, which reaches them in the only way possible at this particular point in their development.

We have nothing in common with the religious beliefs of Father Divine, in whose fantastic features we see the fundamental characteristics of all religions. But we have much in common with the masses of Negroes who follow Father Divine. They are our people. We will fight for them and for their interests. We will do everything possible to draw them into the common struggle against a common foe—the capitalist system. We will not deny to them the right to religious beliefs that we grant to Catholic workers, Jewish workers, or the members of the numerous Protestant sects. We fight for all of them; at the same time we reserve our own right to oppose all religious superstition wherever we find it, and with the most effective means at our disposal.

There are common objectives that Communists and religious organizations can strive to obtain. We have seen this take place in the United States, where they have fought jointly against fascism and war, and against coercion in the field of educational freedom by reactionaries. Such joint struggles will develop more and more, and many religious bodies will be valuable allies in the battle against oppression.

EXHIBIT No. 110

[Source: What Is Communism? by Earl Browder, published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: second edition, 1936. Chapter XXI, entitled "A Glimpse of Soviet America," pages 173-179]

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CHAPTER XXI

A GLIMPSE OF SOVIET AMERICA

Questions are frequently put to us asking, in one form or another, what a Soviet America would look like. There is a great temptation to answer with an imaginative picture of the glories of an America released from capitalist sabotage. But the imagination is staggered by the first approach to this task. And, after all, there is more value in the sober examination of those objective facts of the already achieved productive forces, to see what can be done by simply the full utilization of the present technical achievements, which would be but the first steps of a workers' government.

To what extent can we take the experience of the Soviet Union as a forecast of what a Soviet America would look like?

In certain respects it gives us an accurate forecast; in other respects the question in America will be placed quite differently. The principles upon which a Soviet America would be organized would be the same, in every respect, as those which guided the Soviet Union. But in our case these principles would be applied, not to the most backward but to the most advanced capitalist country. This makes tremendous differences in the details of birth and growth of the new society.

In Russia the actual seizure of power and establishment of the Soviet Government were relatively easy and almost bloodless; only afterward came the imperialist intervention, prolonged civil war and capitalist-inspired wrecking which, added to the ruin the World War inflicted upon a backward country, left the Soviet Government with the task of building from the ground up in the midst of a hostile world.

In America most of our difficulties lie precisely in the achievement of power for the working class, in the establishment of the Soviet Government. After that has been accomplished, the American capitalists will have no great powerful allies from abroad to help them continue the struggle. It will already be clear that world capitalism has received its death-blow. The Soviet Government of America will take over a society already technically prepared for communism. Where in Russia it was necessary to go through the prolonged period of War Communism, the N. E. P., the First and Second Five-Year Plans, in America we will start economically at a stage even further advanced, at about the point which Russia will reach in her Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The only thing that could change this favorable perspective for a Soviet America would be a possible, but unpredictable, destruction of American economy by an imperialist war, carried out by agencies of destruction hitherto unknown.

The United States, in short, contains already all the prerequisites for a communist society except the one single factor of Soviet power. In Russia, Lenin said, several years after 1917, "The Soviet power, plus electrification, equals communism". In America the electrification already exists, so we can shorten Lenin's formula.

The question is, given the American working class in undisputed power, what would be the possible and probable course of development of the economic and social life of the country?

The new government would immediately take over and operate all the banks, railroads, water and air transport, mines and all major trustified industries. Minor industries, municipal public utilities and the distributive occupations would be reorganized as functions of local government or as cooperatives, or, in some instances, as auxiliaries of major industries. Large-scale agriculture would be taken over and operated by the government, while the mass of small farmers would be encouraged and helped to combine into voluntary cooperatives for large-scale production with state aid.

All available man-power would be put to work immediately, first of all in the direct production of material wealth, second in its distribution, and third in the social services of health, education and entertainment.

Every able-bodied person would be required to go to work and for this receive wages according to a scale socially determined. Such a wage-scale in the beginning could range, for example, from a minimum of \$2,000 per year up to \$10,000 or higher, at present values. The average, according to the most conservative estimates of present potential national income, after making allowance for capital accumulation, would be about \$5,000 per year for each family in the United States. That can be taken as the immediate average standard of living under a Soviet Government in America.

In what form would this be made available to the population? Many questions have been raised, asking whether there would not be such regimentation, such monotonous uniformity, that, even with such high standards of income, it would take the salt out of life. Such doubters visualize the citizens of Soviet America living in uniform barracks, wearing uniform clothing prescribed by law, eating the same meals, reading the same books and newspapers, seeing the same entertainment, thinking the same thoughts, etc., etc. Such a picture of communist society is the bogey-man created by the propagandists for capitalism, but the closest that humanity will ever get to such a condition is the present moment under capitalism. These gentlemen would have us believe that communism will merely take the worst feature of capitalism and make it the universal rule. Why we should do such a stupid thing, no one can explain!

The fact is, of course, that the communist reality would be quite different from this doleful picture. For the first time we could escape from the terrible housing of slum barracks imposed by capitalism and begin to get modern, decent homes for everybody. Even the first simple redistribution of existing housing would revolutionize this situation. We could smash the uniformity of clothing imposed by the combination of our own poverty and capitalist mass production. For the first time in our lives the majority could eat what their tastes dictate, because for the first time they could afford it. And for the first time, the human mind would be liberated from regimented mental slavery to Hollywood, Hearst & So.

Why can we be sure that we would have all these desirable things? Because there would be nothing to prevent us from having them if we want them. We would have the power to form our lives the way we choose; we have every reason, therefore, to expect that the choice will not be stupid, reactionary nonsense described by the enemies of communism.

The primary concern of the Soviet Government will be production; this will be highly centralized, to realize the benefits of the highest technical achievements. All means of production will be socialized, taken out of private control. But consumption will be socialized only upon a voluntary basis, with the greatest flexibility and freedom of choice for each individual. And the greater grows the flow of wealth production, the more complete will become the freedom of consumption, up to the point where all consumption will become absolutely free and unfettered.

Only under such a society can we expect to witness the full unfolding of the marvelous potentialities of the human spirit, the development of human genius and individuality raised to the nth power because it is the power no longer of a few exceptional individuals but of the million masses of free men and women.

Many of our questioners have asked:

"But how can the industries be kept operating at capacity without the profit motive? Will not a bureaucratic apparatus grow up in control which will become a new ruling class? And do we not have again the seeds of the old profit motive in the unequal wages, etc., which even you admit will exist under socialism?"

We expect our socialist factories to produce at top speed, *because* the "profit motive" has been eliminated. That famous old profit motive, which used to open up factories in the youth of capitalism, operates in modern times mainly to close them down. The administrative apparatus of a socialist economy can never become a new ruling class because it lacks that private ownership, that monopoly of the means of life of the masses, which is the foundation of class divisions in society.

No, the old profit motive will not creep back into the socialist society through unequal wages, etc. The profit motive has nothing to do with wages, equal or unequal, notwithstanding Mr. Roosevelt's efforts in his message to Congress in January, 1935, to picture the whole population of the country as living on profits, and as depending upon increased profits for an increased standard of living. Such a conception of profits belongs not to the literature of economics, but that of bed-time stories for children. Profit is only that appropriation from the current production of society which is based upon, and justified by, the private ownership of the socially-used means of production. The profit motive is never anything else than that motive of a small group of owners, as owners, to allow their property to be used by the great mass of non-owners for production, in the expectation of realizing an increasing proportion of the product as profit. The motive of those who do the producing never was, is not, and can never be, a "profit motive" but exists only in spite of profit and in constant antagonism to profit. The removal of profit under socialism releases the constructive human motives to labor from their greatest handicap.

What are the human motives to labor? The most primitive and almost the only ones under capitalism are the fear of hunger and want, the desire to escape poverty and starvation. Under capitalism, the highest development of this motive is the ambition to rise, by hard labor, out of the laboring class into the petty bourgeoisie. Under socialism, this most primitive motive will be applied mainly in the remarking of bourgeois elements into workers, as in the slogan "He who does not work, neither shall he eat". For the main mass of workers, socialism introduces new motives, social motives, the motives of social emulation, the honor and heroism of producers serving society and not private profit-takers.

Under socialism, labor becomes more and more of a privilege instead of a burden; it carries with it its own rewards, of which the material aspect

becomes less and less important, the aspect of social recognition becomes more and more dominant.

And what a gigantic motive power for society is this new motive of socialist labor! What an expansion of the human powers is brought about by it! Already the Soviet Union has given us a few glimpses into the profound revolution in human nature that is brought about by the operation of this new motive in human activity.

Socialism is not only a revolution in economic life. It makes an entirely new human race. It takes this man who has been brutalized and degraded through the ages by the violence and oppression of class societies, frees him from his woeful heritage, carries over from the past only the achievements of the human mind and not its crimes and stupidities, and remakes man, molding him in the heat of socialist labor into a new social being.

The rising socialist system in the Soviet Union has, for years now, demonstrated that in the expansion of material production it outdistances capitalism in the period of its youth by seven or eight-fold. In the production of superior types of human beings, the superiority of socialism is demonstrated a thousand times more decisively. Capitalism, even in decay, can still produce material wealth, even though the amount becomes smaller; but in producing higher types of men and raising the social level of the population as a whole, the capitalist system has completely lost what power it had in its youth. Today it is corrupting and degrading whole populations, and poisons and stultifies its own geniuses.

Today it has become clear that all human progress is possible only in struggle against the capitalist system and its agents, only in the fight for socialism as the next stage in the historical march of humanity toward the classless, communist society.

EXHIBIT No. 111

[Source: Party Organizer, issued by Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A., May, 1937, Vol. X, No. 5, pages 25-29]

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WORK AMONG PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE

By David Armstrong

This is an industrial town of about 200,000 people, with a university and a fairly large middle-class population. Two years ago there was no Party organization among these middle-class people, and hardly any work going on among them.

At that time the Party approached a few sympathetic professional workers and suggested to them the possibility of building a study circle. This group at first attracted about ten people, who were studying Marxism. By January, 1935, there was already a Party unit of five, which worked in secrecy, only two or three leading comrades knowing who were in it. There was regular leadership from a district comrade, himself an intellectual.

The history of the unit can be divided as follows:

FIRST PERIOD—JANUARY TO SEPTEMBER, 1935

Our main work was in the study group, which doubled its size. At its meetings, which were held in private homes, in addition to the discussions we had reports from those of us who were active in other work, such as unemployment insurance work, and we always called for volunteers to join in these campaigns. As a result we were able to supply half a dozen active people in the unemployment insurance work, forming a fairly broad committee which visited organizations, got endorsements for the Lundeen Bill, and ran mass meetings.

The unit itself was very weak. Meetings were unprepared; we had few discussions, and in fact we acted simply as a fraction for the two phases of work mentioned above. Our best feature was that we immediately formed the habit of discussing possible recruits every month. In this way, starting with personal contact, and going on through the study group, and activation in the Lundeen Bill campaign, we recruited seven more people.

SECOND PERIOD—SEPTEMBER TO JANUARY, 1936

The unit now had a dozen members. It was much more mature in the matter of discussions and preparing agendas. A bureau began to function.

The main weakness (from which we still suffer) began to be felt: that was, our conditions of secrecy kept us isolated from the rest of the Party. We did not know at all what was going on, relying simply on sporadic reports from a few contacts we had with the section.

Our mass work broadened out a lot. In addition to the growing study group, which was continually activating more of its members, we now sent forces into the American League Against War and Fascism which was at a standstill, we helped establish the Friends of the Soviet Union here and provided forces for work in aid of the unemployed, as well as in the trade union movement and in the Farmer-Labor Party, where two of our comrades played a leading part. We also began to raise money every month or so through house parties.

At the end of this period we tried out the method of mass recruiting. We brought together a group of our best contacts, the section organizer spoke on the role of the Party, and seven signed up. Some of them later criticized this method as being too open, but the results were all right.

THIRD PERIOD—JANUARY TO SEPTEMBER, 1936

As we now had 20 members we decided we ought to split into two units. This in itself was correct, but the way we did it was a model of how *not* to work. We brought all the twenty together (the seven recruits had never been to a unit meeting before) and confronted them with a plan for reorganization which meant taking several from the organization they were used to, and pitchforking them into another that they knew nothing about; at the same time we would split the unit along functional lines. There was so much opposition to the first proposal that we dropped it, but the second we carried through, although the reasons for it were not clear to the recruits who wanted one large unit with the stronger leadership that could have resulted.

The results of this blunder were that the new comrades got a poor first impression of Party leadership. However, we did not lose any of them and our work went ahead. We now began to undertake some of the regular Party tasks. We got about 30 subs for the *Sunday Worker*, and some of the comrades began to do house-to-house selling in outlying sections of the city. We began to build a sustainers' list, and recruiting went on steadily; we had it on the agenda every month.

At this time, too, some of the new comrades took the initiative in starting work in the middle class mass organizations they had been members of before they came into the movement. They have been able to gain influence, and achieve really progressive results, bringing in many of our speakers and collecting money for a number of united front causes. This is rapidly becoming one of the best parts of our work.

LAST PERIOD

We are now in strong positions in many of the community organizations. They ask us to arrange programs for them, and although they don't yet follow our line in everything, they accept us as progressives and our influence is growing.

In our discussion group we are taking a much broader line, with political subjects alternating with cultural and social, so that the group is again growing in size.

Our fraction in the American League Against War and Fascism took the lead in the campaign for Spain and has to date collected over \$1,000, as well as a truckload of clothes, etc.

In the inner Party work, also, we are now able to take and fulfil quotas on all drives, the *Daily Worker*, election campaign, etc.

The good features of our work can be summed up as follows:

1. Functioning bureaus, well-prepared agendas, regular political discussions. The comrades look forward to the unit meetings, and recruits are always well impressed.

2. Recruiting is a habit with us. Even a year before the center gave us the suggestion we have had a recruiting list. In two years we have brought in 27 and only lost one.

3. An outward orientation; shown by the beginnings of open *Sunday Worker* selling, work in middle class organizations, growth of the Party and of our discussion group

We have also many weaknesses:

1. After two years we have no regular sustainers' fund. Some months we bring in \$20—others, nothing. This must be remedied very soon.

2. A tendency for our units to work as functions. This results in omitting fraction meetings, sloppy work in the mass groups and too much detail in the unit meetings.

3. Isolation from the Party and the working class. This is the result of our secret character, and it is a problem. Many of the comrades do not know what the rest of the Party is doing, and what little they do know is from reports, not from contact. This slows up our development, and is recognized by all as a shortcoming.

4. We were very slow in re-adjusting our work to the line of the Seventh Congress. The study group was too "Left", instead of quickly becoming a forum for all middle class progressives; and we started work too slowly in the middle class organizations.

What conclusions shall we draw from all this?

1. It is not only in this city that this kind of work can be done. There must be a core of Left-wing professionals in every city who can easily be won for activity and for the Party if we look for them. These people are waiting for the Party to find them.

2. It is easy and important to win key positions in the middle class organizations. We can find many individuals there to follow us, and even win the whole group for the People's Front, for Spain, against war and fascism.

3. The district and section should pay attention to the wish of many professionals to stay under cover. That has been done here, and the result is that a lot of good work has been done in places we should not otherwise have reached; also those for whom secrecy is not so important have learned in their own time how far they can safely come out in the open.

4. There is a grave danger of isolation, which might easily lead to sectarianism and petty-bourgeois deviations. This will best be solved by building a People's Front movement where the middle class Party members and sympathizers will be in contact with the working class through their activity.

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EXHIBIT No. 112

[Source: A booklet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: 1937]

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By Alex Bittelman

Workers Library Publishers, New York

PREFATORY NOTE

The present publication is a reprint of my pamphlet Fifteen Years of the Communist Party which appeared in 1934. Added is a brief historical survey on the occasion of the eighteenth anniversary of our Party.

The reader should bear in mind that the series of articles appearing here were written at various times in connection with specific phases of our Party's growth, and that they constitute, therefore, a part of the development of our Party. As such, these articles present historical material which we felt should be republished as an aid to the study and understanding of the history of our Party.

ALEX BITTELMAN

August, 1937

THE VANGUARD ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY¹

A BRIEF HISTORIC SURVEY ON THE OCCASION OF THE EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

In celebrating the eighteenth anniversary of the Communist Party, it is our task to bring to life our Party's history: its origin, its struggles for the

¹ Reprinted from *The Communist*, August and September, 1937.

working class and for the people, its setbacks and achievements. We should make the membership of the Party, and the widest circles of our people, conscious of the fact that our Party stems from the first Marxian groups in this country, which played such an important role in the birth and organization of the American labor movement, that we stem from the groups of the First International of Marx and Engels, which inscribed a glorious page in the struggle against slavery and for democracy that was led by Abraham Lincoln.

We should make the people conscious of the fact that in our Party are embodied the best revolutionary and democratic traditions of the country, of the working class.

And as we come nearer to our own day, to the time when the Communist Party was formally organized, we find that the birth of our Party as an independent political organization was made possible by the infusion of Leninism into the experience of the progressive labor movement of America. These experiences plus Leninism gave us the basis for the Communist Party. The Communist International, and its model party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—headed by Comrade Stalin, gave us the guidance that helped the American Communists to find the way to the masses and to the position of vanguard.

Through the eighteen years of its existence, our Party has passed through several periods, the same as the world in which we live and struggle. These periods have to be studied and lessons drawn for our work today. But through all these periods and changes, our Party has always been a loyal and devoted section of our class—the working class; its self-sacrificing advanced detachment in the struggle for a better life. Mistakes we have made; but we have never been ashamed to admit them and correct them openly and with the help of our class. That is why, in part, our Party was able to function as the advance guard, to fight most consistently for the task of the day and to point the road forward to the struggle of tomorrow. That is why so many of our slogans of agitation of yesterday have now become the slogans of action of great mass movements of the working class and its allies. That is how our Party has reached its present advanced position in the labor movement and in the developing People's Front.

This we should make the masses conscious of by spreading widely the writings of our leaders, Browder and Foster, where the history of our Party comes to life and helps build the future.

From such a study of our history, the masses will also learn how our struggle against Right opportunism (Lovestonism, which is becoming less and less distinguishable from Trotskyism) and against Trotskyism, now degenerated into fascist banditism, has helped us to become stronger, more able to resist bourgeois influences, more effective fighters as the vanguard of our class. And especially our Party membership will learn how persistence in deviations from Leninism, from the Bolshevik line of the Party, invariably leads to degeneration and to the camp of the enemy.

Let us prepare properly for the fulfillment of these tasks on the eighteenth anniversary of our Party. And let us make this an occasion for heightening the work of Party building: recruiting, *Daily Worker* circulation, improvement of all phases of our work, and deeper training in the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Let the eighteenth anniversary become a milestone in the realization of our great tasks as formulated in the decisions of the June meeting of the Central Committee.

It does not require much investigation for us to see that never in the history of the Party was the situation so favorable as it is today for the Communist Party to function successfully as the vanguard of the working class. And for the following reasons: the working class is in motion. It is organizing economically and politically. It has come into life as a class, becoming a leading political factor in the country and reaching out for correct relations with its allies among the farmers, city middle classes and Negroes.

And where does our Party find itself in relation to these big progressive movements of the working class and of the people? Not outside but inside, in the very thick of them; not as observers but as active participants; not in conflict with these movements but as close collaborators. Clearly, this is a most favorable position from which to build the Party as the true vanguard of the working class. Never as yet has our Party found itself in such a favorable position.

This, of course, did not come about automatically. Given the objective conditions which characterize the present situation, nationally and internationally, it was our correct line and the struggle for it among the masses that placed our

Party in this position. It was our correct struggle for the unity of the working class and for the People's Front that brought the Party to this advanced position.

Is it true, then, or is it not true, that the present position of our Party in the mass movements of the working class and its allies is most favorable for the fulfillment of our historic role as the vanguard, for the building up of our Party as the true advanced detachment of the American working class? It is absolutely true. The whole previous history of our Party has prepared us for that. I refer especially to the following: our constant devotion and loyalty to the class interests of the workers and their allies; our self-sacrificing struggles in defense of these interests; loyalty to our revolutionary principles; to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin under all and every circumstance; our pioneering work in all fields of working class organization and struggle; similar historic pioneering activities among the Negroes, farmers, women and youth; our struggle against opportunism and sectarianism in our own midst; our readiness to admit errors and to correct them publicly and with the help of our class; our devotion and loyalty to our Party and to the Communist International—to its principles, discipline and leadership—all these vital achievements and experiences in the history of our Party which we placed at the service of the line of the Seventh World Congress, for the struggle for the united and People's Front, have helped to bring about the present forward march of labor as well as to place our Party in the present favorable position in the mass movements.

Favorable in what sense? In the sense of being able to render *greater* service to our class and to our people in the struggle against their exploiters; in the sense of being a *more* effective force in the struggle for the unity of the working class and for the People's Front against reaction, fascism and war; in the sense of being able to help *the whole class* and its allies to proceed from lower to higher stages of struggle and to the socialist revolution; in the sense, in short, of building up our Party as the true revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

How does the Party build itself as the vanguard of the working class? Comrade Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*² gives us the answer to the question. He says: "The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit and their unbounded devotion to the cause of the proletariat." (p. 38.)

That means, first, *recruiting*. Without day by day recruiting by which we seek to absorb into our midst "all the best elements of the working class," our Party cannot become the vanguard. He who talks about the Party being the vanguard but does not exert himself to stimulate and help recruiting is merely a phrasemonger and a chatterer.

That means, second, to cultivate and enrich the experience, the revolutionary spirit and proletarian devotion of the new members. The Party builds itself as the vanguard of the class only by absorbing continually the experience, the revolutionary spirit and proletarian devotion of the new members which it recruits. We continually seek new members because we want more of this experience, spirit and devotion. New members have a good deal to contribute to the building of the Party as the vanguard, that is, when we recruit the best elements of the working class. Therefore, we must create for the new members the most favorable conditions to transmit to the Party their experience, their revolutionary spirit, and to demonstrate their proletarian devotion. And *on this basis* we undertake to transmit to them our experience, our principles, our theory.

In other words, recruiting (without which there is no building of the Party as the vanguard) is not a mere formal act of bringing in a new member but is a process of absorbing his experiences and revolutionary spirit, thus enriching the Party's own experience and revolutionary spirit, and, at the same time, of enabling the new member to absorb the Party's experience, its traditions, its theory, principles and organizational practices.

This is the most fundamental way of building the Party as the vanguard of the working class, that is, by absorbing *continually* all its best elements, their experience, revolutionary spirit and proletarian devotion.

Are the circumstances today more favorable or less for such work? More favorable, of course. Why? Because the best elements of the working class are coming forward now by the thousands in all the big mass movements (which was not the case when the working class was not as actively in motion as today), you can literally point these people out with your finger; because, being in the

² *Foundations of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin, New York, International Publishers. 10 cents.

midst of these mass movements and in the front lines, we are daily rubbing shoulders with these people, associating with them, working with them in all fields, gaining their confidence; and because, finally, the prestige of Communism and of the Communist Party is growing day by day.

Hence the conditions are most favorable for recruiting the best elements of the working class and thus building the Party as the vanguard.

How do we fulfil the role of vanguard? Comrade Stalin formulates two fundamental Leninist principles governing this question. I shall quote them.

"1. The Party must be armed with a revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of revolution. Without this it will be impotent to guide the struggle of the proletariat and to lead the proletariat. The Party cannot be a real Party if it limits itself to registering what the masses of the working class think or experience, if it drags along at the tail of the spontaneous movement, if it does not know how to overcome the inertness and the political indifference of the spontaneous movement, or if it cannot rise above the transient interests of the proletariat, if it cannot raise the masses to the level of the class interests of the proletariat." (*Ibid.*)

Stated even more concisely:

"The Party must take its stand at the head of the working class, it must see ahead of the working class, lead the proletariat and not trail behind the spontaneous movement." (*Ibid.*)

"2. It must at the same time be a unit of the class, be part of that class, intimately bound to it with every fiber of its being. The distinction between the vanguard and the main body of the working class, between Party members and non-Party workers, will continue as long as classes exist, as long as the proletariat continues to replenish its ranks with newcomers from other classes, as long as the working class as a whole lacks the opportunity of raising itself to the level of the vanguard. But the Party would cease to be a party if this distinction were widened into a rupture; if it were to isolate itself and break away from the non-Party masses. The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, if there is no close union between the Party and the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership, if the Party does not enjoy moral and political authority among the masses." (*Ibid.*)

There is nothing to add to these principles. They have stood the test of time and have proven invulnerable.

What has to be discussed at vital turns in the class struggle is the *concrete ways* in which these principles can find their best and most effective expression. These concrete ways are not always the same. They depend upon many factors, among them the maturity of the class struggle, the relation of class forces, the degree of "moral and political authority" which the Party enjoys among the masses, etc. Taking this into consideration, the Seventh World Congress defined these concrete ways of realizing the vanguard role of the Party as follows:

"The Congress emphasizes with particular stress that only the *further all-round consolidation of the Communist Parties themselves*, the development of their initiative, the carrying out of a policy based upon Marxian-Leninist principles, and the application of correct flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and the alignment of class forces, can ensure the mobilization of the widest masses of toilers for the united struggle against fascism, against capitalism." (p. 36.)²

Let me draw your attention to the essentials of this very important statement on the concrete ways of building the vanguard in the present period.

(a) Party initiative; (b) policies based on Marxist-Leninist principles; (c) correct flexible tactics, *taking into account the concrete situation and alignment of class forces*; (d) the aim being the mobilization of *the widest masses* of toilers for the united struggle against fascism, against capitalism.

This is our guide. First comes Party initiative. This is fundamental. Without it, there can be no building of the revolutionary vanguard, there can be no mass mobilization of the widest scope for the fight against fascism and capitalism. This means that we continually have to discover the best policies for the mobilization of the masses for this struggle and to bring these policies to the mass movements and to win them for these policies. This is the duty of every Party organization and of the Party as a whole.

Second, we must initiate *correct* policies. Initiative is good provided it produces good policy and good policy is one that mobilizes the widest masses of

² *Resolutions, Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, New York, Workers Library Publishers. 10 cents.

toilers for united struggle against reaction, fascism and capitalism. To be so, policy has to be based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

Third, good policy brought to the masses by Party initiative is good for the masses and good for the vanguard. Yet this alone is not enough. Just as good initiative can be ruined by bad policy, so good policy can be ruined by bad tactics. To prevent this, we need correct flexible tactics. This, however, is not and cannot be given once and for all because correct flexible tactics must take into account "the concrete situation and alignment of class forces." These, as we know, vary and change and hence tactics must vary and change. It is therefore incumbent upon every Communist and Party organization to be constantly alive to the problem of "correct flexible tactics" because this is just as decisive as timely initiative and good policy. In fact, when these two are given, correct flexible tactics will decide everything. And remember, to be correct and flexible, tactics must take account of the *concrete* situation and of the alignment of class forces.

Compare, for example, some of our policies and tactics prior to the Seventh World Congress and subsequently. During the years prior to the Seventh Congress, we fulfilled our role as vanguard by propagating the final aims of our Party, by pointing out the next steps in the daily mass struggle for partial demands; and by independently organizing masses of toilers to fight for these demands; independently, that is, from those mass organizations of the workers and other toilers in which the reformists were successful in preventing the workers from struggling and in expelling the militant forces from the organization. We fought for the united front all through these years but because the objective conditions were not as favorable, because of our sectarian habits and practices, and because of the splitting tactics of the reformist leaders, we were making relatively little headway in bringing about the united front. But we couldn't, because of that, give up the fight and capitulate to capitalism as the reformists did. This we never will do. We will always defend the interests of the masses against their exploiters, regardless of the forms and methods which conditions may dictate. We were forced to lead minority movements and minority struggles.

Thus, in the former period, we resorted as a rule to the tactic of organizing mass struggles independently, of leading them largely ourselves and of raising the movements from lower to higher levels at a comparatively fast tempo.

On the whole, barring the sectarian and Right opportunist errors which distorted this line and militated against its greater success, this was a correct tactic. It laid the groundwork in part for the present advance of the mass movements. It helped prepare many of its cadres. It popularized many of our slogans which in the past were either slogans of agitation or demands of minority movements and struggles but which are today slogans of action of large mass movements (unemployment relief, organize the unorganized into industrial unions, trade union unity, Negro rights, farmer demands, youth demands, independent working class political action, alliance with farmers and middle classes, etc.). It served as a check upon the capitalist offensive in many crucial instances and also as a check upon the extent and scope to which reactionary reformists were able to betray the masses. It actually succeeded directly and indirectly in securing important concessions for the masses from the exploiters. It—this tactic of independent leadership—strengthened our Party and prepared us for the vanguard role in the present period.

Those who would negate in our past not only the sectarian and Right opportunist errors but also our struggles against these errors, and with that would cancel our achievements in helping to bring about the birth of the American working class as a class—the propaganda of revolutionary Socialism and the leadership of minority movements and struggles—those who would knowingly want to do that are in danger of ceasing to be good Communists nor would they be dependable fighters for the vanguard role of our Party in the present situation.

What is the situation today? The working class is moving. The masses are moving. The unity of the working class and the People's Front is being cemented in the heat of major economic and political struggles. The objective conditions and our past struggles are moving the masses forward. And we are in the very midst of it all. Where thousands would rally around our slogans in the past, hundreds of thousands are doing it today. From this certain important tactical changes had to follow. We are now in a position to place before ourselves tasks of major magnitude in the struggle for the united front and for the People's Front. Instead of being forced to lead independently

minority movements and struggles, we are getting into a position of collaborating with big progressive majority movements of the working class and its allies, of actively participating in these movements and establishing ourselves as a vanguard of the class. For the first time in the history of the United States, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat—the Communists—is able to begin to function within the class and its mass movements in the way in which *The Communist Manifesto* envisaged it. Namely:

"They have no interests apart from those of the working class as a whole. . . . The Communists are practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; and theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."⁴ (P. 22.)

This is the way in which we have begun to function and to build ourselves as the vanguard of our class. The present way differs in many essential respects from the old way. And necessarily so. As a rule we seek to fulfill our function as vanguard within and in the front lines of the mass movements of our class and its allies, in line with the policy of the united and People's Front, instead of being forced (as in the past) ourselves to lead minority movements and struggles. This is clearly more advantageous to the class as well as to ourselves as its vanguard. It is more advantageous for the needs of the day as well as for the ultimate socialist liberation.

At first glance it might appear as though the tempo of transition from lower to higher stages of class struggle must necessarily be slowed down because of the new relationship between the revolutionary vanguard and the mass movements. This is not absolutely so. The tempo of transition need not necessarily be slowed down if the relationship of class forces continues, nationally and internationally, in a direction favorable to our camp. But even if, at one point or another, this tempo of transition from lower to higher stages of struggle should have to slow down as compared with past years, this would be only *relative*; because in compensation for that we would have the decisive fact that the transition when made would be made not only by ourselves and minority movements led by us but by great mass movements, *by the class*. In other words, not only minorities would be marching forward but the decisive sections of our class and its allies. In the past we could dream of that, propagate the idea and unfold the perspective; today it has become a practical task and a practical possibility.

Does it follow from that that in the present situation, with the new relationship between the vanguard and the mass movements of the class, a relationship stressed so well by Comrade Dimitroff in his May Day statement, the Communists should permit themselves to become dissolved in the mass movements, should cease to function within them as Communists and Marxists, should cease building the Communist Party? Does it follow that the Communist Party and its organizations have no independent activities to carry on aside from the activities of Communists as participants of the mass movements? Of course not. Such conclusions have nothing in common with Communism. Recall once more the two principles of Stalin governing the role of the vanguard. *With the class and at the head of it*. The June meeting of the Central Committee has concretized these principles fully in application to the present situation. It warned against the danger of dissolution and indicated the ways of guarding against it. The Plenum resolution puts it to us:

"Working on the basis of this democratic People's Front platform, the Communist Party should in no way lose its identity or slacken in the task of strengthening its role as the most advanced and revolutionary section of the People's Front movement. This means that, in the midst of these mass movements, the Communist Party membership and organizations must:

"(a) Build the Communist Party into a mass Party;

"(b) Carry on mass propaganda for its final aims of working class power and socialism;

"(c) As the vanguard of the mass movement, point out the next steps of the struggle, initiating and supporting the progressive demands of the movement."

In broad outline, Comrade Dimitroff elucidates the same task as follows:

"When we carry on a resolute struggle for the defense of democratic rights and liberties, against reaction and fascism, we do so as Marxists, as consistent

⁴ *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. New York, International Publishers, 5 cents.

proletarian revolutionaries and not as bourgeois democrats or reformists. Where we come forward in defense of the national interests of our own people, in defense of their independence and liberty, we do not become nationalists or bourgeois patriots; we do so as proletarian revolutionaries and true sons of our people. When we come forward in defense of religious freedom, against the fascist persecution of believers, we do not retreat from our Marxian outlook, which is free of all religious superstitions."

Thus we have the correct answer to the task of building our Party as the true vanguard of the working class in the struggle for the united front and People's Front, for the struggle against reaction, fascism and capitalism.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

September, 1934, marks the fifteenth anniversary of the Communist Party of the United States.

Nineteen hundred and nineteen was the year when our Party was formed. It was a year of great mass strikes and deep revolutionary fermentation among the widest masses of the toiling population of the United States. The American working class was beginning to wake up to the swindle of the first world imperialist war, to the gigantic crimes of the capitalists and to their social-fascist supporters in the labor movement. The demobilization and peace reconstruction plans of the American bourgeoisie, which aimed at a widespread lowering of the standard of living of the toiling masses, were met with militant strikes in almost all the basic industries of the country. It was also the year of the great Seattle General Strike.

Nineteen hundred and nineteen was the year when the Communist International was formed, preceding the formation of our Party by about five months. Our Party became part of it. This followed logically and inevitably from the whole situation in the United States. All the lessons of the American class struggle dictated this step. But it was only through the costly experiences of the first world war, and especially the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, that the proletarian vanguard of the United States came to realize that the Bolshevik way is the only way for the liberation of the American proletariat and all the exploited and oppressed. Thus it came to pass that our Party came into existence in the period of the first cycle of war and revolution.

On the "theory" that American Communism is a "foreign importation," the ruling class of the United States undertook to uproot the young Communist Party by the method of police raids and deportations of so-called aliens. We refer to the infamous days of Wilson-Palmer in 1919-1920.

History has already pronounced conclusive judgment upon this bourgeois and social-fascist "theory" of the foreign origin of American Communism. The judgment is contained in the present anniversary which marks *15 years of American Communism*. The fact that 15 years after the first anti-Communist mass persecutions the American bourgeoisie is again initiating similar measures as part of the intensified fascization of its rule is the best proof of the American character of the Communist Party of the United States.

From the date of the birth of the Communist Party of the United States to its fifteenth anniversary the world has passed through the first cycle of wars and revolutions, then the period of the relative stabilization of capitalism, and now finds itself confronted with a new cycle of wars and revolutions. For our Party it meant first a long and difficult period of formation and unification, then the establishment of contacts with the masses and their daily struggles along with the mastery of the program and tactics and organizational principles of Bolshevism, and finally the independent leadership of mass struggles of the workers, toiling farmers, Negroes, etc.

At the present time, which is characterized by deep-going shifts in the ranks of the working class and a sharp turn to higher forms of mass action (sympathy strikes, general strikes), the revolutionary activity of the Communist Party is growing, the influence of its slogans is increasing, its contacts with the masses are multiplying and becoming more firm, and its ranks are becoming more numerous. The factional struggle, which plagued the Party for many years, has become a thing of the past. With the expulsion of the Lovestone group from the Party and the liquidation of the Trotsky group, carried through in the latter part of 1929 under the leadership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party of the United States became consolidated and was thus enabled to take up in earnest the task of mass revolutionary work dictated by the present period.

From the end of 1929, the struggle of the Communist Party of the United States for establishing firm contacts with the workers in the decisive factories of the basic industries, the unfolding of the program of concentration, began to take place, though unevenly, with ever-increasing effectiveness. The Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference (July, 1933), marks a milestone on the road of this development.

It is no accident that the fifteenth anniversary of our Party will be celebrated in a heightened revolutionary atmosphere generated by the great General Strike in San Francisco which was of the nature of a historic vanguard battle in the developing revolutionary counter-offensive of the American proletariat. There are more San Franciscos to come with higher revolutionary consciousness among the masses and wider Communist leadership. Following out the analysis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern Executive in application to the conditions in the United States, the Eighth Convention of our Party had foreseen and foretold the maturing of decisive class battles. Furthermore, by developing and concretizing the Open Letter, the Eighth Convention equipped the Party organization and membership with the practical directives for daily mass revolutionary work. It was the application of these directors of the Open Letter and of the Eighth Party Convention that enabled the Communist Party to give effective leadership to the masses in the maritime strike of the West Coast and in the General Strike of San Francisco. These battles will mark a decisive advance in the struggle against capitalism and in the growth of the Party, if we utilize the experiences of these battles in a Bolshevik way.

The present pamphlet is made up of a number of articles previously published in *The Communist*. They are offered as an introduction to the study of Party history but not as the history itself. As an outline of the main paths of the Party's development, its organic and inevitable rise, and the influences of international Bolshevism—Lenin and Stalin—in the shaping of a revolutionary proletarian ideology in the United States, these articles seek to arouse in the reader a desire for further study of the growth and development of American Communism. Such a study is of the highest importance for our Party membership, and for all class-conscious workers. There is a world to learn from the experiences of the past, and many an error can be avoided in the present and the future through a critical evaluation of the history of our Party. In the history of our Party there is embodied the revolutionary experience of the American proletariat during a fateful fifteen years in the history of the United States and of the whole world.

August, 1934.

FROM LEFT SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM⁵

The formative period in the history of our Party appears as a development from Left Socialism to Communism. The essence of this development consisted in this, that the Left wing of the Socialist Party (1918-1919) was gradually freeing itself from vacillation between reformism and ultra-Left radicalism by means of an ever closer approach to the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

The Left wing of 1918, the organizer of our Party, was very definitely opposed to the reformist leaders of the Socialist Party and of the America Federation of Labor and was consciously organizing for a complete organizational break with the opportunists in the Socialist movement. Furthermore, the Left wing of 1918, unlike the previous Left currents in the American labor movement, took issue with the reformists on *all* the basic problems of the class struggle of the present epoch, chief of which was the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And in this the Left wing of 1918 was consciously following—or, rather, was trying to follow—the lead of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It is this central fact that determines the historic role of the Left wing of 1918 as the bridge for the class conscious workers of the United States from vague Left Socialism and general proletarian militancy to the definite and solid foundations of Leninism.

However, when it came to the concrete application of the fundamental principles of Leninism to the class struggle as it developed from day to day, the

⁵ Reprinted from *The Communist* of September, 1933.

Left wing manifested great vacillations between reformism and ultra-Left radicalism. Also there was a strong current of sectarianism running through its policies and tactics. These weaknesses of the Left wing were somewhat similar to the weaknesses of the first Marxian groups in the United States. Of these latter, Engels wrote in 1886 that they "have not been able to use their theory as a lever to set the American masses in motion. To a great extent they do not understand the theory themselves and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic fashion as, if it were something which must be committed to memory and which then suffices for all purposes without further ado. For them it is a credo, not a guide for action." It must be added, however, that the Left wing of 1918, having arisen in the epoch of the general crisis of world capitalism and of the proletarian revolution, was bound to outlive its weaknesses much sooner and to find its way to the American masses much more easily than had been the case with the first Marxian groups.

From the foregoing it will not be correct to assume that the only element that went into the making of the Communist Party of the United States was the Left wing of the Socialist Party. As a matter of fact, there were many more Left and militant elements, such as came from the Socialist Labor Party, the American Federation of Labor, the Industrial Workers of the World, etc. Generally, therefore, our Party springs from the Left and militant elements in the labor movement as a whole. Moreover, in the period that followed the organization of our Party in 1919, it was through the Left wing in the trade unions, headed by Foster, that the Communist movement began to derive its main strength and influence. But in the formative period (1918-1919), the basic Left group which organized our Party was the Left wing of the Socialist Party, the outstanding representative of which was Ruthenberg.

THE ISSUES OF STRUGGLE

The social-fascist historians of the American labor movement (James Oneal & Co.) maintain that the issue between the official leaders of the Socialist Party and the Left wing of 1918 was Socialism versus Anarchism. Nothing is further from the truth. As we shall see, the central issue was the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, revolutionary Marxian Socialism, versus reformism. And only hopeless philistines and outright flunkeys of capitalist rule can confuse the adherents of the dictatorship of the proletariat with Anarchism. Oneal's method of "proving" this point is quite simple. He takes all the elements in the American labor movement of the past who advocated militant methods of struggle and direct mass action and dubs them Anarchists; then he discovers that the Left wing of 1918 also advocated militant class struggle and mass action; hence, the Left wing derives from Anarchism.

It is not the purpose of this article to trace the development of the Communist movement in the United States back to the labor movement of the pre-imperialist era. But that much can be seen without much argument, that the struggle between Marxism and Anarchism (Bakunin & Co.) in the United States during the period of the First International was not a struggle between the opponents of "force" in the class struggle and its adherents, as Oneal tries to make it out. Marx and Engels were no pacifists, and their struggle against Anarchism was not because of its "violence" but because it represented the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie and not of the working class. The historic mass struggles and street battles of the American proletariat in 1877, which the present-day social-fascist bemoans as an unfortunate episode that seemed to strengthen the "force tendencies" in the labor movement, Marx greeted as the "first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital which has arisen since the Civil War." And while he foresaw that the movement would be suppressed, Marx pointed out that it "can very well form the point of origin of an earnest workers' party." (*Letter to Engels*, July 25, 1877.)

The Communist movement of the United States is undoubtedly absorbing and assimilating all the militant and revolutionary traditions of the American working class. Following in the footsteps of Lenin, who restored the revolutionary essence of Marxism, developing it further in the era of imperialism, the American Communists unquestionably seek to revive these traditions, raising them to the present higher stage of preparation for the struggle for power. But it is just as unquestionable that the social-fascists of today are the direct descendants of those petty-bourgeois elements who, throughout the history of the American labor movement in the imperialist era, had tried to keep the working class chained to the chariot of the capitalist class, hampering and retarding its growth into an independent political force.

From its very inception the Left wing of 1918 was conscious of the fact that its differences with the official leadership (Right wing and Centrist) were of a fundamental character. "Many see in this internal dissension merely an unimportant difference of opinion or, at most, dissatisfaction with the control of the party and the desire to replace those who have misused it with better men. We, however, maintain that there is a fundamental distinction in views concerning party policies and tactics. And we believe that this difference is so vast that from our standpoint a radical change in party policies and tactics is necessary." (From the *Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing Socialist Party, Local Greater New York.*)

In accord with this conception, the Left wing brought to the forefront the basic question of the present epoch—the question of the attitude of the proletariat to the capitalist state and the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Left wing maintained that official Socialism ("dominant moderate Socialism") "accepted the bourgeois state" and "strengthened that state"; the Socialist leaders had "lost sight of Socialism's original purpose, that goal became 'constructive reforms' and cabinet portfolios—the cooperation of classes." Moreover, the Socialist leaders were ready to "share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class." (*Left Wing Manifesto.*)

And what was the position of the Left wing on the question of the capitalist state? Says the Manifesto:

"Marx declared that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes.' This machinery must be destroyed. . . . The attitude toward the state divides the Anarchist (anarcho-syndicalist), the 'moderate Socialist' and the revolutionary Socialist. Eager to abolish the state (which is the ultimate purpose of revolutionary Socialism), the Anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist fail to realize that a state is necessary in the transition period from capitalism to Socialism; the 'moderate Socialist' proposes to use the bourgeois state with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of the 'unity of all classes,' its standing army, police, and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses; the revolutionary Socialist maintains that the bourgeois state must be completely destroyed and proposes the organization of a new state—the state of the organized producers—of the Federated Soviets—on the basis of which alone can Socialism be introduced."

And this is the position which Hillquit, Oneal & Co. had met with the charge of Anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism!

It is obvious that in formulating its views on the question of the capitalist state, the Left wing was trying to follow Lenin (the Bolsheviks), many of whose writings—as *The State and Revolution*—were already available at that time in the United States. But it is just as obvious from the *Left Wing Manifesto* as a whole, that many leading Leninist ideas escaped the Left wing altogether while others were insufficiently understood. Thus, the Manifesto throughout speaks of "moderate" Socialism as the exponent of opportunism in the parties of the Second International without a differentiated and close analysis of the various shades and forms of opportunism. This was especially necessary at that time, as Leninism repeatedly insisted, because the most dangerous variety of opportunism was then the Centrist group (Kautsky, Trotsky, Hillquit to a certain extent, etc.). Failing to expose the nature of Centrism as hidden opportunism and the most effective cover for the open betrayals of the social-chauvinists, the *Left Wing Manifesto* disarmed itself to a considerable extent in the struggle against the opportunist leaders of the Socialist Party of America, which, under the guidance of Hillquit, occupied a position of Right Centrism rather than of open social-chauvinism; or, more precisely, it was maneuvering between social-chauvinism and Centrism. It was partly for this reason that the weakest part of the Manifesto is the one that deals with the nature of "moderate" Socialism in the United States. This very serious error was only partly rectified in the agitation of the Left-wing press, with the result that the Hillquit leadership was able, more or less easily, to carry on "Left" maneuvers (willingness to join the Communist International on certain conditions) even after the formation of the Communist Party.

Nor does the Manifesto analyze the economic and class basis of opportunism, namely, the corruption of the labor bureaucracy and aristocracy by imperialism. There is no need for this article to explain the importance—theoretical and practical—of this Leninist idea. The question arises, how could this idea have escaped the *Left Wing Manifesto*, especially in the United States of that period

where the corruption was so ripe and where the splitting up of the working class was being carried out so consistently and openly by the reformists, most particularly by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor? That the Left wing was familiar with this idea, and was developing it in its discussions of trade union questions, can be seen from the Left press. Then how could it happen that, of all places, this should be missing in the Manifesto? We may come perhaps closer to the explanation of this fact when we note another omission in the Manifesto: it says nothing about the American Federation of Labor. Did the Left wing have any ideas about it? It did. And its main idea was that the A. F. of L. was an organization of the aristocracy and bureaucracy of labor and hence so hopelessly reactionary that it was considered totally out of the sphere of interest and activity of revolutionary Socialists. Thus, while the Manifesto proclaims definitely its position in favor of class struggle industrial unionism, it says nothing about the existing mass trade union movement under reformist leadership. What does this show? It shows (1) that the Left wing had not yet turned its face to the masses, their organizations and their daily struggles; and that the Left wing's understanding of the role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class was more that of the sectarian Socialist Labor Party (S. L. P.) than that of the Bolshevik Leninists.

On the question of imperialist war, which was the second big issue between the Lefts and the reformists, the Left wing took a position which was substantially that of the Bolsheviks. The war question played a very important part, perhaps a decisive part, in precipitating the rise and consolidation of the Left wing. As late as April, 1917, the time of the St. Louis Convention of the Socialist Party, the Left elements still constitute an undifferentiated mass of many tendencies and shades, running from a relatively developed ideology of revolutionary Socialism to outright Centrism. The policy of the official party leadership (Hillquit & Co.), while social-chauvinist in substance, took the form of a series of maneuvers, between outright social-chauvinism and Centrism infused with a considerable dose of pacifism. The result was that the St. Louis Convention produced no real division between social-chauvinism and true revolutionary internationalism. This convention was overwhelmingly Left, but in the above-described sense. Only five delegates voted for the Spargo report (open pro-war position); the rest of the votes (172) were distributed between two anti-war resolutions. But what was the nature of these resolutions? While they differed somewhat in form and in minor detail, they were nearly identical in substance, and the substance was a grain of genuine revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war dissolved in a sea of pacifism and reformism. The majority anti-war report, which received 141 votes, was submitted to the convention by Hillquit; the first minority anti-war report, which received 31 votes, was submitted by Boudin. This alone—the fact that these two men were allowed to represent the anti-war position—shows how immature were the views and attitudes of the Left elements at the convention. And the resolutions bear that out.

However, soon after the convention things began to move pretty swiftly. There set in a process of rapid differentiation within the Left, an unmasking of the maneuvers of the Hillquit leadership and the beginning of a crystallization of a movement which resulted in the organization of the Left wing of 1918. This was brought about primarily by the following factors: the open and flagrant betrayal of the St. Louis anti-war resolution by the Hillquit leadership, which was especially glaring in Hillquit's New York Mayoralty campaign in the summer of 1918 and in the pro-war activities of the Socialist aldermen in New York, in the decision of the National Socialist Party Conference to solidarize itself with the social-chauvinist Inter-Allied Socialist Conference, etc.; the beginnings of mass disillusionment with the gigantic swindle of the "war to end war" and to make the world "safe for democracy"; the activities of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party to rally and organize all the true internationalists throughout the world, which were beginning to be more widely understood by the class-conscious workers in the United States; and the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, which demonstrated the correctness of the Leninist principle of transforming imperialist war into civil war for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus the Left wing of 1918 not only succeeded in salvaging from the St. Louis resolution the grain of genuine internationalism that it contained but it also developed this further into a revolutionary position along the lines of the Bolshevik point of view.

Closely allied with the war question was the question of international affiliation. Prior to the entry of the United States into the war, the Hillquit leadership of the Socialist Party tried to establish itself in the position of so-called arbiter and peacemaker between the various groups in the Second International. In Hillquit's own words (*Labor Year Book* 1917-1918), the Socialist Party had "preserved an attitude of strict neutrality toward the belligerent powers before our entrance in the war" and had at all times "endeavored to re-unite the Socialist International and to revive it as a factor for lasting peace within and among the nations of the world." The reader will see that this was in essence the position of social-chauvinism dictated at the time by the interests of American imperialism which (through the Wilson administration) was also trying to maintain strict neutrality, seeking to function as "peacemaker" between the warring nations. The Hillquit leadership, until the entrance of the U. S. into the war, was, more or less frankly, trying to serve the interests of its "own" bourgeoisie in the sphere of international relations.

On the other hand, the Left elements in the Socialist Party were definitely in sympathy only with the *Left elements* in the Second International (Zimmerwald and Kiental). But this sympathy was as yet (before 1918) undifferentiated, with only a relatively small part of the American Lefts definitely leaning toward the then extreme Left of Zimmerwald and Kiental—the Bolsheviks and their followers. But also on this question the crucial months of 1917-1918 brought in clarity and definiteness in political alignments in the American labor movement. The Left wing of 1918 came into existence taking its position on international affiliation together with the Bolsheviks, expressing on this question, as on all the other issues, the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the membership of the Socialist Party.

As a result the Hillquit leadership saw itself compelled to engage in a lot of maneuvers calculated to cheat the party membership and to check the growth of the Left wing. Hillquit, Oneal & Co. even began to talk of the collapse of the Second International and promised to join in the rebuilding of the International only with such parties as had not been in coalition with the bourgeoisie during the war. Of course, any honest following up of such promises should have led to joining with the Bolsheviks in effecting a complete break with the social-chauvinists and Centrists. But the official leadership of the Socialist Party were only maneuvering and cheating. All the while, they were *in deeds* supporting the policies of Woodrow Wilson (their own bourgeoisie), seeking to "rebuild" the International with the same social-chauvinist and Centrist elements that had led to the collapse of the Second International in 1914. These maneuvers, of even a more "Left" character, they continued also after the formation of the Communist Party in 1919, inasmuch as considerable numbers of the Socialist Party membership, which did not join the Communist movement in 1919 but preferred to stay in the S. P. in the hope of making it more revolutionary, were waveringly but none the less definitely pushing in the direction of the Communist International. It was this wavering group that forced through, at the Socialist Party Convention in September, 1919, a resolution "in support of the Third (Moscow) International not because it supports the 'Moscow' programs and methods, but because 'Moscow' is doing something which is really challenging world imperialism" and because "it is proletarian." Considering these very substantial reservations to the program and methods of the Communist International, and considering also the decisive fact that this resolution was being passed at the time when the Left wing was already organizing itself separately into a Communist Party, the above resolution was objectively playing into the hands of Hillquit & Co., who were using it as a weapon *against* the Communist International, while some of the elements who supported this resolution were subjectively and consciously Centrist. The bulk of this group began to see the truth of this contention only later on when they too broke with the Socialist Party and joined with the Communists (1921).

When the Bolsheviks and their supporters issued the call for the constituent Congress to organize the Communist International, the issue of international affiliation in the Socialist Party came to a head. The Left wing initiated a referendum in the party on the following proposal: "that the Socialist Party shall participate in an international congress or conference called by, or in which participate, the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacan)." Because of the sabotage and delay of the Socialist Party bureaucracy, the results of this referendum became known only in May, 1919, after the First Congress of the Communist Interna-

tional had already been held (March, 1919). The result of this referendum showed that the proposal of the Left wing was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the members. No wonder Hillquit & Co. did not want to make the result known. It might be relevant to observe in this connection that the reformists who made their main stand upon "democracy" as against the dictatorship of the proletariat were flouting and violating every rule of inner-party democracy (betraying the St. Louis anti-war resolution, violating the international affiliation referendum, etc.), in order to make the Socialist Party safe for the democracy of Morgan, Rockefeller & Co.

Thus the three principal issues of the Left wing against the reformists in the S.P. were the dictatorship of the proletariat versus bourgeois democracy, revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and proletarian internationalism versus social-chauvinism, and the Communist International versus the Second International. All these issues arose and matured on the background of the general fight of the Lefts for the revolutionary class struggle against reformism and class collaboration. In its general fight for class struggle policies and tactics, the Left wing (especially in its Manifesto) emphasized particularly two points: the Marxian conception of the class struggle as a political struggle and the need of a *revolutionary use* of parliamentary action and the need of class struggle industrial unionism.

It is well known that the reformists in the pre-war Second International had reduced the political struggle of the proletariat merely to parliamentary campaigns, and these campaigns they had reduced to a purely legalistic activity for reforming, that is, strengthening, capitalism. This was also the policy of the official leadership of the Socialist Party. But here the Left wing was confronted with certain peculiarities in the American labor movement. These were (1) the fact that the dominating labor organizations from the point of view of ideological and political influence among the workers were the trade unions and not the Socialist Parties, the A. F. of L. under Gompers being then the most important organization in the trade union field; (2) the fact that the official attitude of the Gompers bureaucracy toward the Socialist Party *as a party* was one of hostility and opposition which, however, did not prevent the closest collaboration of the Socialist trade union bureaucrats with Gompers; (3) the fact that the Hillquit leadership maintained an attitude of Socialist Party non-interference in the affairs of the trade unions, which in practice led to collaboration with Gompers, which, in its turn, meant collaboration with the capitalists.

The Left wing sharply challenged the narrow-parliamentary and legalistic conception of political action as well as the official S.P. attitude of "non-interference" in the economic struggles of the workers and their mass organizations. The Manifesto states its position in the following way:

"We assert with Marx that 'the class struggle is essentially a political struggle' and we can only accept his own oft-repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifests itself on the industrial field or in the direct struggle for government control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term 'political,' Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In other words, the objective of Socialist industrial action is 'political' in the sense that it aims to undermine the bourgeois state which 'is nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another and that no less so in a democratic republic than in a monarchy.'"

On the question of parliamentary action, which the Manifesto considers only as one phase of political action and not the most important one, it says the following:

"It (parliamentary action) must at all times struggle to arouse the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat—its use is both agitational and obstructive. It must on all issues wage war upon capitalism and the state. Revolutionary Socialism uses the forums of parliament for agitation but it does not intend to and cannot use the bourgeois state as a means of introducing socialism; this bourgeois state must be destroyed by the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. The proletarian dictatorship in the form of a Soviet state is the immediate objective of the class struggle."

These rather lengthy quotations are reproduced here for the reason that they show the weak as well as the strong sides of the Left wing. It is clear that the general trend of the Lefts on these issues was away from reformism and toward Bolshevism. The central Marxist-Leninist idea is here: that the class struggle is a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the revolutionary party

of the proletariat must organize and direct all the daily manifestations of the class struggle from this point of view. Thus, the issue with reformism was drawn clearly, but not clearly enough. The Left wing lacked the correct Leninist conception of the *dialectics* of the class struggle and of the role of the Party in it.

On the dialectics of the class struggle. The Left wing correctly emphasized the primacy of mass action, insisting that all the forms of activity of the revolutionary party of the workers be subordinated to the end of arousing and organizing the struggles of the masses against their exploiters. But the Left wing did not sufficiently understand that revolutionary mass action does not spring out all ready-made to conform to some pattern previously drawn up. The Left wing did not seem to realize that revolutionary mass action grows out only of the real living issues of the class struggle, as it develops day by day, that these issues are varied and manifold (sometimes big and sometimes apparently "small"), and that, depending upon the objective and subjective factors, these daily struggles will jump up very rapidly to higher forms of mass action or they may not rise higher at all or develop more slowly.

On the role of the Party. Here again the Left wing correctly emphasized the Leninist idea of the primacy of the Party as the leader of all proletarian struggles (without, however, showing any understanding of the role of the Party as the leader of all oppressed; toiling farmers and Negroes). But what was to be the role of the Party *concretely* in the daily struggles of the masses for their *partial demands*? How was the Party to deepen and widen these struggles into political and revolutionary mass action? To this the Left wing gave no answer or rather it gave the wrong answer. The Manifesto says: "It is the task of a revolutionary Socialist Party to direct the struggles of the proletariat and provide a program for the culminating crisis." The reference here is to the revolutionary crisis and the struggle for power, and the assumption here is that the American proletariat will get to this stage merely by the party carrying on *agitation* for its program. But how? The Leninist idea of revolutionary agitation is that it be carried on on the basis of concrete struggles for specific demands and that in the course of these struggles the Party aims to widen and deepen their political content, organizing the masses, organizing the Party, thus leading the masses up, *on the basis of their own experience*, to higher forms of revolutionary mass action. The Left wing had no such idea. As already pointed out, it had a non-dialectical conception of the class struggle and it suffered greatly from an underestimation of the role of the Party as organizer and leader of the daily struggles of the masses as well as *organizer* of the proletarian revolution.

These weaknesses made themselves felt very strongly in the position of the Left wing on trade union questions. Here the Left wing sought to combat the craft and "pure and simple" trade unionism of the Gompers bureaucracy in the A. F. of L., on the one hand, and the official S.P. non-interference but practical collaboration with the Gompers bureaucracy, on the other hand. To accomplish this aim, the Left wing formulated the following position: "Industrial unionism, the organization of the proletariat in accordance with the integration of industry and for the overthrow of capitalism, is a necessary phase of revolutionary Socialist agitation." But in taking this position the Left wing did not rise much above the traditional, that is, sectarian policies of industrial unionism as practiced by the dominating element in the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) and in the S.L.P. (Socialist Labor Party). To be sure, the Left wing was largely free (not fully) of the syndicalist conception of industrial unionism, but the sectarian understanding of it was there. The correct fight for industrial unionism in the United States called for a policy of active participation in the American Federation of Labor (the largest mass trade union organization), the systematic building of a Left wing within it and participation in and leadership of the daily economic and other struggles of the workers against their exploiters. But this is not what the Left wing was proposing to do. Its full proposal on this question in the Manifesto reads as follows:

"Realizing that a political party cannot reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organizations of the working class, and that that is the task of the economic organizations themselves, we demand that the Party assist this process of reorganization by a propaganda for revolutionary industrial unionism as part of its general activities. We believe it is the mission of the Socialist movement to encourage and assist the proletariat to adopt newer and more effective forms of organization and to stir it into newer and more revolutionary modes of action."

The A. F. of L. is not in the picture at all. The Party is called upon to fight for industrial unionism only by means of general propaganda. The fight for industrial unionism is conceived as more or less of an organizational problem instead of as an organic part of the general revolutionization of the working class and its mass organizations and the struggle against the reformist trade union leaders. It will also be seen from the above quotation that the Left wing was not yet completely free of the Hillquit policy of "non-interference" in the trade unions, for that is the meaning of the statement that "a political party cannot reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organizations of the working class." Trying to avoid the pitfalls of S.L.P. sectarianism, the Left wing failed to break altogether with the official S.P. opportunism on the trade union question.

It is apparent that Lenin's advice on this question to the Socialist Propaganda League of America (1915) was either unknown to the Left wing of 1918 or so little understood that it made no mark on its policies. Lenin endorsed the position of the Lefts against craft unions and for industrial unions. But seeing the mechanical and sectarian twist which the issue is receiving in the U. S., Lenin finds it necessary to urge "the most active participation of all Party members in the economic struggle and in *all* trade unions and cooperative organizations of the workers." The emphasis upon the word "all" is Lenin's and the meaning is clear: fight for industrial unionism by participating in the economic struggles of the masses and by working in all unions, no matter how reactionary their leadership. This meant primarily the unions of the American Federation of Labor. This advice of Lenin became effective in the American labor movement only in later years, subsequent to the organization and unification of the Communist movement and with the rise of the trade union Left wing (the Trade Union Educational League headed by Foster), under the guidance of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions.

From the above it will be understood how the Left wing came to adopt a very sectarian and ultra-Left position on the question of partial demands generally. The Left wing correctly centered its attack upon the reformism of the S. P. leadership, pointing out the "social-reform" character of the S. P. program and platforms as well as its practices. This was a move in the direction of Bolshevism, which move, at the time, drew a pretty clear line of demarcation between the opportunists and revolutionary Socialists. But unlike the Bolsheviks, who always formulated partial demands for mass struggles and through these led the masses to higher struggles and to the seizure of power, the Left wing ruled out partial demands altogether. Here we have a case of the Left wing trying to extricate itself from the opportunist morass of the S. P. and falling into the sectarian pit of the S. L. P. (which also ruled out partial demands). The Left wing position was that "the Party must teach, propagate and agitate *exclusively* for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism through a proletarian dictatorship." (Our emphasis—A. B.) This attitude, which the Left wing carried over into the Communist movement, proved one of the main obstacles to the growth of our Party in the first years after its formation.

The social-fascist slanderers of our movement (Oneal & Co.) like to insist that the Communists in later years became more "moderate" for a while, incorporating into their programs and platforms the same social-reform planks for which the S. P. leadership was attacked as opportunist in 1918-1919. What the social-fascists pretend not to understand is this, that on the question of partial demands (as on many others) the Communist movement of the United States was developing *from Left Socialism toward Bolshevism*. What appears to the social-fascists as a *return* by the Communists to S. P. social-reform practices is in reality *a more radical break with opportunism, Right and "Left,"* for underestimation of partial demands and struggle in the Leninist sense is an expression of opportunism covered with Left phrases; what actually took place in the Communist movement, and is still taking place, but on a higher plane, is a process of freeing itself from opportunism and sectarianism and an ever closer approach to Bolshevism, not alone in theory but also in the daily practice of mass revolutionary activity. In this process the Communist movement is learning to carry on the Bolshevik struggle against opportunism on two fronts, Right and "Left," which the Left wing did not understand.

The Left wing also took issue with the reformists on the question of the role of the Party and its organizational structure. But on this question the

Left wing attacked only the most obvious faults of the organization, such as its loose petty-bourgeois structure, the lack of a single political line obligatory for every Party unit and member, the fact that the Party press and educational institutions were run as the private domain of individual "prominent" Socialists rather than as Party institutions under Party control and also the fact that the leading organs of the Party were totally *irresponsible* before the Party membership, violating time and again the expressed wishes of the membership, since these wishes were opposed to the opportunism of the S. P. official leadership. The Left wing demanded a correction of these opportunist abuses but it had not yet risen to the understanding that a true revolutionary working class party must be a *different type of party* in respect to its leading role in the class struggle in all its forms, in its relation to the non-Party mass organizations as the Party's transmission belt to the working class, the principle of democratic centralism, the primacy of the shop structure of organization, Bolshevik discipline, etc. Thus, one might say that the Left wing only signaled the need of a new type of party without going much further, mainly because it was not yet fully free from the influence of Right and "Left" opportunism, the most decisive expression of which on this question was a considerable degree of faith in the *opportunist theory of spontaneity*. We have already seen above that the Left wing assigned to the Party only an agitational role in the daily struggles of the masses *prior* to the emergence of a revolutionary crisis, and that only with the arrival of the revolutionary crisis does the Party step in as the real organizer and leader of the fight—which is the fight for power. In other words, the maturing of the revolutionary crisis on its subjective side was conceived largely as a spontaneous development. Hence the inability of the Left wing to come closer to Leninism on the question of the role of the Party and its structure.

To conclude with the subject of issues between the Left wing of 1918 and the reformist leadership of the S. P., it is important to point out at least two of the more fundamental issues which were practically not raised by the Left wing. These are the Negro question and the agrarian-farmer question. These omissions will seem today even more astounding when we consider the fact that the Left wing did place the struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the very center of its theoretical and political fight against the opportunists, showing thereby the influence of Leninism. Then how could the Left wing fail to raise the question of the *allies* of the proletariat in the United States—the nationally oppressed Negro masses and the toiling farmers? Besides, many of the implications of the Negro question were at the time (1918–1919) manifesting themselves acutely in the class struggle and in the unions (Chicago stockyards) where the Left elements of the A. F. of L., under Foster, were grappling with these problems, trying to find a solution for them. Under these conditions, the failure of the Left wing to raise the Negro and agrarian questions would show that the Left wing ideology was still largely dominated by reformism and sectarianism: it took over from the S. P. leadership its ignoring of the Negro and farmer questions, which to reformists could not appear as basic problems of the proletariat struggle for power; it also took over some of the narrow craft ideology, especially of the reformists in the unions, which cannot see the working class as a *class* leading the fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in alliance with and supported by the Negro masses and the toiling farmers; while its purely agitational attitude to the class struggle, and general sectarian approach, prevented it from feeling and evaluating the pressure of these issues that was coming from the daily struggles of the masses.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL BREAK WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY OPPORTUNISTS

From its very inception, the Left wing realized that its task was to bring about a complete break with the opportunists in the S. P., not only ideologically and politically but also organizationally. While theoretically the Left wing (with the exception of its most advanced elements) was rather hazy on the especially dangerous role at the time of Centrism, in practice the fight was developed for the organizational break also with the Centrists.

In effect the organizational break with the opportunists began to take place immediately after the organization of the Left wing, while it still was formally a part of the Socialist Party. Moreover, as Left groups were becoming crystallized in various language sections, cities and branches of the party, which took place throughout 1918, these groups were practically ignoring the opportunist and

social-chauvinist policies of the official leadership and were carrying on their agitation and other mass work more or less in accord with their own view of revolutionary Socialism. This occurred especially on such issues as the war, international affiliations, the Bolshevik revolution in Russia (and later the proletarian revolution in Germany), the Left groups undertaking to carry out in practice their own point of view even before there was a national Left wing organization and a national program. And wherever they did so, the Left elements had the expressed overwhelming support of the party membership. Whatever truly revolutionary and internationalist work was carried on by the Socialists of the United States at that time, was carried on *despite* the official S. P. leadership (Hillquit & Co.) and not because of it.

But on the question of how soon and in what form the complete and *formal* break with the S. P. opportunists should take place, there soon developed in the Left wing serious differences of opinion. These differences came to sharp expression at the first National Left Wing Conference, held in New York, in June, 1919. One section of the delegates stood out for the immediate (or as soon as practically possible) convocation of a national convention of all Left wing elements for the purpose of organizing the Communist Party of America, while another section favored a slower and more flexible mode of procedure calculated to win for the Communist Party also the more backward and hesitating elements of the S. P. This is not the place to discuss elaborately these differences, except to point out the following: that it was a difference of tactics, and not of principle as some of the Left wing delegates were inclined to think at the time. Both sections had given unmistakable proof of their determination to break formally with the opportunists and to organize the Communist Party. But one section of the Left wing proceeded from the belief that the formal break with the opportunists had been delayed long enough, that there was no hope of the Left wing securing formal control of the S. P. organization for the purpose of transforming it into a Communist Party because of the wholesale expulsions carried on by the Hillquit leadership, and that the hesitant Left elements who would not join in the organization of the Communist Party at once were either no good or would come to the Party later. The other section was not at all sure that the formal break had been delayed but was agreed that the time for the break had already arrived. However, it argued that considerable numbers of party members among the native-born workers, although in general sympathy with the Left elements, were not yet ready for a formal break, but that they would be won over soon to this step when it became more obvious to them that it was Hillquit bureaucracy that was splitting the party and not the Left Wing. Hence they proposed a slower and less direct course which also led to the organization of the Communist Party in the United States. These differences, which might have been composed if not completely eliminated, were aggravated, however, by disagreements on the question of language federations in the party, and also by a certain degree of factionalism. The result was a split in the Left Wing, each side proceeding to cover its point of view.

There is this to be said on the question that is relevant even today. The formal break with the opportunists in the S. P. *was delayed*. Had there been in the United States, during the war and especially in the crucial years of 1918-1919, a strong revolutionary working class party—a Leninist Party—the mobilization of the deep and powerful mass upsurge of the American workers of that period would have given the class struggle in the United States an entirely different turn. And the upsurge was not confined to the workers alone but was arousing also the Negro masses and the toiling farmers in various degree. One cannot say whether or not a revolutionary situation would have developed in the United States in the first period of post-war capitalism had there been a strong revolutionary workers' party, but its absence certainly militated against the revolutionary advance which was objectively being prepared and this absence of a revolutionary party is directly traceable to the *historically delayed* break of the revolutionary elements from the opportunists in the Socialist movement.

From this, however, it does not follow that in the month of June, 1919, the tactic of immediate break was the best. Certainly, when both sections of the Left Wing were finally agreed that by September (the time of the emergency convention of the S. P.) the formal break would have to be consummated, and when mass sentiment inside and outside the party was continually rising in favor of the Left Wing, the more flexible tactics proposed for the winning of the still hesitant elements, especially among the native-born workers, were correct and in no way militated against the Left Wing widening its independent revolutionary work among the masses outside of the S. P. Both could have and

should have been combined. Failure to realize this resulted in a split and in the formation of two Communist Parties in September, 1919—the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party.

Thus the formal break with the opportunists in the S. P. became consummated and the basis laid for the building of a mass Communist Party in the United States. Both Communist conventions demonstrated in their deliberations and programs considerably more clarity in their understanding of Leninism and its application in this country than did the Left Wing. In the programs adopted by these conventions we already find the *beginnings* of an understanding of the importance of partial struggles, of their dialectics, and of their relation to the preparation of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We also find there a fuller understanding of the role of the Communist Party as the leader of these struggles, a closer approach to the practical problems of the class struggle and of trade union work. In other words, the conventions which formed the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party took one more step away from Left Socialism and toward Communism.

As already pointed out in the opening paragraphs of this article, the historic role of the Left Wing of 1918–1919 consisted in this, that it served as a bridge for the class-conscious workers of the United States from vague Left Socialism and general proletarian militancy to the solid foundations of Leninism. This process of development was by no means completed at the first Communist conventions but has been going on continuously in the Communist movement throughout its history. Only, with each succeeding period in the class struggle, old problems appeared in a *new form*, new and stronger forces were being developed within our movement for the successful solution of these problems, the general class struggle and our Party with it rising to higher levels of revolutionary advance. This is the struggle for the Bolshevization of our Party.

The question may be raised as to whether the present “Left” Socialist tendencies are fulfilling the same role as the Left Wing of 1918. The answer is this: far from playing the same role, they are playing the *opposite role*. Where the Left Wing of 1918 was a bridge to Communism, the present “Left” Socialists, whether those in the S. P. or the Musteites, are actually building a dam *against* Communism. This does not mean that the rank-and-file proletarian elements in the S. P. who incline toward the Left and the working class elements of the Muste movement are following their “Left” reformist leaders because they (the rank and file) want a dam against Communism. Not at all. Rather these reformist leaders put on a “Left” coloring in order to stop this rank and file from moving further to the Left, that is, to Communism. Let us make no mistake about it. The rank and file of the reformist organizations—Socialist and trade union—is genuinely moving to the Left—to the Communist Party and to class struggle unionism. Not all of them are as yet conscious of where they are going; some of them still have many bourgeois prejudices against Communism instilled into their minds primarily by the “Left” reformists and most especially by the Musteites; but if this rank and file is ever to have what it is looking for—class struggle and a true working class party—it will inevitably come to Communism. Of course, if we leave uncombated the activities of the “Left” Socialists and Musteites, if we don’t expose them systematically and in the course of the class struggle, with the united front policy, as “Left” social-fascists, and if we don’t prove in practice the correctness of our line and our ability to put it into effect, Muste and Co. may succeed to an extent in delaying and obstructing the drift to Communism. Hence, the great significance of the Open Letter and the need of its earnest and speedy execution.

THE PARTY ANNIVERSARY IN THE LIGHT OF OUR TASKS ⁶

In its Open Letter to the Sixth Convention of our Party the Executive Committee of the Communist International said the following:

“The Workers (Communist) Party is obviously still unprepared for the great class conflicts which will inevitably arise on the basis of the sharpening class relation in the United States. *Its past still weighs upon its present* [Our emphasis—A.B.]. The relics of the previous period of its existence form the greatest obstacle in the path it has to travel before it successfully passes the turning point and develops *in the shortest possible time* from a numerically small propagandist organization into a mass political party of the American working class.”

This task, the task of developing our Party from a numerically small propa-

⁶ Reprinted from *The Communist* of December, 1931.

gandist organization into a mass political party of the working class, the Open Letter qualified as "the chief, fundamental and decisive task to which all other tasks must be entirely subordinated." Furthermore, the Open Letter said that this is the task "which the whole objective situation in the United States, the entire post-war development of American imperialism, places before the Party."

The Address of the E.C.C.I. to all members of the Communist Party of the United States, after the Sixth Convention, approaches our problems in this period from the same angle. The Address stresses the vital necessity of our Party converting itself in *the shortest possible time* into a mass political Party of the working class. It points out that this task has assumed a particularly decisive character in view of the fundamental tasks arising before us "in connection with the accentuation of the inner and outer contradictions of American imperialism in the present period."

Since the E.C.C.I. Address in the summer of 1929, our Party has been engaged in the work of converting itself into a mass political party of the American working class. Its chief weapon for the attainment of this end has been and continues to be the organization and leadership of the daily struggles of the masses against the capitalist offensive and the liquidation of the relics of the previous period which obstruct our progress in the present period.

The Twelfth Anniversary of our Party, which occurred in September of this year, finds us on the path which leads to a mass Communist Party and freed from some of the relics of the previous period—the inner factional struggle—which were obstructing our growth. The turning point, however, we have not yet passed—that turning point which we must successfully pass in order to be able to convert our Party into a mass political Party in the shortest possible time. The Thirteenth Plenum of our Central Committee declared that only "the first beginning of the turn toward mass work was made," that "the process is only begun," that we must now seize that particular link in the chain which would enable us to pass to the next link and to turn the corner. The Plenum has pointed out to the Party the nature of that link. It is the building of the Party and revolutionary unions in the shops, organizing and leading the daily struggles of the employed and unemployed workers, combating energetically all manifestations of opportunism. The carrying out of the practical tasks formulated by the Thirteenth Plenum, increasing the tempo of our work day by day in order to catch up with the demands of the sharpening crisis and war danger, will create the prerequisites for the successful passing of the turning point from which the Party will be able to develop in the shortest possible time into a mass political party of the American working class.

To fulfil the practical tasks formulated by the Thirteenth Plenum means to continue to liquidate those relics of the previous period which are still obstructing our growth. These are chiefly remnants of opportunism—Right opportunism (the main danger in the present period) and "Left" sectarianism which is also opportunism. It is from this angle that we must approach the review of the Party's past development on the occasion of its Twelfth Anniversary.

THREE PERIODS IN THE PARTY'S DEVELOPMENT

It is possible to distinguish three definite periods in the development of our Party. (1) The first period is the period of separation from social-reformism and the gathering of the Communists in the United States into one Party. (2) The second period is the period in which the Communist Party developed itself into a propagandist of Communism and functioned primarily as a propagandist organization. (3) The third period is the period in which the Party begins to emerge from the propagandist stage, moving to the turning point from which will become possible its rapid conversion into a mass political party of the working class.

This division of our Party's past development into definite and distinct periods, like every other historic demarcation, must be viewed dialectically. That is, that some of the problems and tasks of one period were carried over into the succeeding period and that the problems and tasks of the succeeding period were already present, at least in embryonic form, in the previous period. This, however, does not prevent us from distinguishing definite periods in the Party history. In what sense? In the sense that each period placed before us specific and peculiar tasks, which we undertook to fulfill in a certain way, thus reaching the next period, the successive stage in the development of the Party, with its own specific and peculiar task.

First Period. We defined the first period as the one in which took place the differentiation and separation from social-reformism and the gathering together of the American Communists into one Party. This period may be said to have concluded with the organization of the Workers Party in 1921.

The beginning of this period is marked by intense ideological and organizational struggle in the American Labor movement (Socialist and trade unions) of the adherents of militant class struggle against the reformist policies of the official leadership. The fight of the American labor militants and Left Socialists against Gompersism and Hillquitism was *essentially* (but not fully) of the same character as the fight of the revolutionary Marxists against the opportunists and revisionists in the Second International in the period that preceded the late imperialist world war.

When did this period begin? In a broad historical sense, the crystallization of the theory and practice of the revolutionary class struggle of the American proletariat, whose complete and conscious expression is Marxism-Leninism, began with the first manifestations of working class struggle against capitalist exploitation in the United States. The historic roots of the Communist movement of the United States go back to the birth of the American working class and the class struggle. These roots have absorbed and grown upon the life-blood of all the struggles of the American working class and its advance guard through the various periods in the history of the class struggle in the United States.

But in a narrow sense, in the sense of the phase that immediately preceded the formation of the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party (C. P. and C. L. P.) in September, 1919, the first period of our Party's history can be said to begin with the organizational crystallization of the Left Wing in the Socialist Party in 1918. The organization of the Left Wing was preceded by years of struggle against reformism in the Socialist and trade union movement of the country. This struggle, with its ups and downs, had several culminating points in the years of 1905, 1912, 1914 and 1917. Through all these struggles the Left and militant elements in the labor movement had given expression, often in a confused and incomplete manner, to the interests and aspirations of the American proletariat as against the corrupt labor bureaucracy, aristocracy and petty-bourgeois reformism. This was in essence the meaning of the struggle for industrial unionism as against craft unionism, for class struggle as against class collaboration, for revolutionary Socialism as against the petty-bourgeois reformism of the Hillquits and Bergers. The consolidation of American imperialism in the pre-war period, with the consequent sharpening of all inherent contradictions of capitalism, has produced on the one hand Gompersism and Hillquitism, the expression of the corrupt bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor, and on the other hand it has also produced the various Left and militant tendencies in the labor movement which gave expression to the awakening proletariat, to its dawning consciousness of the need of revolutionary class struggle and organization.

The Left Wing of the Socialist Party of 1918 was the forerunner and organizer of our Party. With it began (strictly speaking) the ideological and organizational differentiation of revolutionary Socialism—later, Communism—from reformism. This Left Wing was born in the heat and under the pressure of the late imperialist world war which opened up the epoch of proletarian and colonial revolutions, and at the inception of the great wave of strikes in the United States that followed the end of the war. Because of this fact, this Left Wing was more conscious of its mission and objective than its predecessors. It declared war against reformism along the entire front. It battled against Gompersism and Hillquitism on the question of war, taking its position against the imperialist war, at first semi-pacifist but later approaching the Leninist position. It sided unequivocally with the proletarian revolution in Russia. It was trying to link itself up internationally with the revolutionary Socialists led by Lenin in the Second International. With the formation of the Communist International, this Left Wing made its major battle of that period in the labor movement of the United States on the issue of breaking with the treacherous Second International and for joining the Communist International. It was in the process of this struggle against imperialism and imperialist war, for the class struggle and against class collaboration, for revolutionary Socialism against petty-bourgeois reformism, for the proletarian revolution in Russia, for the Communist International against the Second International, that there began the process of

organizational separation from the reformists in the Socialist Party which led to the organization of the two Communist Parties in September, 1919.

The organization of the two Communist Parties took place in the midst of the first period of the post-war development of capitalism, the period of "extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat" (Resolution of the Sixth Congress of the C. I.). The working class of the United States was in great fermentation. Great strikes were in process of development in the steel industry, mining, railroad, meat-packing, etc. But the ideological differentiation between reformism and revolutionary Socialism was at that time very little known or understood by the masses. This fact, arising partly from the historically delayed organizational separation of the Socialists from the reformists, together with the formation of *two* Communist Parties struggling with each other, offers the main reason for the relative ineffectiveness of the Communist Parties in those strikes. The strong sectarian tendencies prevalent in the two parties at the time had worked toward the same end.

In view of the above, what were the specific tasks of the Communists of that period and to what extent did they succeed in fulfilling them?

The first of the tasks that were placed before us by the objective situation and by the internal condition of the young Communist movement at that time was to *unify it*, to bring together all adherents of the Communist International *into one party*. This involved the task of *completing* the organizational break with the reformist political parties, since various groups of adherents of the Communist International had remained in the "Socialist" parties, especially the Socialist Party of America, subsequent to the formation of the Communist Parties in September, 1919, and the unification of these two parties (Communist Party and Communist Labor Party) into one party. The second task was to establish active contact with the proletarian masses and mass movements. This involved the task of penetrating the reformist mass organizations, especially the A. F. of L., the organization of the Communists and their sympathizers within the reformist unions for the struggle against Gomerism, the popularization of the Communist program among the masses on the basis of their daily struggles and experiences, and skillful resistance to the efforts of the reformists and the government to isolate us from the masses and to drive the young Communist movement underground (the Palmer raids), while building up all necessary machinery for the protection of the Party organization from governmental attacks. The third task was to deepen and extend the struggle against reformist ideology, to analyze the American situation in a theoretical way from the Communist point of view and to educate the membership to an understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

These tasks, which were placed before us by the external and internal conditions of the Communist movement at that time, were only partially fulfilled during the first period of the Party's existence. The vital task of establishing active contact with the masses and of organizing the Communist and militant workers within the A. F. of L. for the struggle against the Compers policies and leadership—this fundamental task of the first period was left almost untouched. This task, the fulfilment of which was to create the prerequisites for the independent leadership of the daily struggles of the workers by the Communists, began to be tackled in earnest only in the second period of the Party's existence, following the formation of the Workers Party at the end of 1921. Nor were the Communists successful in the first year or so in combatting effectively the wall of illegality that the government had tried to erect between our Party and the masses. However, the achievements of the period stand out quite clearly. The Communist movement was unified under the pressure and guidance of the Communist International. The Party withstood the terrific onslaught of the Palmer raids and the regime of persecution that followed. It succeeded in drawing a clear line of demarcation between itself and the reformists, drawing into its ranks and rallying around itself the most mature and militant elements in the labor movement. The Communists came to the first convention of the Workers Party with a clearer realization of the nature of those opportunist tendencies which have militated against the Party's growth, especially in the field of mass work.

What were those tendencies? First there was the "Left" opportunist conception that revolutionists can have nothing to do with reformist unions, that the Communists must not work in the reactionary unions of the A. F. of L., that they must build their own unions. Considering the objective situation of the time and the fact that the Communist movement had just been organized, this meant in practice no work in the unions and no mass work. It meant to condemn the Party to the position of a sect. On the other hand, there was the Right oppor-

tunist conception, taken over from the S. P. reformist leadership, that we must live "in peace" with the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and that the "political arm" of the movement (the Party) must not interfere with and "dictate" its policies to the union. This meant to surrender the masses to Gompers and to the capitalists. It meant no work in the unions and no revolutionary mass work of any kind. These opportunist tendencies, especially the "Left" sectarian tendency, were primarily responsible for the fact that the fundamental tasks of our movement in its first period were fulfilled only partially, as was indicated above. These two opportunist tendencies have manifested themselves in all fields of Party activity—in the question of legal and illegal work, parliamentary activities, partial demands and daily economic struggles, etc. In the struggle against these tendencies, in the clarification of the correct policies with the direct and systematic assistance of the C. I. and R. I. L. U., the Party had moved forward to internal consolidation, to the establishment of contacts with the workers and their mass organizations, and to a better understanding of Leninist policies and tactics. In this way the Party had reached the second period of its existence, the next and higher stage in its development which was ushered in by the first convention of the Workers Party at the end of 1921.

Second Period. The second period in the history of our Party is the period in which it developed itself into a propagandist of Communism and functioned primarily as a propagandist organization. Essentially, the Party is still in this period, but just now it is beginning to emerge from it. Already there are signs to show that we are nearing a new period in the life of the Party—the period of development into a mass political party of the American working class.

This period, which is thus far the longest in our Party's history, is marked by the following characteristics: (a) the Party carries on systematic work in the unions of the A. F. of L., taking the leadership in the organization of the Left Wing in the unions (Trade Union Educational League); (b) the Party begins to participate in the political struggles, especially in various election campaigns, aiming to apply in this field the policy of the united front, evolving in this process its labor party policies; (c) the illegal Communist Party and the Workers Party (its legal expression) become fully merged; (d) the Party takes the first steps in the direction of work among the Negro masses; (e) there become crystallized within the Party two rigid factions, carrying on an almost uninterrupted struggle during most of this period, until the summer of 1929 when the E. C. C. I. Address lays the basis for the liquidation of the factional situation; (f) the appearance of Trotskyism and the development of Right opportunism and the struggle of the Party against it.

The development of our Party in the course of these years was taking place on the basis and within the framework of the second period in the development of post-war capitalism. This was the period of "gradual and partial stabilization of the capitalist system, of the 'restoration' process of capitalist economy, of the development and expansion of the capitalist offensive and of the continuation of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeats. On the other hand, this period was a period of rapid restoration in the U. S. S. R., of extremely important successes in the work of building up socialism, and also of the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties over the broad masses of the proletariat." (Resolution of Sixth Congress of the C. I.)

The peculiarities of the objective conditions at the time of the formation of the Workers Party (end of 1921 and beginning of 1922) arose from the fact that it was a period of transition from the first period of post-war capitalism to its second period. That is, the transition from the period of "extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat" to the period of temporary and relative stabilization and "the continuation of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeat." The greatest danger that confronted our Party at that time was the danger of "Left" sectarianism which threatened to isolate us from the masses by failing to utilize the then existing possibilities for Communist mass work, especially the work in the A. F. of L. and the systematic application of the united front policy. At the same time the Party was menaced by the tendencies of Right opportunism which tended to relinquish the independent revolutionary role of the Communist Party by various maneuvers on top with reformist leaders.

Between the years of 1922-1927 the Party developed into a propagandist organization. It functioned primarily as a propagandist of Communism. Its efforts to become a mass party of the American proletariat and the leader of the

daily struggles of the workers against capitalist exploitation and capitalist rule have been seriously hampered by the opportunist tendencies and by the inner factional struggle, with the consequence that the beginning of the third period in the post-war development of capitalism found our Party unprepared for the great class conflicts that have arisen and continue to arise in increasingly sharper forms.

The possibilities for our Party becoming the leader of the daily struggle of the masses, and hence for its conversion into the mass political party of the American proletariat, were already inherent in the objective conditions that were beginning to shape themselves around 1927. This was clearly seen in the big strike movements of that year (miners, furriers, garment workers, textile in New Bedford and Paterson) in which the Party and the T. U. E. L. were playing a leading and organizing role. From these struggles, and the independent leading role played by us in them, the road was opening up for a new period in the life of our Party. The second period of post-war capitalism was coming to an end and the third period was approaching with all the possibilities and responsibilities that this situation was bringing to us. But the Party was unable to utilize fully these possibilities, to reorientate itself and to make the turn toward the approaching new period, because of the acute factional situation in the Party and the serious Right opportunist tendencies that had accumulated in the Party in the previous years.

Hence the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Sixth Convention of the Party had to declare that "from a propagandist organization . . . the Workers (Communist) Party is now beginning [Our emphasis—A. B.] to turn into a mass Party," that "the Party is now just making its first steps on the new path. It is now just on the threshold between the old and new, it has not yet passed the turning point." It was in this letter that the E. C. C. I. also declared that "the existing factions must be resolutely and definitely liquidated. The factional struggle must be unconditionally stopped. Without this *no mass Communist Party of the American proletariat can be organized.*"

The liquidation of factionalism which became a condition for the growth of the Party, for the successful struggle against the Right danger as the main danger in the present period and for the conversion of the Party into a mass Party, was accomplished after the Sixth Convention of the Party with the help of the Address of the E. C. C. I. which constitutes a milestone in the Party's history. In this way the conditions were created for a fresh and determined effort to pass the turning point that leads to the conversion from a propagandist organization into a mass political party of the American working class.

Third Period. This period we have defined as the one in which the Party begins to emerge from the propagandist stage, moving to the turning point from which will become possible its rapid conversion into a mass political party of the working class. Strictly speaking it is not yet a completely new period. It is more in the nature of a transition stage from the old to the new but with this specific characteristic, that the Party is now moving *unitedly, consciously and honestly* toward the turning point, the passage of which will mark the full unfolding of the third period—the rapid development of our Party into a mass party.

Herein lies the basic explanation of our lagging behind the radicalization of the masses. Whereas objectively the capitalist system and the world labor movement are already fully in the third period of post-war development, our Party still finds itself *in transition* to the present period. It is true that the tempo of our movement is continually increasing, but not sufficiently to catch up with the continued shattering of capitalist stabilization and the growing radicalization of the masses. The successive stages of the Party's development since the E. C. C. I. Address (the Seventh Convention, Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenum of the Central Committee) each marked a step in advance, at the same time taking note of the outstanding fact that we continue to lag behind. We must therefore make haste in the execution of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum.

The twelfth Anniversary of our Party finds us free from factional divisions, united behind the Central Committee on the line of the C.I., extending our influence among the masses and our leadership of their daily struggles, and determined to convert ourselves into a mass party. Our Party stands out today as the only leader of the workers in their daily struggles against the capitalist offensive (unemployment, wage cuts, imperialist war and intervention, etc.). The great and historic strike of the miners, the strikes of the textile workers in Paterson and Lawrence, the struggles of the unemployed and the fight against imperialist war and intervention organized and led by our Party and the revo-

lutionary unions of the Trade Union Unity League are ample proof of this fact; while the Lovestone and Cannon renegades have moved into the camp of the enemy. At the same time we are still hampered by some of the relics of the previous period of our existence (Right and "Left" opportunism, especially Right opportunism, formalism and bureaucracy), which we must combat consistently and energetically, as formulated by the Thirteenth Plenum of our Central Committee.

In its Address to our membership in the summer of 1929, the E. C. C. I. said: "With a distinctness unprecedented in history, American capitalism is exhibiting now the effects of the inexorable laws of capitalist development, the laws of decline and downfall of capitalist society. The general crisis of capitalism is growing more rapidly than it may seem at first glance. The crisis will shake also the foundation of the power of American imperialism."

The truth of this prognostication is realized not only by us, members of the Party, but is beginning to be felt and understood by hundreds and thousands and millions of American workers. The deepening crisis, the war danger (war already a reality in Manchuria), the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the period of socialism—these are hastening the radicalization of the masses, leading them to a realization of the need of a revolutionary way out of the crisis. More than ever the masses need the leadership of our Party and the revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L. This leadership we must bring to the masses without delay, exposing and combatting the Right and "Left" reformists with their renegade assistants that are trying desperately to check the radicalization of the masses.

MILESTONES OF COMINTERN LEADERSHIP⁷

The proletarian vanguard of the United States can justly take pride in the fact that it participated actively in the building of the Communist International, whose fifteenth anniversary falls in March of this year. At the same time, the revolutionary vanguard of this country can derive deep satisfaction from the fact that it unflinchingly received brotherly advice and guidance from the Communist International in the struggle for the revolutionization of the American working class. It was from the outset, and continues to be so, a *mutual collaboration* of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries, organized in a world party, for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Soviet Republic. The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Comintern needs neither explanation nor apology. A Party that has opened up the epoch of the world revolution, and that is successfully building a classless society on one-sixth of the earth, is cheerfully recognized and followed as the leading Party of the world Communist movement. And by the same token, the leaders of that Party—first Lenin and now Stalin—are proudly followed as the leaders of the proletariat and of all oppressed in every country of the world.

The bourgeoisie, and especially the social-fascist agents in the labor movement, speak of Comintern "interference" in American affairs as though the Comintern was something foreign to and outside of the working class of the United States. But that is sheer nonsense. The revolutionary vanguard of the American proletariat, organized in the Communist Party of the U. S. A., is blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the American working class; and it is this Party that represents the Comintern in the United States. On the other hand, the Comintern is a *world party*, and its "interference" in the affairs of its various national sections is nothing else but assistance rendered by all of these Parties *collectively* to each of them *separately*. But the social-fascists usually press the point further. It isn't, they say, so much the "interference" itself as the "dictatorial" way in which it is done. And the "Left" social-fascists (Muste & Co.), sometimes assisted and at other times led by the renegades from Communism (Lovestone and Trotsky-Cannon), push the same argument from a somewhat different angle. These—the "Left" social-fascists and the renegades—pretend to be concerned with what they call the "national" peculiarities of the American labor movement which the Comintern (so they claim) fails to take into consideration. These claims and assertions would be laughable if they were not the direct reflection of bourgeois nationalism and imperialist chauvinism with which monopoly capital is now trying to fascize its rule and prepare for war. Muste's "Americanism" and Lovestone's "exceptionalism,"

⁷ Reprinted from *The Communist* of March, 1934.

therefore, assume especial value for the New Dealers, the value of the most "advanced" detachments of the imperialist and chauvinist bourgeoisie operating among the more conscious workers.

Stalin has long ago answered these laughable arguments. As to dictation from the outside, he said:

"There are no such Communists in the world who would agree to work 'under orders' from outside against their own convictions and will and contrary to the requirements of the situation. Even if there were such Communists they would not be worth a cent. Communists bravely fight against a host of enemies. The value of a Communist, among other things, lies in that he is able to defend his convictions. Therefore, it is strange to speak of American Communists as not having their own convictions and capable only of working according to 'orders' from outside. The only part of the labor leaders' assertion that has any truth in it at all is that the American Communists are affiliated to an international Communist organization and from time to time consult with the central body of this organization on one question or another."* (P. 30.)

And as to the "national" peculiarities, the refuge of every opportunist, Stalin observes:

"It would be wrong to ignore the specific peculiarities of American capitalism. The Communist Party in its work must take them into account. But it would be still more wrong to base the activities of the Communist Party on these specific features, since the foundation of the activities of every Communist Party, including the American Communist Party, on which it must base itself, must be the general features of capitalism, which are the same for all countries, and not its specific features in any given country. *It is on this that the internationalism of the Communist Party is founded.* Specific features are only supplementary to the general features." (Speech in the American Commission of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., 1929.)

GUIDING THE AMERICAN PARTY

We shall sketch briefly the most outstanding events in the life of the American Party where consultation with and advice from the Comintern marked off a special stage in the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States.

The bringing together of all American revolutionary workers into *one Communist Party*—to realize this historic task of the American working class with the least waste of time and energy—was the first of the more significant acts of advice of the Comintern to the revolutionary workers in the United States. Considering the historically delayed organizational break with the opportunists in the Socialist movement, on the one hand, and the heterogeneous character of the Left elements in the American labor movement out of which came the Communist Party, on the other hand, this unification was no easy or simple task. The difficulties lay in the "specific" features of American capitalism and of the labor movement. And in the years 1919-1921, the best elements of the American working class had been struggling to overcome the effects of these "specific" features and to arrive at a united and single Communist Party. If it were possible to imagine those years without a Communist International (which, of course, is impossible), these struggles for Communist unity would have been infinitely more protracted, wasteful and harmful than was actually the case. But there *was* a Communist International, led by Lenin, and, consequently, there was made available to the revolutionary workers of the United States the *world experience* and prestige of the Bolshevik movement which has gone through a long struggle with opportunism and built up a united Communist Party. These experiences the Comintern utilized in order to help the American Communists of those years to solve their own specific problems of unity, and these problems were solved. A unified and single Communist Party was materialized in the United States in shorter time, less painfully and wastefully, than would have been the case without the advice and assistance of the Comintern. Is there a single class-conscious worker in the United States who, having familiarized himself with this event, would reproach the Comintern for "interfering" in American affairs or reproach the American Communists for accepting this "interference"? No, only Muste & Co., and the renegades, who echo the chauvinism of the Yankee imperialists, will utter such reproaches.

* Joseph Stalin, *Interview With Foreign Workers' Delegations*, New York, International Publishers, 1934.

We come now to another milestone of Comintern leadership. This time it was the problem of breaking through *the walls of illegality* erected by the American bourgeoisie between the young Communist Party and the working class. The Communists, having been driven underground by Wilson-Palmer in 1919-1920, were struggling to find their way to the masses despite the illegality and governmental persecutions. What were the special difficulties for the solution of this problem? They arose from the danger of seeking to achieve legality by sacrificing Communist principles and hiding the revolutionary line, on the one hand, and from the danger of trying to preserve intact the Communist principles by abandoning all serious fight for legal and open work, on the other hand.

The way to the masses, the Communist Party could then find only by fighting and overcoming these Right and "Left" opportunist dangers. One of the founders of the recently launched Maste American Workers' Party, Hardman-Salutsky, was at that time especially active in trying to switch the Communist movement to the path of buying legality by sacrificing the revolutionary line. Lacking the necessary Leninist training and experience, the American Communist Party found it extremely difficult to reach the correct solution of this task and was therefore torn between the two opportunist dangers of legalistic liquidation of the Communist Party and underground sectarianism. Once more the American Communists consulted with the Communist International. This was in 1921-1922. And the correct advice came, as it was bound to, and with its help the Workers' Party of America was organized, which opened up for the illegal Communist Party of America wide opportunities for open revolutionary work among the masses. Illegal work, that is, revolutionary mass work that could not be done openly because of governmental persecutions, was not abandoned but continued; the illegal work supplementing the legal, and vice versa.

The Party authority continued to rest in the underground Communist Party, as it should be under these conditions. And when the influence of the Communists in the Workers' Party had become firmly established, and the basic revolutionary mass work could be carried on through the Workers' Party legally, then the underground Communist Party became merged with the Workers' Party, that is, the latter became the Communist Party of the country. American Communism thus solved its immediate task and reached a higher stage in its development toward becoming the mass party of the American proletariat.

What was it that proved especially helpful for the American Communists in the Comintern advice on legal and illegal work? It was the world and Russian experience of Bolshevism. Under Lenin's guidance the Bolsheviks had repeatedly met and solved such and similar problems and solved them successfully, as history has proved. The Bolshevik solutions, while primarily applied in Russia because there was the Party to do it, were based upon the experiences of the working class movement all over the world and thus acquired an international significance. The American Communists have been helped by the Comintern in applying these solutions to American conditions. In doing so they not only *defeated* the efforts of the bourgeoisie to strangle the revolutionary movement in the period of 1919-1921, but have also acquired knowledge and skill to defeat such efforts again, especially in the present period of sharp turn to fascism and war which inevitably brings new attacks upon the legality of the Communist Party and the working class movement as a whole. Will any sincere and militant worker in the United States, who is loyal to his class and its liberation from the misery and sufferings of capitalism, reproach the Comintern for having helped the American revolutionary workers to defeat the Wilson-Palmer persecutions? And will such a worker hold it against the American Communist Party for having accepted this helpful guidance? No, only Maste-Hardman & Co., led by the renegades, will indulge in such reproaches, because this select company is echoing the raging chauvinism of the Yankee imperialists.

The next milestone in the Comintern leadership for the American Party we find on the question of trade union work. On this, more perhaps than on any other question, the Left and militant elements in the American labor movement, in the two decades before the emergence of the Comintern (not to go into the pre-imperialist era), had got themselves tangled up in insoluble difficulties, torn between reformism and anarcho-syndicalism, only because they were unable, by their own efforts, to restore and further develop the revolutionary teachings of Marx and to apply them to the United States of

the imperialist era. Lenin did that; but the American militants (even they) were too provincial, not enough international, because still influenced by bourgeois ideology, to find out what Leninism stands for and what it could do for the progress of the American working class. The Comintern brought the American militants and Lefts closer to the world labor movement and to the basic problems of the American labor movement. The trade union question was one of them. The young American Communist movement struggled painfully to throw off the ballast of Gompers-Hillquit reformism and DeLeon-I. W. W. sectarianism, sometimes falling victim to the former, at other times to the latter, and occasionally to both. Even the best and most experienced among the Left and militant leaders of the American workers, the builders and founders of the revolutionary movement of the American workers in the imperialist era, such as the late Charles E. Ruthenberg, as well as the present leader of our Party, William Z. Foster, were able to rid themselves and our movement of the old ballast of opportunism only by coming closer to Leninism and into the Comintern. By becoming *more international*, the proletarian vanguard in the United States has become also *more American*, because the international experience, as it is incorporated in Leninism and in Comintern guidance, helped the American Communists to come closer to the basic masses of the American proletariat and to begin to function as the leaders of its struggles against American capitalism.

It was Comintern advice and guidance that helped the American Communists to turn full face to the building of a Left Wing in the reformist unions beginning with 1920; it was the advice of the Comintern that helped formulate a correct solution to one of the basic problems of the American proletariat—the organization of the unorganized into trade unions; it was advice of the Comintern on independent leadership of the economic struggles by the revolutionary elements that helped formulate strike policies and tactics; it was Comintern advice on how to revolutionize the labor movement, through organization and leadership of the daily struggles of the masses and systematic exposure and struggle against the reformists, that helped the American Communists to prove to wide masses of workers and toilers that the C. P. U. S. A. is the only true proletarian party in the United States and the leader of all exploited. In short, at every stage in the development of the revolutionary trade union movement in the United States (Trade Union Educational League, class struggle unions of the Trade Union Unity League, the application of the united front on the trade union field, the fight for trade union unity, etc.), it was with the help of the Comintern that the American revolutionary workers were able to find the correct way, to correct their errors and, through manifold changes in tactics, to press on to the goal of building a revolutionary trade union movement in the United States.

Comintern influence on the development of revolutionary trade union policies in the United States has especial significance. Here, as in other capitalist countries, the imperialist bourgeoisie, with the help of the reformists, succeeded in *splitting the working class*, setting the small minority of "labor aristocrats" against the basic mass of the proletariat. Following out this policy, the reformist trade union bureaucracy was persistently shutting out of trade union organization the bulk of the American proletariat, especially its most oppressed and exploited sections. This it was that constituted and still constitutes one of the chief weaknesses of the American working class. And the most damning indictment against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is its discrimination and exclusion of the Negro proletariat.

It is significant, therefore, that the first question which Comrade Stalin put to the American trade union delegation was: "How do you account for the small percentage of American workers organized in trade unions?" And he added: "I would like to ask the delegation whether it regards this small percentage of organized workers as a good thing. Does not the delegation think that this small percentage is an indication of the weakness of the American proletariat and of the weakness of its weapon in the struggle against the capitalists in the economic field?"

That was in 1927. Lack of space does not permit to deal here with the answer of the delegation. Suffice it to say that this delegation, made up as it was of so-called progressives, really bourgeois liberals, was in its answers, at best, very helpless and confused. But the intent of Stalin's question is clear: Why don't you organize the workers in trade unions? Why don't you strengthen them against the capitalists? And it was in this direction that the Comintern threw the full weight of its influence and advice in the American labor move-

ment. Organize the basic sections of the proletariat into unions, liberate the existing mass trade unions from the stranglehold of the reformists, and unify the trade union movement of this country—this was the nature of Comintern guidance to the revolutionary workers in the United States.

Tactics and methods of work may vary, depending upon the state of the class struggle. In the light of recent events, the Communist Party favors the organization of independent unions, *in those cases* where such a measure would constitute a *step in advance* toward the revolutionization of the trade union movement. But the strategic aim always remained the same, and for this aim the Communist Party fights bravely and persistently and with increasing effectiveness. The general crisis of capitalism, undermining the basis of existence of large numbers of the "labor aristocracy" as well as the working class as a whole, creates ever more favorable conditions for the realization of this aim. So, we ask again: can any American worker, who is alive to the needs of his class and is willing to fight for them, find anything to object to in this "interference" of the Communist International in American affairs? And will he object to the Communist Party of the United States accepting and taking deep satisfaction in such "interference"? No, he will not. Only Muste and Co., abetted by the renegades, will object and will call it "outside dictation," because these groups echo the mad chauvinism of the Yankee imperialists.

We shall now relate another significant instance of Comintern leadership in the United States. In the years 1921-1924, one of the important phases of the American labor movement was a widespread urge for the organization of a Labor Party. The Left Wing in the Socialist Party and the first Communist Party convention took a completely negative attitude toward it. But in their struggle to establish contact with the masses and with their movements against capitalism and its major political parties, the American Communists came to adopt the position of active participation in the Labor Party movement. The aim of this position was to accelerate the existing break-away movement of the workers and toiling farmers from the capitalist parties and to direct this movement along the channels of independent working class political action. Comintern influence and advice strengthened the American Communists in this determination, thus helping to overcome the various sectarian objections to such a policy.

But it also did something else; it tried to guard the American Communists against some of the reformist dangers, for instance, the danger of forcing the organization of a Labor Party before there was a second proletarian mass basis laid for it; or the danger of the Labor Party movement becoming a tail end to the petty-bourgeois Farmer-Labor movements with the inevitable submerging of the workers and the young Communist Party into this petty-bourgeois outfit controlled by bourgeois politicians. The Comintern advice was: Beat back your sectarian tendencies, participate actively in the Labor Party movement, build unceasingly your own proletarian base and the proletarian mass base for the Labor Party, especially by building the revolutionary trade union movement, and fight against all Right opportunist tendencies to submerge the workers in petty-bourgeois movements.

Unfortunately this advice was not always followed, with the result that the Communist Party itself began to flirt with the petty-bourgeois Farmer-Labor Party and with the late LaFollette (1923-1924). If continued, such flirtation might have become highly dangerous for the cause of working class independent political action and for the Communist Party. Again Comintern advice was thrown in to straighten out the Party's line, and at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern the American experiences were evaluated afresh. This was done in the light of the general analysis of the world (and American) situation, which showed the weakening of the relative stabilization of capitalism, the approach of a new and sharper phase of its general crisis, and the consequent growing radicalization of the masses. This was in 1928. And the Congress said to the American Communists: "Concentrate on the work in the trade unions, on organizing the unorganized, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realization of the slogan of a broad Labor Party, organized from below."

No wonder Muste, Hardman-Salutsky and Co. do not like Comintern "interference," because it helps to expose, and cuts straight across, the reformist machinations of this "Left" social-fascist outfit. In 1922, the Communist Party was forced to expel from its ranks the same Hardman-Salutsky because he was working hand in glove with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the Farmer-Labor Party politicians *against the organization of a Labor Party* and against the Labor Party policies of the Communist Party of which he was then a member.

Now, when the Communist Party concentrates on building the firm proletarian base (in the unions and in the shops and among the unemployed) upon which alone, as experience has shown, a broad Labor Party organized from below can come into existence without the danger of its becoming the tail end of reformist and bourgeois Farmer-Labor politicians, the same Salutsky-Hardman, this time in company with Muste, proceeds again to collaborate with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the Farmer-Labor politicians to oppose the line of the Communist Party. Only now, having "learned" from experience, he and Muste are using the very Labor Party slogan for this purpose, for the purpose of obstructing the radicalization of the masses and of steering this radicalization into Farmer-Labor channels. The Comintern has helped the American workers and their Communist Party to expose and fight against this and similar "Left" maneuvers of the reformists; it has helped and is helping to build organized proletarian strength and to unite this strength with the exploited toiling farmers under working class leadership.

With Leninism as its guide, the Communist Party of the United States is fighting for the organization of the *alliance* between the workers, toiling farmers, and Negroes under the *hegemony of the proletariat*, concentrating on developing the working class, politically and organizationally, as the true leader of this alliance. Can the American class-conscious workers and militant toiling farmers reproach the Comintern for thus guiding the American Communists and the struggling masses of the United States? Can they object to the American Communists accepting and following out this advice? No, they cannot and do not. Only Muste, Hardman and Co. raise such objections and this they do because the Yankee imperialists do it.

We come to a milestone of Comintern leadership in the United States that has been especially fruitful in making the fight for proletarian internationalism alive and real in projecting the liberating mission of the American proletariat in a most concrete and telling manner. We refer here to the Communist program for *Negro liberation*. It was no accident that this was the problem—the Negro problem in the United States—that it took the revolutionary workers of America *the longest* in point of time, to become aware of and to find a solution for. Bourgeois ideology, the "white prejudices" of the old slave market, had poisoned the minds, not alone of the backward strata of the toilers, but also the most advanced sections. And thus we find that the Left Wing of the Socialist Party which formed the Communist Party somehow "overlooked" the national-revolutionary significance of the Negro liberation struggles. And even when the American Communists had finally begun to grapple with the Negro question in a Leninist way, starting practical mass work to organize the white and Negro toilers to struggle for Negro rights, there still was considerable hesitation and confusion among the weaker elements of the Communist movement to project boldly the full Leninist solution of the problem.

Once more came the "outside" influence of the Comintern; and what did it say? It said that the struggle against discrimination and for Negro rights is a revolutionary struggle for the national liberation of the Negroes, that we must fight for complete Negro equality, and that in the Black Belt the full realization of this demand requires the fight for the national self-determination of the Negroes including the right of separation from the United States and the organization of an independent state. Furthermore, it was the interpretation of Leninism and its application to the United States as made by the Comintern that showed the American Communists that the agrarian revolution in the Black Belt, where the Negro masses are mostly peasants and semi-serfs, is the basis of the national-liberation movement and that this movement is one of the allies of the American proletariat in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Lovestone renegades advocate the bourgeois theory that capitalist development itself, the "industrialization of the South," will solve the Negro question. The Communist Party—following the lead of the Comintern—says that only the national-revolutionary movement of the Negroes, as an organic part and ally of the proletarian revolution, will solve the Negro question. From this point of view, the American Communists are able to expose the Muste-Hardman position on this question as bourgeois liberalism in words and Yankee white chauvinism in deeds.

Will the Negro workers, farmers, and city poor consider the Comintern advice on the Negro question as "outside dictation"? No. They will, as they actually do, receive this advice with outstretched arms and will continue in ever larger masses to rally around the Communist Party as the leader of the liberation fight. And will the white workers, those belonging to the dominating nationality

in the United States but who are already awake to their true interests, will they perhaps resent this advice as "outside dictation"? No. Some of these class-conscious white workers may still hesitate because they are as yet not completely free from the bourgeois curse of white chauvinism, but none of them will say that this advice is not in the best interests of the American working class and of all exploited.

Let us now cast just a glance (space does not permit more than that) at still another "dictation" from the Comintern—the advice to the American Communists and to the revolutionary trade union movement to make demands for *unemployment insurance* one of the major issues of the class struggle. Not that the American Communists were not aware of the importance of this demand, but (for a time) they had not managed, for various reasons, to project this demand into a mass struggle in a really effective way. The Comintern began to stress this issue long before the outbreak of the economic crisis with its 17,000,000 fully unemployed. Seeing the permanent unemployed army of over 4,000,000 workers in the years of "prosperity," and foreseeing the end of relative capitalist stabilization which would catastrophically increase unemployment, as it did, the Comintern undertook to prepare the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, and through it the whole working class for effective struggle against unemployment.

The Communist Party, guided by the Comintern, eventually succeeded in making this demand, together with the demand for immediate relief to the unemployed, a major issue in the class struggle of the United States. And it is indisputable that whatever relief was "granted" to the workers, through governmental agencies and otherwise, was a result mainly of the struggles initiated by the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement. Furthermore, these struggles had a powerful revolutionizing effect upon wide masses of workers. Will the unemployed American workers, who knew these facts, as well as the class-conscious employed workers, resent this "interference" of the Comintern in American affairs? No, they will not; they will say: if this is what Comintern leadership means, we are all for it, despite the chauvinistic "Americanisms" of the Right and "Left" social-fascists and their renegade companions.

And lastly—the *liquidation of the factional situation* in the Communist Party. It is on this, more than anything else, that the Muste-Hardman outfit, led by the Lovestone renegades and the Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries, choose to illustrate the "outside dictation" and interference of the Communist International. Well, the facts speak for themselves. By the early summer of 1919, the factional cancer that had been spreading to the vitals of the Communist Party for many years was beginning to threaten the most serious consequences. A break-up of the Party into various pieces with some of them getting switched into the channels of "Left" reformism, others getting tangled up in some hopeless sectarian nooks, while still others being caught in the nets of Trotskyism, seemed almost inevitable, if a quick and radical end was not made to the factional situation. And remember: these were the dangers confronting the Communist Party at the very threshold of the economic crisis, that is, at the time when the American working class needed and was going to need this Party more than ever in the history of the American class struggle.

But this disaster *did not happen*. And why? Because the Comintern spoke to the American Party with authority and wisdom; in so speaking, in pointing out the dangers and the way to avoid them, the Comintern *released the initiative and creative activity* of the overwhelming majority of the Party, the initiative that had become paralyzed during the years of factional fight; and on the basis of this initiative of the Party membership, with the help of this power, the Party was able to cleanse itself of the hopelessly factional elements and of the Right and "Left" opportunist groupings that went with the factions and thus laid the basis for the subsequent unification of the Party and its fresh start on the field of revolutionary mass work.

The Comintern did "interfere"; there can be no doubt of that. And it is fortunate that it did. And if you wish to know what precisely it was that fired the imagination and enthusiasm of the membership and sympathizers of the Communist Party of the United States to endorse and follow out the advice of the Comintern in making an end to factionalism and in cleansing itself of the Lovestone opportunists and the conciliators, read once more Stalin's speeches on the question. We must quote at least this:

"I think, comrades, that the American Communist Party is one of those few Communist Parties in the world upon which history had laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. You all

know very well the strength and power of American imperialism. Many now think [that was spoken in May, 1929] that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. That, of course, is not true. It is entirely untrue, comrades. The crisis of world capitalism is developing with increasing rapidity and cannot but affect American capitalism. The 3,000,000 now unemployed in America are the first swallows indicating the ripening of the economic crisis in America. The sharpening antagonisms between America and England, the struggle for markets and raw materials and, finally, the colossal growth of armaments—that is the second portent of the approaching crisis. I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America, that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America. Every effort and every means must be employed in preparing for that, comrades. For that end the American Communist Party must be improved and Bolshevized. For that end we must work for the complete liquidation of factionalism and deviations in the Party. For that end we must work for the re-establishment of unity in the Communist Party of America. For that end we must work in order to forge real revolutionary cadres and a real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, capable of leading the many millions of the American working class toward the revolutionary class struggle. For that end all personal factors and factional considerations must be laid aside and the revolutionary education of the working class of America be placed above all."

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AS AGAINST IMPERIALIST CHAUVINISM

For the class-conscious American workers, but especially for its younger generation, there is great significance in the fact that the two militant working class fighters in the labor movement of the United States in this country—the imperialist era—the two men who represent most fully the best and most advanced achievements of the American working class, Ruthenberg and Foster, that both of these became the builders of the Communist Party, the builders and followers of the Communist International.

Ruthenberg we have lost altogether too soon; March 2 of this year marks the seventh anniversary of his death; but the value of his work in founding our Party, in pointing the way to the Communist International for other thousands of workers, and in guiding our movement for many years, this will never be lost. Now our movement has Foster as the leader. And while he is temporarily disabled by terrific exertion in the class struggle, Comrade Foster's power of attraction to our Party, the power that has brought and will continue to bring into our ranks and to the Comintern all that is militant, honest and creative in the American working class, this power has never weakened but is growing stronger with the sharpening of the class struggles.

Ruthenberg and Foster came to the Communist International because in the proletarian internationalism of Lenin's teachings, which guide the Comintern work, both had found the solution of all those problems and tasks that confronted them and the American working class in the present epoch. Ruthenberg's experiences had been acquired in the Socialist Party, chiefly on the political field; Foster's, on the other hand, were acquired mainly on the trade union field. The revolutionary instinct and consciousness of Ruthenberg could not but rebel against the narrow parliamentary limitations of Socialist Party politics; while the revolutionary consciousness of Foster, and the logic of the great economic struggles which he had organized and led, could not but make him rebel against the narrow "economism" of Gompers as well as of anarcho-syndicalism. Both, Ruthenberg and Foster, were therefore led to Leninism and its conception of a "new type" of Party as the only ideology that offered a revolutionary and proletarian solution for their problems. And these were the problems of the American working class and its revolutionary vanguard.

The coming together of these two revolutionists and their followers into one working class Party marked a historic event of the first magnitude. The meaning of this event was that, for the first time in the history of the American working class, there came to an end the traditional separation between the advanced revolutionary elements of the trade unions, on the one hand, and the revolutionary elements of the Socialist (political-parliamentary) Party, on the other. This traditional separation was perhaps the largest single factor that had retarded, in the past, the coming into life in the United States of a proletarian revolutionary Party of the Leninist kind. Ruthenberg and Foster

started the process of liquidating this separation by coming together in the building of the Communist Party in the United States. To this they came by the inexorable logic of the class struggle in the United States and the point at which they met and joined hands was *Leninism and the Communist International*.

In the fifteen years of its existence the Comintern has grown into a true world party. It has reached the high stage where all "Communist Parties are carrying out one single line of the Comintern," a stage where all "Communist Parties are united by the Executive Committee of the Communist International into a single centralized World Party which the Second International never had and never will have." (Piatnitsky, *Speech at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.*) In this lies the main strength of the world revolution and the guarantee of its inevitable victory. It is this that makes possible, for the first time in the history of the world, the effective carrying out of a *world revolutionary strategy*, the only road to victory over capitalism. And it is in Comrade Stalin, since Lenin's death, that this strategy has found the greatest formulator, interpreter, and organizer. With the deepest pride in this achievement, the class-conscious workers of the United States, the militant farmers and revolutionary Negroes, will celebrate the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Comintern. It is with the same feeling of pride that they realize that they belong to a world party together with the glorious Party of the Soviet Union; that they belong to a world party which is daily guided by such proved leaders as Manuilsky, Kuusinen, Thaelmann and Piatnitsky; and that by building the revolutionary movement in the United States we are also building the world power of the proletariat for the victory of the world revolution.

EXHIBIT No. 113

[Source: Daily Worker, New York, February 17, 1938, page 2]

STALIN'S REPLY ON QUESTION OF VICTORY AND DEFENDING SOCIALISM IN THE U. S. S. R.—A LETTER FROM COMRADE IVANOV AND COMRADE STALIN'S REPLY

(Wireless to the Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, Feb. 16.—*Following is the text of the exchange of letters between Joseph Stalin, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Ivan Philipovich Ivanov, staff propagandist of the Manturovsk district committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, Kursk Region:*

IVANOV'S LETTER

To Comrade Stalin, from Ivan Philipovich Ivanov, staff propagandist of the Manturovsk district committee of the Young Communist League, Kursk Region.

Dear Comrade STALIN: I earnestly request you to explain the following question: In the local districts here, and even in the regional committee of the Young Communist League, a two-fold conception prevails about the final victory of Socialism in our country, that is, the first group of contradictions is confused with the second. In your works on the destiny of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., you speak of two groups of contradictions—internal and external.

As for the first group of contradictions, of course we have solved them—within the country Socialism is victorious. I would like to receive a reply on the second group of contradictions, that is, those between the land of Socialism and capitalism. You point out that the final victory of Socialism implies the solution of the external contradictions, that we must be fully guaranteed against intervention, and consequently, against the restoration of capitalism. But this group of contradictions can be solved only by the efforts of the workers of all countries.

Besides, Comrade Lenin taught us that "we can achieve final victory only on a world scale, only by the joint efforts of the workers of all countries."

While attending the seminary for staff propagandists at the regional committee of the Y. C. L., basing myself on your works, I said that the final victory of Socialism is possible only on a world scale; but the leading regional committee workers—Urozhenko [first secretary of the regional committee] and Kazelkov [propaganda instructor]—characterized my statement as a Trotskyist deviation.

I began to read to them passages from your works on this question, but Urozhenko ordered me to close the book and said, "Comrade Stalin said this in 1926, but we are now in 1938; at that time we did not have final victory, but now we have it and there is now no need for us to worry at all about intervention and restoration." Then he went on to say, "We have now the final victory of socialism and the full guarantee against intervention and the restoration of capitalism." And so I was looked upon as an abettor of Trotzkyism and removed from propaganda work, and the question was raised whether I was fit to remain in the Y. C. L.

Please, Comrade Stalin, will you explain whether or not we yet have the final victory of Socialism. Perhaps there is additional contemporary material on this question connected with recent changes that I have not yet come across.

Also I think that Urozhenko's statement that Comrade's Stalin's works on this question are somewhat out-of-date is an anti-Bolshevik one. Are the leading workers of the regional committee right in looking upon me as a Trotzkyist? I feel very much hurt and offended over this.

I hope, Comrade Stalin, that you will grant my request and reply to: Manturovsk District, Kursk Region, First Zasemsky Village Soviet, Ivan Philipovich Ivanov.

[Signed]: I. Ivanov. Jan. 18, 1938.

STALIN'S REPLY

To Comrade IVAN PHILIPOVICH IVANOV: Of course you are right, Comrade Ivanov, and your ideological opponents, Comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov, are wrong.

And for the following reasons:

Undoubtedly the question of the victory of Socialism in one country, in this case of our country, has two different sides.

The first side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country embraces the problem of the mutual relations between the classes in our country. This concerns the sphere of internal relations. Can the working class of our country overcome the contradictions with our peasantry and establish an alliance, a collaboration with them? Can the working class of our country in alliance with our peasantry smash the bourgeoisie of our country, deprive it of the land, factories, mines, etc., and by its own efforts build a new, classless society, a complete Socialist society?

These are the problems connected with the first side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the affirmative. Lenin teaches that "we have all that is necessary for building a complete Socialist society." Hence we can and must by our own efforts overcome our bourgeoisie and build a Socialist society. Trotzky, Zinoviev, Kameney and those other gentlemen who later became spies and agents of fascism, denied that it was possible to build Socialism in our country unless the victory of the Socialist revolution was first achieved in other countries, in the capitalist countries. As a matter of fact, these gentlemen wanted to turn our country back to the path of bourgeois development, and they concealed their apostasy by hypocritically talking about the "victory of the revolution" in other countries. This was precisely the point of controversy between our Party and these gentlemen. Our country's subsequent course of development proved that the Party was right and that Trotzky and Company were wrong. For during this period we succeeded in liquidating our bourgeoisie, in establishing fraternal collaboration with our peasantry, and in building, in the main, Socialist society, notwithstanding the fact that the Socialist revolution has not yet been victorious in other countries.

This is the position in regard to the first side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

I think, Comrade Ivanov, that it is not this side of the question that is the point of controversy between you and Comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov.

The second side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country embraces the problem of mutual relations between our country and the other countries, capitalist countries; the problem of the mutual relations between the working class of our country and the bourgeoisie of other countries. This concerns the sphere of external, international relations. Can the victorious Socialism of one country which is encircled by many strong capitalist countries, regard itself as being fully guaranteed against the danger of military invasion—intervention—and hence, against attempts to restore capitalism in our country? Can our working class and our peasantry, by their own efforts, without the

serious assistance of the working class in capitalist countries, overcome the bourgeoisie of other countries in the same way as we overcame our own bourgeoisie? In other words: can we regard the victory of Socialism in our country as final, that is, as being free from the danger of military attack and of attempts to restore capitalism, assuming that Socialism is victorious only in one country and that the capitalist encirclement continues to exist?

These are the problems connected with the second side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the negative. Leninism teaches that "the final victory of Socialism, in the sense of the full guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relations, is possible only on an international scale." (Resolution of the 14th convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.) This means that the serious assistance of the international proletariat is a force without which the problem of the final victory of Socialism in one country cannot be solved. This, of course, does not mean that we must sit with folded arms and wait for assistance from outside. On the contrary, the assistance of the international proletariat must be combined with our work to strengthen the defense of our country, to strengthen the Red Army and the Red Navy, to mobilize the whole country for the purpose of resisting military attack and attempts to restore bourgeois relations.

This is what Lenin says on this score: "We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately, one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile, a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove this also by military organization." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24, P. 122, Russian edition.) And further: "We are surrounded by people, classes and governments which openly express their hatred for us. We must remember that we are at all times but a hair's breath from invasion." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, P. 117, Russian edition.)

This is said sharply and strongly, but honestly and truthfully, without embellishment, as Lenin was able to speak.

On the basis of these premises, Stalin stated in *Problems of Leninism* that "the final victory of Socialism is the full guarantee against attempts at intervention, and that means against restoration, for any serious attempt at restoration can take place only with serious support from outside, only with the support of international capital. Hence the support of our revolution by the workers of all countries, and still more, the victory of the workers in at least several countries, is a necessary condition for fully guaranteeing the first victorious country against attempts at intervention and restoration, a necessary condition for the final victory of Socialism." (*Problems of Leninism*, 1937 Russian edition, P. 134), (*Leninism*, Vol. I, by Joseph Stalin, P. 299.—Editor.)

Indeed it would be ridiculous and stupid to close our eyes to the capitalist encirclement and to think that our external enemies, the fascists, for example, will not, if the opportunity arises, make an attempt at a military attack upon the U. S. S. R. Only blind braggarts or masked enemies who desire to lull the vigilance of our people can think like that. No less ridiculous would it be to deny that, in the event of the slightest success of military intervention, the interventionists would try to destroy the Soviet system in the districts they occupied and restore the bourgeois system. Did not Denikin and Kolehak restore the bourgeois system in the districts they occupied? Are the fascists any better than Denikin or Kolehak? Only blockheads or masked enemies who by their boastfulness want to conceal their hostility and are striving to demobilize the people, can deny the danger of military intervention and of attempts at restoration as long as the capitalist encirclement exists. Can the victory of Socialism in one country be regarded as final if this country is encircled by capitalism, and if it is not fully guaranteed against the danger of intervention and restoration? Clearly it cannot.

This is the position in regard to the question of the victory of Socialism in one country.

It follows that this question contains two different problems: (a) the problem of the internal relations in our country, that is, the problem of overcoming our bourgeoisie and building complete Socialism, and (b) the problem of the external relations of our country, that is, the problem of completely insuring our country against the dangers of military intervention and restoration. We have already

solved the first problem, for our bourgeoisie has already been liquidated and Socialism has already been built in the main. This is what we call the victory of Socialism, or to be more exact, the victory of Socialist construction in one country. We could say that this victory is final if our country were situated on an island and if it were not surrounded by numerous other capitalist countries. But as we are living not on an island, but "in a system of states," a considerable number of which are hostile to the land of Socialism and create the danger of intervention and restoration, we say openly and honestly that the victory of Socialism in our country is not yet final. But from this it follows that the second problem is not yet solved and that it has yet to be solved. More than that, the second problem cannot be solved in the way that we solved the first problem, that is, solely by the efforts of our country. The second problem can be solved only by combining the serious efforts of the international proletariat with the still more serious efforts of the whole of our Soviet people. The international proletarian ties between the working class of the U. S. S. R. and the working class in bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country must be organized in the event of a military attack on our country; and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in bourgeois countries must be organized; our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Fleet and the Chemical and Air Defense Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost. The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilization and preparedness in the face of the danger of military attack, so that no "accident" and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise. . . .

From your letter it is evident that Comrade Urozhenko adheres to different and not quite Leninist conceptions. He asserts, it appears, that "we now have the final victory of Socialism and full guarantee against intervention and restoration of capitalism." There cannot be the slightest doubt that Comrade Urozhenko is fundamentally wrong. Comrade Urozhenko's assertion can be explained only by his failure to understand the surrounding reality and his ignorance of the elementary propositions of Leninism, or by the empty boastfulness of a conceited young bureaucrat. If it is true that "we have full guarantees against intervention and the restoration of capitalism," then why do we need a strong Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Fleet, a strong Chemical and Air Defense Society, more and stronger ties with the international proletariat? Would it not be better to spend the billions that now go for the purpose of strengthening the Red Army on other needs and to reduce the Red Army to the utmost, or even to dissolve it altogether? People like Comrade Urozhenko, even if subjectively they are loyal to our cause, are objectively dangerous to it because by their boastfulness they, willingly or unwillingly—it makes no difference!—lull the vigilance of our people, demobilize the workers and peasants and help the enemies to take us by surprise in the event of international complications.

As for the fact that it appears that you, Comrade Ivanov, have been "removed from propaganda work and the question has been raised of your fitness to remain in the Y. C. L.," you have nothing to fear. If the people in the regional committee of the Y. C. L. really want to imitate Chekhov's Sergeant Prishibeyev, you can be sure that they will lose in this game. Prishibeyevs are not liked in our country.

Now you can judge whether the passage from the book *Problems of Leninism* on the victory of Socialism in one country is out-of-date or not. I myself would very much like it to be out-of-date. I would like unpleasant things like the capitalist encirclement, the danger of military attack, the danger of the restoration of capitalism, etc., to be things of the past. Unfortunately, however, these unpleasant things still exist.

(Signed) J. STALIN.

FEBRUARY 12, 1938.

EXHIBIT No. 114

[Source: Daily Worker, April 28, 1938, page 4]

* * * * *

LEADING ARTISTS, EDUCATORS SUPPORT SOVIET TRIAL VERDICT

Nearly 150 prominent American artists, writers, composers, editors, movie actors, college professors, and Broadway figures, yesterday issued a statement in

support of the verdicts of the recent Moscow trials of the Trotskyite-Buckharinite traitors.

The list includes: Arthur Arent, author of *One-Third of the Nation*; J. R. Brown, University of Kansas; Edwin Berry Burgum, president, College Teachers' Union; Morris Carnovsky, leading player in "Golden Boy"; Robert Coates, author and art critic of *New Yorker*; Harold Clurman, dramatic director; Merle Colby, editor, *Massachusetts Guide Book*; Jack Conroy, novelist; Malcolm Cowley, writer and an editor of *New Republic* and others.

Entitled "A Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials," the announcement declares that the signatories consider the trials "have by sheer weight of evidence established a clear presumption of the guilt of the defendants."

Bracketing the fight against fascism in the United States with the necessity for protecting the American progressive and labor movement against Trotskyite undermining, the signers of the statement conclude:

"The measures taken by the Soviet Union to preserve and extend its gains and its strength therefore find their echoes here, where we are staking the future of the American people on the preservation of progressive democracy and the unification of our efforts to prevent the fascists from strangling the rights of the people. American liberals must not permit their outlook on these questions to be confused, nor allow their recognition of the place of the Soviet Union in the international fight of democracy against fascism to be destroyed. We call upon them to support the efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers, principal menace to peace and democracy."

The signatories to statement of American Progressives on Moscow trials follows:

Arthur Arent	Jules Garfield	Rebecca E. Pitts
Nelson Algren	Hugo Geilert	Samuel Putnam
Beril Becker	Robert Gessner	Charles Recht
Thomas B. Bennett	Harry Gottlieb	Wallingford Riegger
Arnold Blanch	Emmett Gowan	Lynn Riggs
Marc Blitzstein	B. D. N. Grebanier	Holland D. Roberts
Roman Bohnen	Richard Greenleaf	Anna Rochester
Millen Brand	Dashiell Hammett	Harold J. Rome
Phoebe Brand	Abraham Harriton	Henry Roth
Dorothy Brewster	Henry Hart	Paul Romaine
J. R. Brown	Lillian Heilman	Margaret Schlauch
Edwin Berry Burgum	Granville Hicks	Morris U. Schappes
Alan Campbell	Langston Hughes	Edwin Seaver
Morris Carnovsky	Rolph Humphries	George Seldes
Vera Caspary	Lee Hurwitz	Howard Selsam
Si-lan Chen	Burton O. James	Irwin Shaw
Haakon M. Chevalier	Florence B. James	Dr. Henry E. Sigerist
Ch'ao-ting Chi	Joe Jones	George Sklar
Harold Clurman	V. D. Kazakevich	Harry Schlochower
Robert Coates	Adelaide Klein	Bernard Smith
Merle Colby	H. S. Kraft	F. Tredwell Smith
Jack Conroy	John Howard Lawson	Jessica Smith
Curt Conway	Corliss Lamont	Hester Sondergaard
Ted Couday	Catherine Lawrence	Raphael Soyer
Malcolm Cowley	Melvin Levy	Lionel Stauder
Bruce Crawford	Jay Leyda	Bernhard J. Stern
Kyle Crichton	Philip Loeb	Housely Stevens, Jr.
Robert M. Crenbach	Louis Lozovick	Philip Stevenson
Lester Cole	William C. MacLeod	Maxwell A. Stewart
H. W. L. Dana	Albert Maltz	Paul Strand
Jerome Davis	V. J. McGill	John Stuart
Stuart Davis	Selden C. Menefee	Genevieve Taggard
Paul de Kruif	Alfred Morang	Nahum Tichabasov
Muriel Draper	Elizabeth Olds	Ethel Turner
Robert W. Duan	John O'Malley	Keene Wallis
Dr. Garland Ethel	A. L. Ottenheimer	Max Weber
Phil Evergood	Samuel Ornitz	George T. Willison
Guy Endore	Raymond Otis	Frances Winwar
Louis Ferstadt	Dorothy Parker	Martin Wolfson
Frederik V. Field	Paul Peters	Richard Wright
Elizabeth G. Flynn	John Hyde Preston	Victor A. Yakhontoff

EXHIBIT No. 115

[Source: Daily Worker, New York, May 28, 1938, page 1. Excerpt from an article entitled "Communist Party Convention in First Business Session Names Leading Committees, Tremendous Ovation Greets Naming to Honorary Presiding Committee of Stalin, Dimitroff, Thaelmann, Pasionaria, Thorez, Others"]

* * * * *

Another demonstration came immediately afterwards when Ford proposed three leaders of the Communist International—Dimitroff, Manuilsky and Kuusinen—for places on the honorary presiding committee.

EXHIBIT No. 116

[Source: Daily Worker, January 21, 1938, page 5]

LENIN'S HERITAGE

Five days after Lenin's death, Jan. 26, 1924, the people of the Soviet Union, stricken with grief, met, through their Soviet representatives who gathered in the Second Soviet Congress, to plan their future. It was at this Congress, where Lenin's body lay in state, that Stalin, who from the very first days of the founding of Bolshevism in 1903, had worked in the closest collaboration with Lenin in the highest councils of the Communist Party, stepped forward as the Party's spokesman, the leader of the Soviet people and the world proletariat. Amidst a scene of unforgettable impressiveness, he delivered a speech which has become one of the most treasured of revolutionary classics, the speech, text of which is given below. While the councils of Lenin were even then thinking how to swear the Soviet Union from the course of Marxism-Leninism, Stalin already saw how the heritage of Lenin would have to be carried forward, and he delivered this profoundly moving pledge for its faithful execution.

(By Joseph Stalin)

We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of special material. We are those who comprise the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honor to belong to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party founded and led by Comrade Lenin. It is not given to all to be members of such a Party. It is not given to all to withstand the stress and storm that accompanies membership in such a Party. Sons of the working class, sons of poverty and struggle, sons of incredible deprivation and heroic effort—these are the ones who must first of all be members of such a Party. That is why the Leninist Party, the Communist Party, at the same time calls itself the party of the working class.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of holding aloft and guarding the purity of the great title of member of the Party. *We vow to you Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfill your bequest with honor.*

* * * * *

For twenty-five years Comrade Lenin reared our Party and finally reared it into the strongest and most steeled workers' party in the world.

The blows of Tsarism and its agents, the fury of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, the armed attacks of Kolchak and Denikin, the armed intervention of England and France, the lies and slander of the hundred-monthed bourgeois press—all these scorpions persistently hurled themselves at our Party during the course of a quarter of a century. But our Party stood firm as a rock, repelled the innumerable blows of its enemies and led the working class forward to victory. In the midst of fierce battles our Party forged the unity and compactness of its ranks. And by its unity and compactness it achieved victory over the enemies of the working class.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of guarding the unity of our Party like the apple of our eye. *We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will also fulfill this bequest of yours with honor.*

Heavy and unbearable is the lot of the working class. Painful and burdensome are the sufferings of the toilers. Slaves and slave-owners, serfs and feudal lords, peasants and landlords, workers and capitalists, oppressed and oppressors—such has been the structure of the world for ages, and such it remains today in the overwhelming majority of countries.

Scores and hundreds of times in the course of centuries have the toilers tried to throw their oppressors off their backs and become masters of their own conditions. But every time, defeated and disgraced, they were compelled to retreat, their hearts burning with shame and degradation, anger and despair, and they turned their eyes to the unknown, to the heavens, where they hoped to find salvation. The chains of slavery remained intact, or else the old chains were exchanged for new ones equally burdensome and degrading. Only in our country have the oppressed and suppressed masses of toilers succeeded in throwing off the rule of the landlords and capitalists and in putting in its place the rule of the workers and peasants.

* * * * *

You know, comrades, and now the whole world admits this, that this gigantic struggle was led by Comrade Lenin and his Party. The greatness of Lenin lies first of all in the fact that he, by creating the republic of Soviets, showed by deeds, to the oppressed masses of the whole world, that hope of salvation is not lost, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists will not last long, that the kingdom of labor can be created by the efforts of the toilers themselves, that the kingdom of labor must be created on earth and not in heaven. By that he inflamed the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world with the hope of liberation. This explains the fact that the name of Lenin has become a name most beloved to the toilers and the exploited masses.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of guarding and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. *We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no effort to fulfill also this bequest of yours with honor.*

The dictatorship of the proletariat was created in our country on the basis of the alliance between the workers and the peasants. This is the first and fundamental basis of the republic of Soviets. The workers and peasants could not have vanquished the capitalists and the landlords without such an alliance.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of strengthening with all our might the alliance between the workers and the peasants. *We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfill also this bequest of yours with honor.*

The second foundation of the republic of Soviets is the alliance of the toiling nationalities of our country. Russians and Ukrainians, Bashkirs and White Russians, Georgians and Azerbaijanians, Armenians and Daghestans, Tartars and Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Turkomans—all are equally interested in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not only does the dictatorship of the proletariat release these people from their chains and oppression, but these peoples, by their unbounded loyalty to the republic of Soviets and their readiness to make sacrifices for it, release our republic of Soviets from the designs and attacks of the enemies of the working class. That is why Comrade Lenin untiringly urged upon us the necessity for establishing a voluntary alliance of the nations of our country, the necessity of fraternal cooperation within the framework of a Union of Republics.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of consolidating and expanding the Union of Republics. *We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will also carry out this bequest of yours with honor.*

The third foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is our Red Army and our Red Navy. Lenin told us more than once that the respite we have gained from the capitalist states may be a short one. More than once Lenin pointed out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. The events connected with Curzon's ultimatum and the crisis in Germany once again confirmed the fact that Lenin, as always, was right. Let us vow then, comrades, that we will spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy.

Our country stands like a huge rock surrounded by the ocean of bourgeois states. Wave after wave hurls itself against it, threatening to submerge it and sweep it away. But the rock stands unshakable. Wherein lies its strength? Not only in the fact that our country is based on the alliance between the workers and peasants, but it is the personification of the alliance of free nationalities,

that it is protected by the strong arm of the Red Army and the Red Navy. The strength of our country, its firmness, its durability lies in the fact that it finds profound sympathy and unshakable support in the hearts of the workers and peasants of the world.

The workers and peasants of the whole world want to preserve the republic of Soviets as an arrow shot by the sure hand of Comrade Lenin into the camp of the enemy, as a bulwark of their hope for emancipation from oppression and exploitation, as a faithful lighthouse lighting up their path to liberation. They want to preserve it and they will not permit the landlords and the capitalists to destroy it. This is where our strength lies. Herein lies the strength of the toilers of all countries. And herein lies the weakness of the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

Lenin never regarded the republic of Soviets as an end in itself. He always regarded it as a necessary link for strengthening the revolutionary movements in the lands of the West and the East, as a necessary link for facilitating the victory of the toilers of the whole world over capital. Lenin knew that only such an interpretation is the correct one, not only from the international point of view, but also from the point of view of preserving the republic of Soviets itself. Lenin knew that only in this way is it possible to inflame the hearts of the toilers of all countries for the decisive battles for emancipation. That is why this genius among the great leaders of the proletariat, on the very morrow of the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, laid the foundation of the workers' International. That is why he never tired of expanding and consolidating the union of the toilers of the whole world, the Communist International.

You have seen during the past few days the pilgrimage of tens and hundreds of thousands of toilers to the coffin of Comrade Lenin. Very soon you will see the pilgrimage of representatives of millions of toilers to Comrade Lenin's tomb. You need have no doubt that later these representatives of millions will be followed by representatives of tens and hundreds of millions from all corners of the earth, in order to testify that Comrade Lenin was the leader not only of the Russian proletariat, not only of the European workers, not only of the colonial East, but of all the toilers of the globe.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of remaining loyal to the principles of the Communist International. *We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and expand the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International.*

EXHIBIT No. 117

[Source: The Constitution and By-Laws of the Communist Party of the United States of America, published by Workers Library Publishers, Inc. P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York, N. Y.: August, 1938]

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ARTICLE XI. AFFILIATION

The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is affiliated with its fraternal Communist Parties of other lands through the Communist International and participates in International Congresses, through its National Committee. Resolutions and decisions of International Congresses shall be considered and acted upon by the supreme authority of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the National Convention, or between Conventions, by the National Committee.

EXHIBIT No. 118

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4431]

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Mr. MATTHEWS. But assuming that it should attack the Soviet Government, or become involved in war against the Soviet Union, what then?

Mr. BROWDER. If it were possible for the American Government to do that, or if we assume that the American Government should make an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, I would stand as absolutely opposing such a war, and as doing everything possible to stop it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Even to turning such a war into a civil war?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir; in every way I could to stop it. I cannot conceive, however, of America being an aggressor nation.

EXHIBIT No. 119

[Source: Excerpt from testimony of Alexander Trachtenberg, secretary and treasurer of International Publishers, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 13, 1939]

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. If the United States declared war against Russia, would you support the United States in that war against Russia?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I do not think the United States will declare any such war.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Which one would you favor, between Russia and the United States, if the United States declared war on Russia or Russia declared war on the United States?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I cannot conceive the possibility of either one declaring war on the other.

EXHIBIT No. 120

[Source: Excerpt from testimony of William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 29, 1939, page 5386]

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The CHAIRMAN. In the event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia, would your allegiance be to the United States or Soviet Russia?

Why are you conferring with your counsel?

Mr. BRODSKY. He can confer with counsel. I have the right to tell him that it is purely a hypothetical question. I am going to advise him that it is a hypothetical question and not within the purview of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Browder did not hesitate to answer. Did you advise Mr. Browder on that matter?

Mr. BRODSKY. If I did, I would not tell you, or what I advised him. That is privileged.

The CHAIRMAN. You are advising him not to answer?

Mr. BRODSKY. I am not advising him anything on that; I am advising him on the law, and I have a right to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I say it is a hypothetical question.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would you not answer it?

Mr. FOSTER. On the ground that it is a hypothetical question.

EXHIBIT No. 121

[Source: Excerpt from testimony of Max Bedacht, general secretary of the International Workers Order, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, October 16, 1939, page 5850]

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The CHAIRMAN. Now, I am asking you if the United States should enter this particular war on the side of France and England, would you support the United States in such a war?

Mr. BEDACHT. First of all, I would work like hell to see that it did not happen.

The CHAIRMAN. But what would you do?

Mr. BEDACHT. First of all, that is a hypothesis, and I cannot answer a hypothesis.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in a position to say whether, if the United States entered the war on the side of England and France, against Germany and Russia—you cannot say you would support the United States in such event?

Mr. BEDACHT. I say it is a hypothetical question.

The CHAIRMAN. A hypothetical question! Cannot you say whether or not you would support this country under those conditions?

Mr. BEDACHT. There will be no war, so what?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if there is a war, I am asking you the question would you support the United States, on the side of England and France?

Mr. BEDACHT. I say it is a hypothetical question and I will not give an answer, because it has to be a hypothetical one, too.

EXHIBIT No. 122

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of Alexander Trachtenberg, secretary and treasurer of International Publishers, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 13, 1939, page 4929]

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Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Trachtenberg, you are the chairman of the literature commission of the Communist Party, are you not?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you are familiar with the arrangements made for the distribution of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are you not?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are familiar with the mimeographed statement that went out concerning the distribution of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this as the special bulletin issued by the Org-Educational and Literature Commissions? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this be marked as an exhibit.

(The paper referred to was marked "Trachtenberg Exhibit No. —, September 13, 1939," and is filed herewith.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Trachtenberg, as a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, you are familiar with the resolution adopted by the national committee on the distribution of the history?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That resolution states as follows:

"We accept full responsibility for the sale of 100,000 copies of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and will use this, together with the whole campaign connected with the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Communist International and our own party, as a means of raising the ideological level of our entire party membership."

That resolution is stated to have been adopted in December 1938. That is a direct quotation from the resolution?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Trachtenberg, in this document which you have identified it is stated:

"The national committee will absorb the cost of distribution to the districts." Is that a correct statement?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I think so; yes.

EXHIBIT No. 123

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 13, 1939, pages 4936-4939; being the Trachtenberg Exhibit identified by the witness and submitted for the record]

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(The following was submitted for the record by Mr. Matthews:)

[Special bulletin issued by the org-educational and literature commissions of the national committee, Communist Party of the United States of America, January 1939]

THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, PREPARED BY THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

"We accept full responsibility for the sale of 100,000 copies of The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and will use this, together with the whole campaign connected with the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Communist International and our own party, as a means of raising the ideological level of our entire party membership."

Resolution adopted by national committee of the Communist Party, United States of America, December 1938.

This special bulletin is devoted entirely to the organization of the national campaign for the distribution of 100,000 copies of The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Please read these directives carefully and initiate discussions on them in all district, section, and branch committees.

COMRADE BROWDER'S MESSAGE TO THE PARTY ON THE "HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION," AT THE DECEMBER PLENUM OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Our great brother party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which gave to the world the supreme example of the Communist program translated into life, has also now provided us with a great instrument for our ideological rearmament. It is the new book, *A Short Course in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, prepared under the direction of its central committee, with the personal participation and leadership of Comrade Stalin. We do not yet have the authentic English translation, but from what we have already learned of its character and of its role in the Soviet Union, where a first edition of 6,000,000 copies was sold in a few days, we know that it will be of equal importance for us in America and for our brother parties of all lands.

Allow me to give you some idea of this supremely important book by a few quotations from its introduction. We read:

"The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the history of three revolutions: The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February 1917, and the Socialist revolution in October 1917.

"The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the history of the overthrow of czarism, of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists, the history of the routing of the foreign armed intervention during the civil war, the history of the building up of the Soviet state and of Socialist society in our country."

What do we gain from the study of such a history? The introduction tells us:

"The study of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union enriches us with the experience of the struggle of the workers and peasants of our country for socialism.

"The study of the history of struggle of our party against all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, against all the enemies of the working people, assists us to master bolshevism, raises our political vigilance.

"The study of the heroic history of the Bolshevik Party arms us with the knowledge of the laws of social development and political struggle, with the knowledge of the driving forces of the revolution.

"The study of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strengthens our confidence in the final victory of the great cause of the party of Lenin and Stalin, the victory of communism throughout the entire world."

Will such a book be of special value also to us here in America, a book written and edited under the personal direction of our great teacher, Stalin? Of course, it will be of the most inestimable value.

I think you will all agree with this judgment without hesitation. And therefore I think you will also agree with the proposal which the political committee decided to place before you, that we make use of this book on a large scale, in a really organized manner, as a basic feature of our party's work and education.

We expect soon to have in our hands the authorized English translation, carefully checked and verified for accuracy by a commission of experts. We will be rushing it to the printer as soon as it is ready. We had to estimate how many copies of this book we need really to make use of it seriously. We recalled the fact that our party, together with the Young Communist League, has considerably more than 100,000 members. We therefore judge that we should print a minimum of 100,000 copies.

The history, although called "a short course," is not a small book, containing, as it does, some 450 pages. Such a book, in the usual course of publishing and distributing, would have to sell at a price of about \$3 per copy. Clearly, such a price would enormously increase the difficulties of distributing the number we consider necessary. We therefore turned our minds to the problem of eliminating every unnecessary expense and placing the book in the hands of every party member and close sympathizer at the physical cost of production, without any of the normal costs of distribution being added to the price. We decided that we would ask every branch of the party to order as many copies as they have members, plus as many copies as they think they can immediately sell to close sympathizers at the reduced price. The national committee will absorb the cost of distribution to the districts. The districts and sections will be asked to absorb the cost of distribution to the branches. The branches will distribute the book as a central political task of their members and sympathizers. Every copy of the book will

represent a fixed price, from top to bottom, exactly the cost of printing and paper, and no more. Thus, with this special distribution, we will distribute the book through the party itself at a price of about 40 cents per copy instead of \$3. Copies to be distributed through the ordinary channels of book stores, and so on, will be sold at \$1 per copy.

That, briefly, is the plan which we submit for your approval. We think it is a practical one, within the powers of our party to fulfill completely and with dispatch. We hope you will agree with our judgment.

Once the book is in the hands of the readers, widely distributed, it will be a political task of the first magnitude to insure, in organized fashion, that it is made the best possible use of. That requires study and discussion. This is no ordinary book to be skimmed through and then laid aside on a bookshelf. It is a scientific textbook to be studied and mastered, not a collection of dogmas to be memorized, not for mechanical quotation of extracts, but to understand the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that it can be applied to the most varied and different problems and situations so that this theory can be enriched with the new experiences of the revolutionary working-class movement also of our country.

HOW SHALL THE "HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION" BE SOLD AND DISTRIBUTED?

1. The price per copy of the special edition of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shall be 40 cents in the party and Young Communist League branches when purchased with the prepayment coupon card. This edition will be bound in hard board covers and will be sold only to party and Young Communist League members in the branches at the special 40-cent price; they will, however, have the right to purchase more than one copy for sympathetic contacts and recruits for purposes of recruiting. A cloth edition will be available for sale through the bookshops at \$1 per copy.

2. No district, section, or branch is authorized to alter the price set by the national committee for this book, nor to retain any margin of the moneys collected for it. The national committee has undertaken to stand the cost of distribution to the districts; the State committees within the districts, so as to pass on the book to the party membership at cost of production.

3. The national committee proposes the following quotas for the districts, based on the resolution adopted by the December plenum to distribute 100,000 copies of the English edition through the party and the Young Communist League.

New England.....	2, 500	Colorado.....	350
New York.....	50, 000	Texas.....	500
East Pennsylvania.....	3, 500	Missouri.....	500
Kansas.....	300	West Virginia.....	150
West Pennsylvania.....	2, 000	Kentucky.....	150
Ohio.....	4, 500	Louisiana.....	150
Lower Michigan.....	3, 000	Florida.....	350
Illinois.....	6, 500	South Dakota.....	250
Minnesota.....	2, 000	Upper Michigan.....	300
Nebraska.....	100	Indiana.....	500
North Dakota.....	150	Virginia.....	150
Washington.....	4, 000	Montana.....	200
California.....	10, 000	Oklahoma.....	250
North Jersey.....	2, 000	Iowa.....	200
Connecticut.....	1, 200	Tennessee.....	200
North Carolina.....	150	Maryland.....	1, 500
Alabama.....	500	Utah.....	150
Wisconsin.....	1, 750		

4. All orders shall be sent directly to the national committee.

5. All funds shall be handled through branch, section, and district finance departments, and shall be sent directly to the national committee.

6. All collections and payments shall be made in advance for books ordered, through issuance of prepayment coupon cards, of which sufficient copies will be sent to each district to reach the entire party membership. The prepayment coupon card is designed to enable each party or Young Communist League member to purchase two copies of the book in installments of 10 cents. There are two coupons attached to each prepayment coupon card; each of the coupons is divided into four boxes, each box representing a 10-cent payment when dated

and signed by the branch financial secretary. Thus, a fully paid-up coupon which represents four 10-cent payments, entitles a comrade to one copy; eight payments to two copies.

7. Payments should be made to the branch finance director, who will enter the payments in the regular branch receipt book, and will also indicate that payment has been made by dating and signing one of the boxes on the coupon for each 10-cent payment made.

8. The prepayment coupon card is designed to fit the membership book, and should be kept there. Additional cards should be given to any comrades who desire to purchase additional copies of the book.

9. The branch organizer of each branch shall in every case give leadership in organizing the sale and distribution of the book, although the branch finance secretary should handle the funds and the books.

PLAN OF PROMOTION OF HISTORY OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOVIET UNION

1. The national committee will launch a national prize essay contest on the Significance of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for American Workers. The winning essay will be printed in the Communist. The winner will be invited to attend the next plenum of the national committee.

2. Each district committee to submit its plans to the national committee for the popularization, study, and distribution of the book.

3. At least one large mass meeting should be organized in each district, at which a party leader will lecture on the significance of this book.

4. This special bulletin is being sent to the districts in sufficient quantities so that each branch of the party receives a copy. The branch organizer is to present the plans incorporated in this bulletin to his members.

5. The district committees to arrange special conferences to discuss distribution with fractions and commissions of the International Workers Order, workers' schools, Young Communist League, national groups, trade unions, etc.

6. The national org-educational commission is preparing plans and outlines for study of the book throughout the party.

7. A poster is being designed by a leading artist for national distribution. Also a circular and other material.

8. Each district to issue its own leaflets or circulars, in addition to literature bulletins. The best leaflet will earn a copy of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, signed by Comrade Foster.

9. Every book store to organize a special window display around the book. Photos of the display should be sent to the national committee. The winning display will get a copy of The People's Front, signed by Comrade Browder; The Negro and the Democratic Front, signed by Comrade Ford; and From Bryan to Stalin, signed by Comrade Foster.

10. The national committee will designate special writers to each of the three newspapers, the Daily Worker, People's World, and Daily Record, to publicize the book.

11. Outstanding party leaders will contribute articles on the book, to appear in the English and language press.

12. A campaign to be initiated in every district and section to request the book in the public libraries to guarantee that the libraries will make it available.

13. The study of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to be linked up throughout the anniversary year of 1939 with the study of other basic Marxist-Leninist theoretical works, with American history, with the counter-revolutionary role of Trotskyism-Lovestoneism, with the achievements of the Soviet Union, etc.

14. A banner to be awarded by the national committee to the district surpassing its quota by the highest margin.

EXHIBIT No. 124

[Source: Daily Worker, February 13, 1939, page 6]

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'HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION' SOON IN ENGLISH

The book you have long waited for—the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—is almost here.

Workers Library Publishers say it will be out about March 15th.

There have, of course, been published several histories of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a number of which have been translated into English.

This, however, is one of those rare products which stand out among hundreds of thousands of books that may appear over a period of years.

It is a history prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the direct and intimate participation of Joseph Stalin.

It is more than a history. It is a review of the development of the Party that led the Russian people to victory in such a manner, that it becomes a guide for action in the present highly charged world situation.

BROWDER STRESSES VALUE

When the book appeared last year, it took the Soviet Union by storm and 6,000,000 were sold in several days.

Attaching special significance to the book, Browder declared in his report at the December plenum of the Communist Party:

"Our great brother Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which gave to the world the supreme example of the Communist program translated into life, has also now provided us with a great instrument for our ideological rearmament. It is the new book, A SHORT COURSE IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY of the Soviet Union, prepared under the direction of its Central Committee, with the personal participation and leadership of Comrade Stalin. We do not yet have the authentic English translation but from what we have already learned of its character, and of its role in the Soviet Union where a first edition of six million copies were sold in a few days, we know that it will be of equal importance for us in America and for our brother Parties of all lands."

This 400 page book of carefully concentrated experience, research, lessons and vivid accounts of the rush of events during three revolutions, will be issued for only 40 cents.

The first printing will be of 100,000 stiff-backed copies, for sale through the Communist Party units. Shortly afterward clothbound copies will be on sale at all bookshops at \$1.00 each.

The 100,000 has been divided into quotas for all 35 district and state organizations of the Communist Party. A campaign has been launched to get the book into the hands of every member of the Communist Party and through them, to their friends, so that by the time the 100,000 are off the press they will be practically sold.

The success with which the Communist Party carried out last year the similar campaign to circulate Earl Browder's "People's Front"—a \$2 book—leaves little doubt that the history will be grabbed up in several weeks.

As a measure to get the 100,000 sold before they are off the press, the Central Committee's literature department issued "Pre-payment Coupon Cards" upon which eight coupons are printed, representing 10 cents each. As each Party member pays his weekly 10 cents it is noted on the card. After eight weeks two books will be paid for—one for the member, another for a friend. The coupon card fits like a page into the membership book.

Connected with the sale of the book, is a campaign to bring its spirit to the masses. A national essay contest on the "Significance of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the American Workers" has been launched, the winning one to go into the Communist, and its writer to be invited to the next plenary session of the Central Committee.

Each district is called upon to organize at least one mass meeting at which a leader of the Party should lecture on the book.

The national educational department of the Communist Party is preparing an outline to aid in the study of the book.

The Communist press will run a series of articles by Communist leaders on various phases of the book.

As 1939 develops the campaign towards the 20th Anniversary of the Communist Party on September 1, will warm up. The study of the story of the world's foremost Communist Party will actually lay the ground for appreciating the full significance of our own.

EXHIBIT No. 125

[Source : Daily Worker, March 21, 1939, page 3]

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NEW C. P. S. U. HISTORY ISSUED HERE TODAY—100,000 COPIES PREPARED FOR SALE IN THIS COUNTRY—INVALUABLE AS GUIDE TO PARTY WORK IN ALL LANDS

A hundred thousand copies of the new short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were published in the English edition today to bring the "greatest story of this generation" to the American people.

The new History of the Soviet Union, handsomely bound and bearing the authorship of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has already been distributed in millions of copies in the Russian edition.

Quoting the introduction, "The history of the C. P. S. U. is the history of three revolutions: the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February, 1917, and the socialist revolution in October, 1917 . . . the history of the overthrow of tsarism, of the overthrow of the power of landlords and capitalists, the routing of the foreign armed intervention during the Civil War, the building up of the Soviet State and of Socialist society in our country."

NO ORDINARY BOOK

Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, in a recent statement indicated the importance of this great new history. He said:

"This is no ordinary book to be skimmed through and then laid aside on a bookshelf. It is a scientific textbook to be studied and mastered, not a collection of dogmas to be memorized, not for mechanical quotation of extracts, but to understand the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that it can be applied to the most varied and different problems and situations, so that this theory can be enriched with the new experiences of the revolutionary working class movement also of our country."

The contents of the new short history are divided into twelve chapters with the following titles:

Chapter One: The Struggle for the creation of a Social-Democratic Labor Party in Russia (1883-1901).

Chapter Two: Formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Appearance of the Bolshevik and the Menshevik Groups Within the Party (1901-1904).

Chapter Three: The Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks in the Period of the Russo-Japanese War and the First Russian Revolution (1904-1907).

Chapter Four: The Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks in the Period of the Stolypin Reaction. The Bolsheviks Constitute Themselves an Independent Marxist Party (1908-1912).

Chapter Five: The Bolshevik Party During the New Rise of the Working Class Movement Before the First Imperialist War (1912-1914).

Chapter Six: The Bolshevik Party in the Period of the Imperialist War. The Second Revolution in Russia (1914-March 1917).

Chapter Seven: The Bolshevik Party in the Period of Preparation and Realization of the October Socialist Revolution (April 1917-1918).

Chapter Eight: The Bolshevik Party in the Period of Foreign Military Intervention and Civil War (1918-1920).

Chapter Nine: The Bolshevik Party in the Period of Transition to the Peaceful Work of Economic Restoration (1921-1925).

Chapter Ten: The Bolshevik Party in the Struggle for the Socialist Industrialization of the Country (1926-1929).

Chapter Eleven: The Bolshevik Party in the Struggle for the Collectivization of Agriculture (1930-1934).

Chapter Twelve: The Bolshevik Party in the Struggle to Complete the Building of the Socialist Society. Introduction of the New Constitution (1935-1937).

Other important publication announcements here today include the decision to public a quarter of a million copies in English of the main reports to the

18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, now in session. Pravda today announces the publication of 15 million copies of the Russian edition of the report.

EXHIBIT No. 126

[Source: An Article entitled "North Dakota First to Top 'History of CPSU' Quota," Daily Worker, April 6, 1939, page 5]

Little North Dakota is the first district to go over the top in the socialist competition among the various state organizations of the Communist Party to fulfill their quotas on the distribution of the History of the CPSU.

With a quota of 150, North Dakota has achieved 112 per cent or 168 copies ordered and distributed. Connecticut, with a quota of 1,200 has already taken 760, or 63 per cent. Close on its heels comes Colorado which, with 208 copies, has fulfilled 59.5 per cent of its quota of 350.

New York has taken 25,000 copies of its tremendous quota of 50,000 reflecting the scope and depth of the influence and power of the N. Y. State Organization. These copies are being eagerly bought up by the thousand in the Party branches. Manhattan alone has taken a quota of 20,000 copies to distribute, and the competition among the various sections in New York is extremely keen.

Virginia has also fulfilled 50 per cent of its quota of 150.

Among the larger districts, California, with 2,359 copies, or 23.6 per cent of its quota of 10,000 copies, is running well behind Illinois, which has already taken 2,000 copies even, or 30.8 per cent of its quota of 6,500 copies.

New England, with 25.6 per cent of its quota of 2,500, is just a nose ahead of Eastern Pennsylvania which has fulfilled 23.33 per cent of its quota of 3,500 and of Western Pennsylvania with 24.5 per cent of its quota of 2,000. But it is trailing behind New Jersey which has achieved 27.4 per cent of its quota of 2,000 and its closest competitor, Wisconsin, whose latest rush order has brought it to 27.8 per cent of its quota of 1,750. However, Maryland beats all these districts, with a full third of its quota of 1,500 fulfilled.

Ohio and lower Michigan are running neck and neck for last place among the larger districts, having fulfilled only 12.6 per cent of their respective quotas of 4,500 and 3,000. Also among the tailenders is Minnesota with only 15.4 per cent of its quota of 2,000, and Texas with 8.4 per cent of a quota of 500.

West Virginia, Kentucky, Louisiana and Oklahoma have not even started their campaigns. Not a single book has been ordered.

The goal of 100,000 distributed copies of the History of the CPSU was adopted by the National Committee at its December Plenum.

EXHIBIT No. 127

[Source: Excerpts from "Review of the Month," the Communist, January 1939, page 3]

. . . And although Lenin and his teachings are always present in our thought and minds, the anniversary of his death—the Lenin days—serves as a fresh stimulus for deeper study of Marxism-Leninism and for rededication to the cause which is guided by this theory.

Soon there will be available the American edition of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, prepared by the Central Committee of that Party with the closest collaboration of Comrade Stalin. And this is very fortunate. For with this book, the most authoritative exposition of the history and development of Leninism, as it were—Leninism in action—tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands in our country will have the opportunity of studying Marxism-Leninism at its very source and to gain the great advantages which the mastery of this theory gives to the labor movement.

The National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States decided at its last plenary meeting. . . upon the proposal of Comrade Browder, to publish and distribute a minimum of 100,000 copies of this book at a price . . . which should enable the worker of the lowest income to acquire a copy of this book for individual use. To acquire it, to have it, to study it. Because every

worker will need it, especially those who are active and leading in the progressive mass movements of the people.

It will be the task and duty of the membership and organizations of the Communist Party in the coming months to organize and carry through the distribution of the minimum of 100,000 copies of this book. It will also be the task of the Party organizations to organize their educational facilities in such a way as to lend the utmost encouragement and assistance to all individual and group studies of the great lessons to be learned from the glorious history of our brother Party in the Soviet Union. . . .

The recently concluded meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, deliberating on the very practical and immediate tasks facing the working class and all democratic forces of America consequent upon the results of the last elections and of the Munich conspiracy, sought consciously to be guided by this creative, forward-looking, and forward-moving theory of Marxism-Leninism. Led by Comrades Browder and Foster, the National Committee aimed to make the December plenary meeting a stage in the mastery of the Marxist-Leninist theory. It thus aimed with its political and organizational decisions to enable our Party to be of greater service to the further progress of our class and people.

EXHIBIT No. 128

[Source: Excerpts from an article entitled "Minnesota to Push 'History of C. P. S. U.,'" *Daily Worker*, April 4, 1939, page 3]

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The State committee of the Communist Party has initiated a broad educational campaign throughout the state with the distribution of 2,000 copies of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

"In the rural communities," writes the Committee, "the arrival of the History of the C. P. S. U. was greeted enthusiastically, and study groups are being organized in some villages, of workers and farmers, with leading comrades of the state committee conducting these study groups.

"Plans to distribute the full quota of 2,000 copies are well under way.

"An indication of the understanding among the Party members of the great service that this book will perform is seen by the following occurrence which took place in Rochester. A radio announcer there, in commenting on the Soviet Union, lumped together Communism and fascism, making slanderous remarks on the history of Soviet Union. Because of the great number of protests a reply which came in from one of the air listeners was read over the station, and this reply stated that anyone who wanted to be thoroughly clarified as to the history of the U. S. S. R., how it came to be established, and what it was accomplishing, should read the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). As a result, we are planning that the next broadcast of the Communist Party, in Rochester, which takes place on April 16, will deal with the History of the C. P. S. U.

EXHIBIT No. 129

[Source: Excerpts from an article entitled "Some Observations on How to Study the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)," by A. Landy, the *Communist*, May, 1939, page 467]

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The second thing we must remember is that Marxism-Leninism can be studied as a science only if it is studied as a guide to action and not as a dogma.

Georgi Dimitroff expressed the inseparable connection of all these aspects of Bolshevism when he wrote:

"It isn't enough to have the temperament of a revolutionary; one must also know how to handle the weapon of revolutionary theory. It isn't enough to know the theory; one must forge a solid character with a Bolshevik inflexibility. It isn't enough to know what has to be done; one must have the courage to accomplish it. One must always be ready to do, at any cost, everything which may truly serve the working class. One must be able to subordinate his entire personal life to the interests of the proletariat."

EXHIBIT No. 130

[Source: Excerpt from an article entitled "New C. P. S. U. History Issued Here Today,"
Daily Worker, March 21, 1939, page 3]

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Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, in a recent statement indicated the importance of this great new history. He said:

"This is no ordinary book to be skimmed through and then laid aside on a bookshelf. It is a scientific textbook to be studied and mastered, not a collection of dogmas to be memorized, not for mechanical quotation of extracts, but to understand the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that it can be applied to the most varied and different problems and situations, so that this theory can be enriched with the new experiences of the revolutionary working class movement also of our country."

EXHIBIT No. 131

[Source: Excerpts from an article entitled "Southern District Head Tells of Plans to Study CPSU History," by Robert F. Hall, Daily Worker, March 27, 1939, page 4]

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We therefore recommended to the District Committee the acceptance of the quota of 500 copies. * * * In view of the poverty of the share croppers and even industrial workers in the South, and in view of the great illiteracy in the South, it will require careful planning and hard work to fulfill this quota.

In accepting the quota, the District Committee set up a committee to plan the distribution and promotion as well as the study of the book. The committee is headed by Bob Taylor, District Administrative Secretary, and includes the educational director, the literature director, the county secretary of Jefferson County, and the section organizer of the Black Belt.

An immediate task is the planning of the study of the book, to include the entire party membership.

In our "night school" we expect to utilize the book fully.

EXHIBIT No. 132

[Source: Excerpt from an article entitled "The Soviet Union and the American People," by Alexander Trachtenberg, the Communist, September, 1939, page 885]

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When the HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, prepared under the supervision of the Central Committee of the Party, was recently published in the U. S. S. R., American Communists immediately recognized the great value of this book and an American edition in an English translation was made available. . . . Hundreds of groups in the United States are now engaged in careful reading and study of the book, with the purpose of learning about the forces which produced the Revolution, the Party under whose leadership it was accomplished, the establishment of socialism, the lessons to be derived for the international working class.

EXHIBIT No. 133

[Source: Daily Worker, March 29, 1939, page 4]

ILLINOIS C. P. CALLS STUDY PLAN PARLEY

CHICAGO, March 23.—The distribution and study of 6,500 copies of "History of C. P. S. U." in Illinois, launched at a citywide functionary meeting on Washington's Birthday, at which William Z. Foster, was the main speaker, is being spurred by an intensive Party educational campaign.

Two commissions have been appointed, one on sale and promotion, the other on study of the book. "Everything will be done," stated Ed Brown, State

Organizational Secretary "in bringing forward the campaign to prevent it from being considered just a problem of getting rid of so many copies, or even of raising money—making the foundation, even of the task of selling the book, a question of its great contribution to the Party's work and the perspective one of intensive study."

Of the quota of 6,500 copies, Cook County has been assigned 4,700; 1,000 to the Y. C. L. the national groups, and the Workers School; and the remainder will be distributed to the downstate sections.

A Conference on Education will be held on Sunday, March 12, at which all leading comrades of the district, county and section, as well as five delegates from each branch, including the chairman, educational and literature directors, will be present. This Conference will begin with a showing of the Soviet film, "The Great Citizen," and will be followed by a report by Morris Childs, State Secretary, on the significance and the utilization of the History of the C. P. S. U. The Conference will also organize three round tables on Education, Literature and the Daily Record.

The objective will be to involve every Party member in the State organization in the organized study of this important book.

In the spirit of socialist competition, the State Committee pledged to be the first district to fulfill its quota on the sale and distribution of the History of the C. P. S. U.

The "History of the C. P. S. U." will be on sale at all Party branches at the end of March, at 40c per copy. It is a 384-page cloth-bound book, written under the direct supervision of the Central Committee, C. P. S. U.

EXHIBIT No. 134

[Source: Daily Worker, March 31, 1939, page 2]

HISTORY OF C. P. S. U. FACTOR IN N. J. DRIVE

"The news of the issuance of the American edition of the 'History of the C. P. S. U.' was received with great enthusiasm throughout the Party in the State of New Jersey," declared Lena Davis, State Secretary, in discussing plans for the distribution and study of New Jersey's quota of 2,000 copies.

Describing the activity of the State Educational Department which is assisting the counties in the organization of classes and of study groups in all Party branches, Comrade Davis stated: "The whole campaign is centered around the problem of becoming more thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union so as to be able to apply the program of our Party to the concrete activities of each locality.

"We are also availing ourselves of the opportunity of using the Consultation Service set up by the New York Workers School in order to help our comrades better understand the contents of the book."

The New Jersey State Committee issued a special letter to all Party branches dealing specifically with the mobilization of the entire Party for the sale and study of the "History of the C. P. S. U.," suggesting how this should be carried on not only within the Party, but among non-Party people as well.

The study of this vital book, plans for which are being carefully worked out by the State Committee is being linked up with an intensive recruiting drive to bring the best and most advanced elements among the workers into the Party, and to raise the whole quality of Party work among the masses.

"We feel confident," said Comrade Davis, "that the Party membership will utilize this opportunity to the fullest extent and will advance in their theoretical understanding of their tasks and that, in turn, will improve their concrete day to day activities."

EXHIBIT No. 135

[Source: History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), published by International Publishers, New York: 1939. Page 9]

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Marx and Engels taught that it was impossible to get rid of the power of capital and to convert capitalist property into public property by peaceful means,

and that the working class could achieve this only by revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, by a *proletarian revolution*, by establishing its own political rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which must crush the resistance of the exploiters and create a new, classless, Communist society.

EXHIBIT No. 136

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, pages 4404-4405]

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Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Browder, has the American Communist Party, through its leaders and publications, made frequent references to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a model party for all other Communist Parties?

Mr. BROWDER. Frequently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the world?

Mr. BROWDER. Frequently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There has been recently published in the United States a history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the edition a rather large one?

Mr. BROWDER. One hundred thousand copies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the party of the United States now conducting a campaign for the education of its own members in all the history and tactics of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are the members of the Communist Party of the United States required to purchase copies of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Mr. BROWDER. Not required to; it is purely a voluntary act.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not required except by moral stress of the party?

Mr. BROWDER. Required, insofar as they accept the opinions of the leaders of the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They have been urged so to do?

Mr. BROWDER. They have been urged to do so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Rather strongly?

Mr. BROWDER. Very strongly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Reading from the Communist for September 1939 from an article which is signed only with the initials A. B., which I take to refer to Alex Bittelman—

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have the following statement:

"Communists, and many non-Communists, are well familiar with the fact that, beginning with about 1924, when the post-war revolutionary wave was beginning temporarily to recede, all Communist Parties, upon Stalin's advice, began concentrating on bolshevizing themselves. And this was the main content of the guidance of the Communist International."

The Communist Party has frequently referred to the guidance of the Communist International—

Mr. BROWDER. Frequently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In its affairs, and has frequently made reference to Stalin's advice in conducting its activities?

Mr. BROWDER. Frequently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Again from the same editorial I read with reference to the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which we have just been discussing, the following statement:

"Hence a comparative study of the history of the two parties has become an absolute necessity for every Communist, for every anti-Fascist, for every progressive fighter of America. The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the guide to the struggle for democracy."

That is an indication that the party members are expected, rather emphatically, to purchase and study that history.

Mr. BROWDER. That is, they are advised that they will be unable to follow the events of the day if they do not know the history.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To understand and study the history in the United States—

Mr. BROWDER. In the world.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Including the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. Including the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That it is absolutely necessary for them to study the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and use it as their guide?

Mr. BROWDER. That it is necessary to the understanding of the movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this country and in the struggle for democracy?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the same issue of the Communist you have an article entitled "Some Remarks on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Communist Party of the United States."

Mr. BROWDER. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read the following statement, also concerning the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"In approaching the task of working out detailed and systematic understanding of the history of the United States of America, of the labor movement, and of the Socialist movement and specifically the Communist Party of the United States of America we have received a highly important stimulus and help in a recently published History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

That is a further verification of your estimate of the history of the Communist Party as being absolutely necessary.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

EXHIBIT No. 137

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of William E. Browder, state treasurer of the New York State Communist Party, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 12, 1939, page 4819]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, if the branches or the sections purchased literature how was that literature handled through the State organization?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. That would be turned over by the branch finance secretary, to him, and by him cleared, in all instances, into my hands.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the literature would be handled in that manner?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. There may be a few exceptions of one or two sections.

Mr. WHITLEY. But ordinarily the section or branch would order literature and then they would make payment through you?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. They would pay you and you, in turn, would pay the people that supplied the literature?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what is the approximate amount of expenditures of that type, Mr. Browder?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. As I say, somewhat around \$50,000 or \$60,000 a year.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that went to—

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. The Wholesale Book Corporation.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Wholesale Book Corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. Yes; but also known as the literature department. They carry a bank account as the literature department.

Mr. WHITLEY. They are one and the same?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. We are still talking about 1938?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the Wholesale Book Corporation—is that a subsidiary or affiliate of the national organization or of the State organization?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. Well, to the best of my knowledge, it is the State organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the State organization owns and operates that corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it under your supervision in any way?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. It was not under my supervision in any way.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your relation to it?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. The State organization, you know, own it in the direct sense, but it was understood definitely as being our literature department.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your literature department?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Wholesale Book Corporation was, in effect, the literature department of the State organization?

Mr. WILLIAM E. BROWDER. Yes.

EXHIBIT No. 138

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4353]

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say as many as 5,000,000 pieces of literature are sent out over the country, through the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. I would say that would be rather conservative. I would say more than 5,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Probably 10,000,000?

Mr. BROWDER. Maybe not 10.

The CHAIRMAN. Between 5 and 10 million pieces?

Mr. BROWDER. Certainly more than 5; the books and pamphlets alone, you see, we ran 1,500,000 last year.

EXHIBIT No. 139

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4350]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the corporation, if it is a corporation, which publishes The Communist, its monthly magazine?

Mr. BROWDER. That is published by the Workers Library Publishers.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the relation between the Workers Library Publishers and the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER. It is a corporation which specializes in the market of the Communist Party membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. It specializes in publishing and distributing Communist Party literature?

Mr. BROWDER. Those things—not always party literature—but those things which would sell in Communist Party circles.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they are sold through Communist Party channels?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that a corporation?

Mr. BROWDER. That is a corporation.

Mr. WHITLEY. A New York State corporation?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

EXHIBIT No. 140

[Source : Excerpt from the testimony of Robert William Weiner, financial secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 12, 1939, page 4802]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. You have also mentioned the Workers Library Publishers, Inc. Is that relationship just as a consumer?

Mr. WEINER. No; it is more than that.

Mr. WHITNEY. What is it? Explain it briefly for us.

Mr. WEINER. Well, it is tied up more closely with the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what way? Does the party own it, operate it, own stock in it? What do you mean by tied up? It is a party subsidiary, is it not?

Mr. WEINER. I would call it that; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the simplest way to describe it, as a party subsidiary?

Mr. WEINER. Yes, sir.

EXHIBIT No. 141

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4314]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Dimitroff is a member of what Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER. At the present time I think he is a citizen of the Soviet Union and a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He comes from Bulgaria.

Mr. WHITLEY. But he is a member of the Soviet Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER. At the present time; yes—since his release from Germany. At the time of the Reichstag fire trial, he was gotten out of Germany by being made a citizen of the Soviet Union at that time.

EXHIBIT No. 142

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4315]

* * * * *

Mr. BROWDER. I can give you a complete list of the secretariat of the Communist International.

Mr. STARNES. And let us know what country they come from.

Mr. WHITLEY. Give us the background.

Mr. BROWDER. The name and the country?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right; their citizenship and the Communist Party they belong to; that is, what country.

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

(The list referred to follows:)

MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARIAT, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (AS ELECTED AT THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS, 1935)

George Dimitroff, general secretary; M. Ercoli, D. Z. Manuilsky, Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Kuusinen, Andre Marty, Klement Gottwald.

Candidate-members.—M. Florin, M. A. Moskvina, Wang Ming.

EXHIBIT No. 143

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4317]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. We were discussing the relation between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist International, and you are explaining the administrative structure of the Communist International. Does the Communist Party of the United States have representatives to the Comintern or the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. We have delegates to the congresses and conferences of the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 144

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4318]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. Are any representatives of the Communist Party of the United States members of that group [presidium of the Communist International]?

Mr. BROWDER. I believe that William Z. Foster is a member of it. I can confirm that positively later.

Mr. WHITLEY. A member of the presidium?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you let us know definitely about that?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir; I believe that he is a member.

Mr. WHITLEY. That meets subject to call, or periodically?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir; subject to call.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you stated that you were a member of the executive committee?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you held that position?

Mr. BROWDER. Since 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have any other members of the C. P. U. S. A. held positions on the executive committee, the presidium, or the secretariat?

Mr. BROWDER. At the present time there are four Americans on the executive committee: William Z. Foster, myself, James W. Ford, and Gilbert Green.

EXHIBIT No. 145

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 1322]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. Between 1928 and 1935, the years in which the sixth and seventh congresses were held, the entire Communist International was directed and administered by the executive committee, or by the smaller body, the presidium, and the Secretariat?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. There has not been one since 1935?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And only a world congress can outline the program for the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. No change in the program in the interim can be made until the next congress meets?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

EXHIBIT No. 146

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4407]

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. The article begins on page 726 of the Communist International [October 15, 1933], and is entitled "Review of the Daily Worker, U. S. A. (June and July)."

The subtitle in the paragraph reads as follows:

"In the order of checking up the carrying out of the tasks put before the Communist Party of the United States of America by the executive committee of the Communist International."

The article is a very lengthy one, and it would be impossible to read it, but I will summarize its purpose and ask you if that summary is correct.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Communist International examined and analyzed 2 months' issues of the Daily Worker and then wrote a rather lengthy report on the successes and shortcomings of the Daily Worker for the guidance of its publishers in the future.

Mr. BROWDER. Very sharply criticized it and pointed out wherein it has made many political mistakes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And did it make constructive suggestions as to the future?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes; it made some very serious observations about how certain weaknesses had prevented the party from effectively meeting the problems and how they could be overcome.

The CHAIRMAN. And in furtherance of those suggestions has the Daily Worker taken the advice given in those suggestions?

Mr. BROWDER. I think they learned a great deal from them; that is correct.
 Mr. STARNES. Did they take advantage of the suggestions?
 Mr. BROWDER. Yes.
 Mr. STARNES. Did they carry out the suggestions which were made?
 Mr. BROWDER. As a precondition to taking advantage of this learning.
 Mr. STARNES. Then they followed the suggestions?
 Mr. BROWDER. As we learned them.
 Mr. STARNES. As you learned them and you interpreted them?
 Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

EXHIBIT No. 147

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4406]

* * * * *
 Mr. MATTHEWS. It is correct that both Lenin and Stalin have made direct expressions of opinions which have been necessary for the mastery of American problems by the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

EXHIBIT No. 148

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4402]

* * * * *
 Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bittelman says:
 "An essential part of the Bolshevik principles of organization is the principle of democratic centralism. The constitution and rules of the Communist International formulate this as follows:

"The Communist International and its sections are built upon the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: (a) Election of all the leading committees in the party, subordinate and superior (by general meetings of party members, conferences, congresses, and international congresses); (b) periodical reports by leading party committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of superior party committees to be obligatory for subordinate committees, strict party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading party centers.

"Party questions may be discussed by the members of the party and by the party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent party committees. After a decision has been taken by the congress of the Communist International, by the congress of the respective sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various sections, these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a section of the party membership or of the local party organization are in disagreement with it.

"In cases where the party exists illegally the superior party committees may appoint the subordinate committees and co-opt members on their own committees subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent superior party committees."

That language, I believe you will notice, is somewhat stronger than the language of the other paragraph in that the decisions of the congress of the Communist International must be unreservedly carried out even if lower party bodies are in disagreement with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. BROWDER. I would say it is correct in the sense that any party that disagreed with the decisions of a congress and did not carry them out would withdraw from the Communist International. Only those would stay in the Communist International who agreed. The Communist International is a body, an association of people of like minds, and if their minds differ on fundamental questions, they would part company.

The CHAIRMAN. Then that is a correct statement, that Mr. Matthews read?

Mr. BROWDER. In general principle.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the decisions of the Communist International are obligatory upon all sections and affiliates of the Communist International and if they disagree they have only the choice of retiring from the Communist International; is that correct, Mr. Browder?

Mr. BROWDER. That is, they are obligatory for the continuation of the association. The CHAIRMAN. That is what he asked you.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

EXHIBIT No. 149

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4399]

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read again from Mr. Bittelman's pamphlet:

"In the 15 years of its existence the Comintern has grown into a true world party. It has reached the high stage where all Communist parties are carrying out one single line of the Comintern * * *"

Does that statement require any kind of a context in order to make it say something other than is apparent on the surface?

Mr. BROWDER. It could be deepened. It is a very bald statement. It is a correct statement, that the parties of the Communist International—that is, all the Communist Parties of the world—are in full agreement on their main line of approach to the world situation.

EXHIBIT No. 150

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4398]

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know Mr. Bittelman's pamphlet entitled, "Milestones in the History of the Communist Party"?

Mr. BROWDER. I am familiar with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has the Communist Party of the United States through its leaders and publications, made frequent reference to the leadership of the Comintern in the affairs of the American Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER. Very frequently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you from the pamphlet by Alex Bittelman, page 71:

"The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Comintern needs neither explanation nor apology."

That is a correct statement as of the present date?

Mr. BROWDER. Oh, yes.

EXHIBIT No. 151

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, pages 4396-4397]

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. You recall, do you not, that Paul Crouch has for many years occupied a rather prominent position in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. He has been a member for many years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that some years ago when he was in the armed forces of the United States, stationed in Hawaii, he was court-martialed for his Communist activities in the Army and received a sentence of 40 years?

Mr. BROWDER. I am familiar with that.

EXHIBIT No. 152

[Source : Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4343]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. How many members of the C. P. U. S. A. altogether have attended the Lenin School in Moscow?

Mr. BROWDER. I have no statistics on that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately?

Mr. BROWDER. I would say approximately 120, and possibly as much as 150.

EXHIBIT No. 153

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4327]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. During the period that the students or members of the C. P. U. S. A. did attend the Lenin school, who paid their expenses?

Mr. BROWDER. The Communist Party of the United States paid their traveling expenses, and the Communist International maintained the school.

Mr. WHITLEY. Maintained the school and took care of their subsistence while they were attending school?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

EXHIBIT No. 154

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, pages 4325-4326]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you pay your own expenses, or did the party pay your expenses, on these various trips to Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. Since I have been general secretary of the party, the party has always paid my expenses.

Mr. WHITLEY. The party in this country?

Mr. BROWDER. The party in the United States; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITNEY. They paid your expenses?

Mr. BROWDER. They paid my traveling expenses. My expenses in the Soviet Union were taken care of from the ruble fund from royalties, accumulated from my books and pamphlets.

The CHAIRMAN. It is difficult to hear what the witness is saying. What was his last statement?

Mr. WHITLEY. The last question was who paid Mr. Browder's expenses on his trips to Russia, and he said since he has been secretary the party pays his traveling expenses, and that his expenses there were paid from some fund.

Mr. BROWDER. Out of the proceeds of my writings published there.

Mr. STARNES. Published in Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Published, sold, and circulated there?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Out of royalties that had accumulated there?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a bank account in Russia in which you place the money derived from the sale of your works in Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. It is not exactly a bank account. It is a fund from royalties on which I draw for expenses. From there I can draw out in rubles what is coming to me in royalties.

The CHAIRMAN. What publishing firm?

Mr. BROWDER. I really do not know. I could not give you the names offhand, because I deal with a representative.

The CHAIRMAN. They handle your works and you have an account there, and you go there and draw it out?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the only time you have received payments from the Soviet Union in United States money?

Mr. BROWDER. Until 1938 I never did, but in 1938 the newspaper Pravda began to send me the fees that they pay me for my articles to the United States in dollars. That is the first time I ever received dollars from the Soviet Union. Moscow gold only comes in this form.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any arrangement similar to that in France?

Mr. BROWDER. In France? No.

The CHAIRMAN. No other country but the Soviet Union?

Mr. BROWDER. No other country but the Soviet Union.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Whitley, did I understand correctly that these are royalties from his books that have been sold by the Soviet Union?

Mr. WHITLEY. Royalties from his books that had been sold by the Soviet Union, as I understand.

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

EXHIBIT No. 155

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4324]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. We will go into that in more detail. How many trips have you made to Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. I cannot say offhand, but very many.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you give the dates of as many as you can, beginning with the first trip?

Mr. BROWDER. My first visit was in 1921. I was there in a union conference. I attended the Trade Union Conference. My next visit was in 1926, to a Trade Union Conference. I believe I have visited there almost at least once a year since then. My last visit was in 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of these later yearly visits?

Mr. BROWDER. Since 1930 I visited there because of my position as general secretary of the party, and a desire to confer with Communists in the Soviet Union and other countries.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have any of these trips been in connection with your position as a member of the executive committee of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir; most of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. During those visits, or many of the visits to Soviet Russia, did you ever contact Mr. Stalin or other Soviet Government officials?

Mr. BROWDER. I met Mr. Stalin once, in 1926, personally, and that is the only time I ever spoke to him personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the occasion of that meeting?

Mr. BROWDER. We were both members of the same commission, and I was introduced to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. What commission was that?

Mr. BROWDER. I do not know. I think it was a commission on China. It was some political discussion.

EXHIBIT No. 156

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4429]

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. I hold here a copy of a speech delivered by Mr. Kuusinen at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. Was that the congress at which the present line of the communist parties throughout the world was adopted in general?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1935?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So the statement by one of the highest authorities and leading figures of the Communist International at the Seventh World Congress would, in general, reflect the position of the Communist parties throughout the world today?

Mr. BROWDER. In general; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read from page 28 of Mr. Kuusinen's speech:

"Comrades, the second imperialist World War is approaching. Preparations are being made for the most criminal of all criminal wars—a counter revolutionary imperialist attack on the Soviet country, the fatherland of the workers of all countries."

Mr. Browder, have you not frequently in your literature and your speeches for the Communist Party in the United States referred to the Soviet Union as the fatherland of the workers of all countries?

Mr. BROWDER. I have; yes, sir.

EXHIBIT No. 157

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, pages 4397-4398]

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. From your book entitled, "What Is Communism?" published in 1936 by the Workers Library Publishers, New York, chapter 21, entitled "A Glimpse of Soviet America," I read:

"The principles upon which a Soviet America would be organized would be the same in every respect as those which guided the Soviet Union."

That was the statement made by you.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes. I said the principles, not the details. Your question was about details and forms. I said the principles.

EXHIBIT No. 158

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, pages 4431-4432]

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. I take it that Stalin occupies a very important, if not a unique, position in the Communist movement of the world.

Mr. BROWDER. He carries great authority and his word is respected.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When he speaks, which is on rare occasions, I suppose, he speaks with care and precision, does he not?

Mr. BROWDER. I believe he does; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you familiar with the pamphlet entitled "Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party"?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Published by the central committee, Communist Party, U. S. A., in 1929.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir; I am familiar with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read to you from one of Stalin's speeches:

"Therefore, we must put the question squarely to the members of the American delegation: When the draft assumes the force of an obligatory decision of the Comintern, do they consider themselves entitled not to submit to that decision? We have argued the question in the commission for a whole month; we have had a number of discussions: we have spent a tremendous amount of time on the matters, time that might have been more profitably employed; we finally arrived at the point when the time for discussion was over and were on the eve of adopting a decision which must be compulsory for all members of the Comintern. And now the question arises: Do the members of the American delegation, as Communists, as Leninists, consider themselves entitled not to submit to the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the American question."

You are familiar with that statement of Stalin?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That reflects the relationship between the Communist International and the American Communist Party. That decision was chiefly of interest to the American Communist Party. Now, I will read further from one of Stalin's speeches, with reference to the matter of American loyalty to the Comintern:

"Can you picture a Communist, not a paper Communist, but a real Communist, avowing loyalty to the Comintern and at the same time refusing to accept responsibility for carrying out the decisions of the Comintern?"

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you avow loyalty to the Comintern, Mr. Browder?

Mr. BROWDER. I do.

EXHIBIT No. 159

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4437]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization circulate printed matter received from any foreign country?

Mr. BROWDER. In the book shops we sell publications printed in the Soviet Union, some books printed there, and a newspaper.

EXHIBIT No. 160

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 6, 1939, page 4472]

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have there ever been delegates from the Cominteru to the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. Harry Pollitt was a delegate.

EXHIBIT No. 161

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of Alexander Trachtenberg, secretary and treasurer of International Publishers, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 13, 1939, page 4874]

* * * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Trachtenberg, how many trips have you made to Moscow, or to Russia, since the International Publishers was founded? Just name them and give us the date, or the approximate date.

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes, sir. 1929—

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that your first one?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. That is right. 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1939. These are trips to Europe, including the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. But did you go to the Soviet Union?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, were those trips pleasure trips, or were they trips on business for the International Publishers, or trips on business for the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. All three were included in some trips.

Mr. WHITLEY. All three?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; and one trip for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. One trip for the Communist Party exclusively?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the others were combination trips?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Business and pleasure, and sometimes only business.

Mr. WHITLEY. Sometimes only business?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes. Unfortunately, none of the trips were for pleasure only, but business.

EXHIBIT No. 162

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of Alexander Trachtenberg, secretary and treasurer of International Publishers, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 13, 1939, pages 4881, 4882]

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Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Mr. Heller is now retired, I should say the last 5 or 6 years. He is a man about 65 to 66. He was a very wealthy man, a manufacturer. He had an oxygen business for many years, which he sold later to the trust.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a member of the Communist Party, too?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. He is.

Mr. MASON. He is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. And has been a member since 1921, like you?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. He has been a member for 40 years of the Socialist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. For 40 years?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. For 40 years. I have been for 33 years with the Socialist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. You broke off from the radicals and joined the Communists?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. That is right. He helped to build the Rand School, which is a Socialist educational institution

The CHAIRMAN. What is his income the past 15 years? How long has it been, in other words, since he retired from business?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Oh, he only retired about the last 5 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of his company?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. His company was the International Oxygen Co.

The CHAIRMAN. The International Oxygen Co.?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Oxygen Co.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that company located in the United States?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; in Jersey.

Mr. THOMAS. In Jersey?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I think he sold to the United Carbide. That is right—your State, in Newark.

Mr. THOMAS. Do they also have branches abroad?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I don't know; I don't know about his business, but I know he was connected with that. That was his firm.

Mr. THOMAS. "International" must mean some connection abroad.

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have some questions, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Trachtenberg, did not Mr. Heller, through this company, the International Oxygen Co., have a concession in the Soviet Union?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Well, I would not know his personal business—that particular business.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that, though?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; I have heard about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do know that fact?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; that is right. And he has made plenty of money, like a lot of other concessionaires.

EXHIBIT No. 163

[Source: *The War and the Working Class*, by Georgi Dimitroff, general secretary of the Communist International; a pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, N. Y.: 1939]

THE WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

(By Georgi Dimitroff, *General Secretary of the Communist International*)

I

Throughout all the years following the first world imperialist war the Communists, basing themselves on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, incessantly explained to the working people that capitalism, by its very nature, gives rise to wars, that the contradictions between the imperialist countries were not eliminated by Versailles and by the other imperialistic peace treaties, but, on the contrary, that these contradictions would break out after some time with new and still greater force.

Lenin taught that wars are the inevitable accompaniment of imperialism. The plunder of foreign lands, the conquest and spoliation of colonies, the seizure of markets serve as the cause of wars between the capitalist states.

Stalin repeatedly uttered warnings regarding the danger of a new imperialist war and disclosed the causes giving rise to it. In his report at the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) in 1930, he said:

"The bourgeois states are furiously arming and re-equipping their forces. What for? Of course, not for a friendly talk, but for war. The imperialists need war because it is the only means of dividing the world afresh, dividing anew the markets, sources of raw materials and spheres for capital investment."¹

In a talk with Roy Howard on March 1, 1936, Stalin stressed the point that the chief cause of wars lies in capitalism, in its imperialist, predatory manifestations. He said at that time:

"You remember how the first World War arose. It arose out of the desire to redivide the world. Today we have the same background. There are capital-

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 256, International Publishers, New York.

ist states which consider that they were cheated in the previous redistribution of spheres of influence, territories, sources of raw materials, markets, etc., and which would want another redivision that would be in their favor. Capitalism in its imperialist phase is a system which considers war to be a legitimate instrument for settling international disputes, a legal method in fact, if not in law."²

The events of the recent period completely confirm the correctness of these far-sighted warnings uttered by Stalin. They also testify to how correct the Communists were when they pointed out that the peoples would, in the very nearest future, be hurled into the flames of war, if the international working class should fail, by its united and resolute militant actions, to curb in time the instigators and provokers of war. They also testify to how timely were the tenacious efforts of the Communist International, directed toward the establishment of a powerful fighting front against war.

The second imperialist war, which began with the onslaught on the peoples of Ethiopia, Spain and China, has now developed into a war between the biggest capitalist states. The war has been transferred to the heart of Europe, and threatens to become a world slaughter.

In its character and essence, the present war is, on the part of both warring sides, an *imperialist, unjust war*, despite the fraudulent slogans being employed by the ruling classes of the warring capitalist states in their endeavor to hide their real aims from the masses of the people.

The character of a war, as Lenin taught, "depends not on who attacked and on whose side the 'enemy' is, but on which class is waging the war, what policy is being continued by the given war."

Now, as in 1914, the war is being waged by the imperialist bourgeoisie. This war is the direct continuation of the struggle between the imperialist powers for a new repartition of the earth, for *world domination*.

Only the blind can fail to see, and only out-and-out charlatans and deceivers can deny, that the present war between Britain and France, on the one hand, and Germany, on the other, is being waged for colonies, sources of raw materials, for domination over sea routes, for the subjugation and exploitation of foreign peoples. As is well known, Great Britain is a huge empire with a colonial population of 480,000,000, while France possesses colonies inhabited by 70,000,000 people. Germany, which as a result of the first imperialist war was deprived of its colonies, is now putting forward claims for a division of the colonial booty in the hands of the British and French imperialists.

The bourgeoisie of England and France, however, have no intention of letting their huge possessions slip out of their hands. They want to hold undivided sway over hundreds of millions of colonial slaves, to maintain their imperialist positions, to ensure the possibility of new conquests, to enfeeble their rival and to place it in a position of dependence on them. Herein lies the essence of the present war. The clash of arms between the warring states is for hegemony in Europe, for colonial possessions in Africa and in other parts of the globe, for oil, coal, iron, rubber, and not at all in defense of "democracy," "liberty," "international law," and the guarantee of the independence of small countries and peoples, as is howled by the bourgeois press and the Social-Democratic deceivers of the working class.

The interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie also determine the position of the majority of the capitalist states not directly participating in the war. Their neutrality policy is hypocritical through and through and above all is his true of the neutrality of the biggest capitalist state—the U. S. A.

The American bourgeoisie did no lift a finger when Japan attacked China. What is more, they are in actual fact the chief contractors of war supplies to Japanese imperialism. Under the flag of neutrality the American imperialists are inflaming war in the Far East, so as to enfeeble Japan and China, and then, basing themselves on their might, to dictate their conditions to the belligerent countries and firmly to establish themselves in China.

Under the flag of neutrality the American bourgeoisie are encouraging the further inflammation of the European war, becoming in fact an arms factory for Great Britain and France, and raking in enormous war profits at the expense of the blood of the peoples of the warring countries. They are aiming to drive their rivals out of the world markets, to strengthen their imperialist positions and to consolidate their domination on the seas and oceans.

² *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, p. 6, International Publishers, New York.

Just as hypocritical in character is the neutrality of the other non-belligerent capitalist countries. Their bourgeoisie are doing everything to pile up as big profits as possible out of the war. Therefore, even if they stand for peace for their own country, they encourage war between the other states. They use their neutrality as a commodity with which to haggle, endeavoring to sell it to the highest bidder.

Many of these neutral states, and above all Italy, are waiting for the time when, as the war goes on, the chances of victory for one side or the other become clear, so as to take the side of the strong, and to dig their teeth into the vanquished and to tear away their share of the booty.

Thus the position both of the belligerent and of the "neutral" states shows with the utmost clarity that *the responsibility for the war lies with the bourgeoisie of capitalist countries and primarily with the ruling circles of the belligerent states.*

II

Two stages can be clearly discerned in the course of the second imperialist war. In the first stage, Italy, Germany and Japan came forward directly as aggressor states. They took the offensive, while the other capitalist states—England, France and the U.S.A.—retreated, in the endeavor to avoid a decisive clash with their rivals and to turn their expansion in another direction, against the land of socialism. Now, on the other hand, the imperialists of Britain and France have passed over to the offensive, have hurled their peoples into war against Germany, endeavoring in every way to win a number of other states to their side.

Whereas previously the above-mentioned European states were divided into aggressor and non-aggressor powers, that is, into those who were directly the war-makers and those who for the time being did not come out openly as aggressors, although behind the scenes they encouraged aggression against other countries, now this division does not correspond to the real position. This difference has disappeared. What is more, it is the *British and French imperialists who now come forward as the most zealous supporters of the continuation and further incitement of war.*

What has given rise to this change in the position of the chief imperialist rivals, a change of very substantial significance from the point of view of understanding the events now taking place?

As is well known, present-day Germany grew up on the basis of slogans of revenge against Versailles and of being the shock troops of international reaction against "world bolshevism," against the U.S.S.R. The National-Socialist regime received every kind of support from British and French imperialism, precisely so that it could fulfill its "historic" anti-Bolshevik mission. It made wide use of the constant concessions made by Britain and France and, taking the law into its own hands, liquidated the Versailles Treaty, created an armed force, laid its hands on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Memel and won certain positions in Spain.

As long as the British and French imperialists hoped to turn Germany's expansion eastward, they encouraged in every way its aggressive strivings, doing this at the expense of other peoples under the flag of the "non-intervention" policy. They renounced collective security and transformed the League of Nations—their own creation—into a laughing stock. They also accept with great satisfaction the conclusion of the much noised "Anti-Comintern" pact between Germany, Italy and Japan and the establishment of the so-called Berlin-Rome-Tokyo "triangle." The culminating point of this policy was the well-known deal at Munich, from whence the heads of the British and French governments returned home as the "saviors of peace," exultant that they had at length succeeded in turning the aggression of Germany against the U.S.S.R.

But by that time the Soviet Union constituted a gigantic force. Rallied around the tested and victorious Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people, by successfully fulfilling two huge five-year plans, had established a powerful socialist industry, had carried through the transfer of small peasant economy to the path of socialism, and had achieved the consolidation of the collective farm system. On this basis there was guaranteed the indestructible defensive capacity of the land of socialism, resting on the moral and political unity of its people, on the splendidly equipped Red Army, and the most profound Soviet patriotism. By the construction of socialist society and by its wise Stalinist peace policy, the Soviet Union immeasurably increased its importance on the international arena and won tremendous confidence and love among the masses of the people of all countries, including Germany itself.

Therefore when, in the opinion of the imperialists, a suitable moment had arrived for Germany to fulfil its role as shock troop against the U. S. S. R., Germany could not make up its mind to do so. It had first to reckon with the economic and military might of the Soviet Union and with the moral unity and solidarity of the Soviet people, ready to defend their socialist country to the last drop of blood and capable of crushing any enemy; second, the rulers of Germany were compelled to take account of the fact that they would fail to rally the majority of the German people to a war against the great land of socialism.

In such a state of affairs, Germany was faced with the dilemma—*either* to fall into the position of underling of British and French imperialism, to go to war against the Soviet Union and risk its neck in this war; *or*, to make a decisive turn in its foreign policy and to take the path of peaceful relations with the Soviet Union.

As the facts show, the leaders of Germany selected the second path.

At the same time the ruling circles of Britain and France, on their part, while spending months of negotiations with the U. S. S. R. for the alleged purpose of establishing a common front against aggression, were in actual fact using every means possible to prevent this front from being established. Until the very last moment of the negotiations they did not in the least give up their striving to bring Germany and the Soviet Union into collision. This is also confirmed, by the way, by the *White Paper* published by the British government itself regarding the negotiations between the British ambassador, Neville Henderson, and Hitler on the eve of the German-Polish war.

But the British and French imperialists miscalculated. *They staked on an anti-Soviet war but lost.*

The Soviet Union, operating a *socialist foreign policy*, by concluding a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, frustrated the insidious plans of the provokers of war, ensured peace between the two biggest states in Europe and strengthened its influence over the entire course of international development.

After the conclusion of the German-Soviet treaty, the bourgeoisie of Britain and France, no longer having any hope of war by Germany against the U. S. S. R., turned to the path of armed struggle against their chief imperialist rival. They did this under the pretext of defending their vassal-reactionary-landlord Poland—the very Poland which the British and French imperialists had established as an outpost against the land of the Soviets and by whose hands they wanted in 1920 to strangle the young Soviet republic. The very same Poland whose potentates deprived Lithuania of Vilna and who not so long ago tore a piece out of the territory of Czechoslovakia. *They staked on Poland but here also they lost.* The Polish state, which constituted a prison of peoples with its regime of reaction and terror, oppression and plunder of millions of Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Polish working people themselves, at the very first military blow, disclosed all its internal rottenness and fell to pieces in some two weeks.

In these conditions, the Soviet Union, pursuing its own independent policy, a policy dictated by the interests of socialism which coincide with the interests of the working people of all lands, undertook resolute measures to ensure peace throughout the east of Europe. By the entry of the Red Army into West Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, the Soviet people rendered aid to their brothers groaning under the yoke of the Polish gentry, extricated 13,000,000 working people from sanguinary slaughter, emancipated them from capitalist slavery, opened up before them the road to a happy life and secured them freedom of national and cultural development. By concluding the German-Soviet "Amity and Frontier" treaty the U. S. S. R. not only eliminated the immediate danger of war for its peoples but also created a barrier against the extension of the imperialist war.

By concluding mutual assistance pacts with the small Baltic countries, which were constantly menaced with the danger of falling victim to the big imperialist states, the U. S. S. R. established the guarantee of their national independence and secured their defense against imperialist aggression, and strengthened the defensive capacity of its own country.

The transfer of the city of Vilna and the Vilna region to Lithuania once again clearly shows the exceptional attention displayed by the land of socialism toward the national interests of small peoples. There never has been nor is there today in the world any state, other than the Soviet Union, which has, of its own accord, ceded a whole region to a small people living on its borders, out of regard for the national interests of this people.

At a time when imperialist war is raging in Europe, when the bourgeoisie are inflaming chauvinism, inciting one nation against another, the Soviet Union establishes good neighborly relations with the surrounding states, being guided in this

by the Stalinist policy of peace and friendship of nations. By its entire policy the U. S. S. R. is rendering an inestimable service to the cause of world peace, in which the peoples of all lands are interested.

But the imperialists of Great Britain and France, having taken the path of war, do not want to leave it. On the contrary, they are dragging the peoples further and further onto the fields of battle, covering up in every way the real character of the war. With this end in view they are setting into motion all the means of the ideological deception of the masses.

The older generation of workers who experienced the first world imperialist war well remember how at that time the press of Britain and France sought day in and day out to prove that the governments of these countries were waging war only in "defense of the fatherland," against "Prussian militarism," while the German press in its turn sought to convince people that the war was being waged against "Russian tsarism." In actual fact, however, as is well known, what was taking place was a struggle between two groups of imperialists for the repartition of the earth.

Now the ruling classes of Britain and France who today, as at that time, are pursuing imperialist aims, have altered the means and slogans of ideological deception in accordance with the situation of today. Speculating on the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses, they put forward the slogan of "anti-fascist" war and proclaim that their war against Germany is a "war of democracy against fascism," a war against "Hitlerism," a war for the freedom of nations.

But what fine apostles of "anti-fascist" war these are, who for so many years gave every indulgence to those against whom they are fighting today, and who disrupted the united front of the people's struggle against fascism and war, when the entire international situation advanced this struggle as the most important task of the moment. What fine "fighters for the freedom of nations" these are, who for centuries have kept millions of colonial slaves in bondage and who play with the fate of small nations as bargaining counters in their imperialist deals. What fine "defenders of democracy" these are who in their own countries are destroying the last remnants of the democratic rights of the popular masses, closing down their newspapers, removing their elected representatives and persecuting all who raise their voice against the present anti-popular war.

The French bourgeoisie is now reviving the blackest days of counter-revolutionary terror. Since the days of the sanguinary suppression of the Paris Commune, France has not experienced such a drive of reaction against the working class. The banning of the Communist Party of France, the arrest of the revolutionary representatives of the French proletariat in Parliament—the most consistent fighters against reaction of every kind—serves as a clear proof of how false and hypocritical are the declarations regarding the democratic anti-fascist character of the war.

The reactionary bourgeoisie hurls itself against the Communists because *it fears the truth about the war more than fire*, because the Communist Party is the only party that can organize the struggle of the proletariat and all working people against the imperialist war.

The bourgeoisie is doing everything to compel millions of people to go to war and to die for a cause that is alien to them. But the proletariat, the working people, have nothing to defend in this war. It is not their war, but the war of their exploiters. It brings them suffering, privation, ruin and death. Were they to support such a war they would merely defend the interests of their enslavers and oppressors, they would be supporting capitalist slavery.

For the working class there is only one true stand—irreconcilable, courageous struggle against the imperialist war, struggle against the culprits and vehicles of this war primarily in their own country, struggle to end this predatory war. This is the most just of causes, one dictated by the fundamental interests of the proletariat and all working people.

III

The war that has unfolded between the imperialist countries has radically changed the international situation.

The war is leading to an acute sharpening of all the basic contradictions of the capitalist world. The longer it goes on, the more does it sharpen the contradictions between the imperialist states. It is sharpening the contradictions between the metropolitan countries and the colonies, between the dominating and the oppressed nations. And the most important thing is that it is laying bare the class relations in bourgeois society and sharpening to the uttermost

limits the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the whole world of the exploited and the handful of exploiters.

The war is disclosing all the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and is giving rise to a most acute and profound crisis of capitalism.

The imperialist war is calling forth a regrouping of the class forces in the capitalist countries. In the camp of the bourgeoisie, the group interests of its different sections are receding before the common class interests of the bourgeoisie. The previously existing division into various opposing groups, into more reactionary and less reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie, is yielding place to their common interest in conducting the war and preserving capitalism. "National Unity" is being established from the extreme reactionary to the extreme "Left" wing of the bourgeoisie, including the top leaders of the petty bourgeois parties. But at the same time the other pole is witnessing the beginning of the accelerated departure of the war-ruined masses from the position of support for bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties to the position of struggle against the imperialist war and against the bourgeoisie waging it.

Decisive significance in the administration of the state, both in the warring and in the majority of the other capitalist countries, is being assumed by the most bellicose, chauvinistic, most reactionary elements of the financial bourgeoisie. A regime of military dictatorship is in fact being established, although frequently masked by various outward decorations, for the suppression of the indignation of the masses against the war and for the safeguarding of the bourgeois system against possible convulsions. Everywhere in the capitalist world, not only in the warring countries, a furious reactionary drive is taking place against the working class and the toiling masses.

Thus, that which in the period preceding the present war was characteristic of the regime of the fascist countries is becoming—in the conditions of the war let loose—increasingly prevalent in the countries of so-called bourgeois democracy.

In these changed conditions *the tasks facing the working class also assume a new character. Whereas formerly the task was to concentrate all forces on the struggle to avert the imperialist war, to curb the warmongers, now the mobilization of the widest masses for the struggle against the war already being waged, and to bring it to an end, is the prime task of the moment.* Whereas formerly it was a question of barring the road to the onslaught of capital and fascist reaction, now the working class is faced with the task of conducting a most resolute struggle against the regime being established of unbridled terror, oppression and plunder of the popular masses: it is faced with the task of insuring that the ruling classes are prevented from placing the burdens of the war on the backs of the working people.

Whereas formerly the efforts of the working class were directed primarily to the defense of the daily interests of the working people and to guarding them against the plunder and license of the capitalist exploiters—and it was impossible, by virtue of the absence of the necessary preconditions, to place the abolition of capitalist slavery on the order of the day—now, to the extent that the crisis called forth by the war grows deeper, this task will face the working class with ever-growing acuteness.

The changed situation and the new tasks of the working class also demand a corresponding change in the tactics of the Communist Parties. The united proletarian and people's front tactics pursued in recent years made it possible for the proletariat and the laboring masses temporarily to hold up the offensive of capital and imperialist reaction in a number of countries. It helped the Spanish people to conduct an armed struggle for two and a half years against internal reaction and the foreign interventionists. It made it possible for the proletariat of France to secure considerable social gains. The people's front movement awakened wide masses of people in town and country to activity, and rallied them to the struggle to uphold their own interests against the reactionary cliques. This movement rendered it possible to postpone for a time the outbreak of the European war.

The tactics of the united people's front are fully applicable even now in China and also in colonial and dependent countries, the peoples of which are conducting a struggle for their national liberation.

But these tactics, *in the form* in which they were conducted prior to the present war, are no longer suitable for other countries. The necessity of changing the tactics is conditioned by the change in the situation and the tactics facing the working class, and also by the position occupied in connection with the imperialist war by the leading circles of the parties that previously took part in the people's front.

The tactics of the united people's front presupposed joint action by the Communist Parties and the Social-Democratic and petty bourgeois "democratic" and "radical" parties against reaction and war. But the top sections of these latter parties have now openly passed over to the position of active support for the imperialist war. The Social-Democratic, "democratic" and "radical" flunkies of the bourgeoisie are brazenly distorting the anti-fascist slogans of the people's front, and are using them to deceive the masses of the people and to cover up the imperialist character of the war. Under the flag of "national unity" they have in fact established a common front with the capitalists, a front stretching from the Conservatives to the Labor leaders—in England, and from the Cagouards to the Socialists—in France.

The top leaders of the Social-Democratic parties and the reformist trade unions shamelessly took up front-rank posts in the camp of the imperialists from the very first day of the war. As long as the ruling classes of Britain and France had hopes of directing Germany's expansion against the Soviet Union and of utilizing the reactionary regime of the German bourgeoisie against the revolutionary working class movement, the Social-Democratic leaders stood for the policy of concessions to the desires of Germany. They preached "integral pacifism," fulminated against those who exposed the men of Munich, preached "peace at any price" and proposed the peaceful regulation of questions concerning the distribution of sources of raw materials, spheres of influence and colonies.

But when it became clear that German expansion was taking place not in the direction of the Soviet Union, but against the spheres of domination and the colonies of Britain and France, and that, on the other hand, the Soviet Union had no intention of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for them, the "socialist" pacifists became transformed into the most furious instigators of war. They directed the poisonous sting of their slander against the land of socialism, against the revolutionary workers and the Communist Parties.

The leading circles of the Second International are fulfilling the most filthy and criminal role in the blood-dripping slaughter machine of the war. They are deceiving the masses by their homilies regarding the anti-fascist character of the war and are helping the bourgeoisie to drive the peoples to the slaughter-house. The ruling classes well know that the masses of the people will not believe the British lords, the French bankers and their press when they try to convince them of the anti-fascist character of the war, and allege that it is being waged in defense of Poland and in the interests of their own peoples. In the war of 1914-1918 already the bourgeoisie was aware that without the assistance of Social-Democracy it would be unable to set alight the flames of chauvinism, to deceive the masses with the slogan of "the defense of the fatherland" and to drive them to the field of death for the sake of its imperialist interests. Now it is again placing great hopes on Social-Democracy.

The behavior of the leading circles of the Second International and their social-chauvinistic position in the war also throws a vivid light on the whole of their previous policy, the policy of stubbornly sabotaging unity in the ranks of the working class and its struggle directed toward averting the imperialist war. The Communist International did everything to unite, to rally together the forces of the working class for this end. It addressed to the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions a proposal for united action by the international proletariat against the Italian onslaught on Ethiopia. It proposed joint action by all working class organizations to repulse Japanese imperialism when it attacked the Chinese people. On numerous occasions, as everybody knows, it addressed a similar proposal for joint action in defense of the Spanish people. The Communists persistently pointed out at that time the policy of "non-intervention" was leading to the kindling of a new imperialist war. At the time of "Munich" the Communists strove to secure the establishment of a real front of the peoples, with the participation of the U. S. S. R., against the provokers of war. But the Social-Democratic leaders systematically disrupted all these efforts of the Communists.

It now becomes clear to all who do not wish to close their eyes to incontrovertible facts that it is precisely the Social-Democratic leaders—all these Blums and Paul Faures, Citrines, Atlees, Greenwoods, and De Brouckeres—who bear the *direct responsibility* for the fact that they, by disrupting the united actions of the international proletariat capable of preventing war, *rendered it possible for the bourgeoisie to doom millions of people to destruction for the sake of its mercenary interests.*

It is Blum and his confederates together with the British and French bourgeoisie who strangled Republican Spain by the policy of "non-intervention," supported the Munich "peacemakers" for the purpose of war against the Soviet Union, and

who now are demanding that the working people should go to their death for the restoration of the bankrupt reactionary state of the Polish landlords and capitalists.

It is he and his confederates who disrupted the united working class and People's Front in France and opened up the floodgates to the most furious bourgeois reaction against the working class. It is they, together with Jouhaux, who are now stabbing the French proletariat in the back, by splitting its united trade unions and placing them at the service of the war. It is Blum and his confederates who are now dragging the workers and peasants to shed their blood and die for the maintenance of the colonial domination of the British and French imperialists over the peoples of India, Morocco, Indo-China.

It is the Blums, the De Brouckeres, the British Labor leaders, together with the bourgeoisie of France and Britain who are taking up the discredited banner of the "Anti-Comintern" which the German National-Socialists were compelled by the force of circumstances to give up. It is the Social-Democratic Ministers of a number of countries who refused to sell arms to the Spanish people for its heroic struggle, and who now, behind the mask of neutrality, are assisting the war contractors in every way in their trade in the weapons of death, and are inflaming the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign.

It clearly follows from the above that *the Communists can have no united front whatsoever with those who are in a common front with the imperialists and support the criminal anti-popular war.* The working class and all working people have nothing in common with the Social-Democratic, "democratic" and "radical" politicians who are betraying the vital interests of the popular masses. *Between the masses of the people and these lackeys of imperialism lies the abyss of sanguinary war.*

But in the conditions of the war and of the crisis which it has called into being the need for working class unity and for rallying the wide masses of the working people around the working class rises more acutely than formerly. Millions of working people in the capitalist world, and above all in the warring countries, are vitally interested in bringing about militant working class unity and establishing a real popular front against the war let loose by the capitalists, against raging reaction and the unbridled plunder of the masses. And the Communists will not only not cease the struggle for unity of the proletarian ranks and for rallying together the masses of the working people, but will also increase their efforts tenfold in this direction.

However, the question now of bringing working class unity about and of creating a united popular front is raised in a new fashion. In the period preceding the war, the Communists strove to bring about united working class action by agreements between the Communist and Social-Democratic parties. Now such an agreement is no longer thinkable. In the present situation, working class unity can and must be achieved *from below*, on the basis of the development of the movement of the working masses themselves and in a resolute struggle against the treacherous leaders of the Social-Democratic parties. And this process will be facilitated to a great degree by the comradesly relations that have been established in recent years between the Communists and a considerable section of the Social-Democratic workers in the joint struggle against reaction and the war-makers.

It will also be facilitated by the fact that the Social-Democratic parties, under the weight of the criminal policy of their leaderships, will increasingly disintegrate, and the healthy proletarian section of these parties will join with the Communists in taking the path of struggle against the imperialist war and capitalism.

In the preceding period the Communists strove to secure the establishment of a united popular front by agreements with the Social-Democratic and other petty bourgeois "democratic" and "radical" parties in the person of their leading bodies, on the basis of a common platform of struggle against fascism and war. But to the extent that the top leaders of these parties have crossed over wholly and completely into the camp of the imperialists, while certain of them, such as the French Radicals, are directly in charge of the conduct of the war, there can be no question of such agreements. Now the mustering of the working class, of the basic masses of the peasantry, of the urban working folk and of the progressive intelligentsia can and must be brought about apart from and against the leadership of these parties, on the basis of the struggle against the imperialist war and reaction in a united front *from below*. *Such a united fighting front of the masses cannot be brought about without a most resolute struggle against the Social-*

Democratic, "democratic" and "radical" flunkys of imperialism, for the elimination of the influence of these agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement and for their isolation from the masses of the working people.

IV

History now faces the working class of the capitalist countries with tasks of enormous importance. They have to extricate millions of people from the abyss of war, to save their countries and peoples from ruin, devastation and destruction. Only the working class, taking the lead of the basic masses of the peasantry and the working people of the cities, is in a position resolutely to resist the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to put an end to their sanguinary criminal work and to do away once and for all with the causes giving rise to imperialist wars.

These tasks, which face the working class, are quite capable of fulfillment. Now, the forces of the international proletariat have grown immeasurably by comparison with the first imperialist war. Its vanguard detachment—the working class of the U. S. S. R.—has established an impregnable fortress of socialism. The existence of the Soviet Union multiplies the might of the working class of all the capitalist countries and fortifies their confidence in their own strength.

As distinct from the first imperialist war, the trust of the working masses in the bourgeoisie, in capitalism, has already at the beginning of the present war been considerably undermined and will continue increasingly to be undermined. The Social-Democratic leaders will not succeed for long in deceiving the masses, as they were able to do during the first imperialist war. Their treacherous policy, their anti-Communist, anti-Soviet drive, is already causing acute discontent in the ranks of the Social-Democratic parties themselves. As the war goes on, the indignation of the masses will grow and the anti-war movement will become increasingly extensive. The most furious persecution by the bourgeoisie is not in a position to hold up and stifle the struggle of the working people against the imperialist war.

The historic role of the Communist vanguard of the working class is at the present moment to organize and to take the lead of this struggle. If the Communists are to be able successfully to fulfill this role of theirs, they must show an example of the correct understanding of the essence of the present war and utterly smash the legend regarding its alleged anti-fascist, just character, so assiduously spread about by the Social-Democratic leaders. *Explain, explain and once again explain the real state of affairs to the masses*—this above all at the present moment is the most important condition for the mobilization of the masses for the struggle against the imperialist war and capitalist reaction.

The unfolding of a really wide movement against the imperialist war and reaction can only be successful if the Communists act and conduct the struggle in the very midst of the masses, keep a sharp watch as to their state of mind, take careful heed of their voice, and take their needs and sufferings to heart. The Communists must not run ahead. They must put forward slogans that correspond to the concrete situation, slogans that can be understood and grasped by the masses, they must always take the lead of the movement of the masses and lead them on to the solution of the maturing new tasks.

The present exceptionally serious situation demands of the Communists that they do not give way at all to repression and persecution, but come forward resolutely and courageously against the war, against the bourgeoisie of their own country, that they act in the way Lenin taught, in the way taught now by the great, wise leader of the working people, Stalin.

The Communist Parties must rapidly reorganize their ranks in accordance with the conditions of the war, purge their ranks of rotten, capitulatory elements, and establish iron Bolshevik discipline. They must concentrate the fire against opportunism, which is expressed in slipping into the position of "defending the fatherland," in support of the fairy tale about the anti-fascist character of the war, and in retreat before the acts of repression of the bourgeoisie. And the sooner the Communist Parties achieve all this, the better will they be able to carry through their independent leading role in the working class movement and the more successfully can they fulfill the tasks now facing them.

As the war goes on, all the Communist Parties, all working class organizations, all active workers are put to the supreme test. Individual weak elements, faint hearts will drop away at sharp turns. Elements alien to the working class, careerists, renegades, who have tacked themselves onto the Communist Party, will be thrown overboard. The Communist Parties as a whole will undoubtedly stand the test. They will become still better steeled in the coming battles.

New hundreds of thousands of fighters for the working class cause will fill the ranks of the army of communism.

The Communist Parties and the working class of the capitalist countries will be inspired by the heroic example of the Russian Bolsheviks, by the example of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which in 1914-1918 showed the proletariat the true way out of the war and subsequently secured the victory of socialism over one-sixth of the globe.

By holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, and strengthening the bonds of fraternal solidarity between the working class of all countries the Communists will thereby help all working people to fulfil their historic mission.

The imperialists of the warring countries have begun the war for a new partition of the earth, for world domination, dooming millions of peoples to destruction. The working class is called upon to put an end to the war after its own fashion, in its own interests, in the interests of the whole of laboring mankind and thereby to destroy once and for all the fundamental causes giving rise to imperialist wars.

OCTOBER, 1939.

EXHIBIT No. 164

[Source: The Sunday Worker, New York, March 5, 1939, page 2. From an article entitled, "Communist International Stands Guard Against Reaction—Pravda," quoting an editorial from Pravda, central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union]

* * * * *

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union always was and always will be a model, an example for the Communist Parties of all countries."

EXHIBIT No. 165

[Source: A leaflet published by the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A.: September, 1939]

DECLARATION OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR!

To the American People: Workers, Toiling Farmers, Middle Classes and Youth:

The war that has broken out in Europe is the Second Imperialist War. The ruling capitalist and landlord classes of all the belligerent countries are equally guilty for this war.

This war, therefore, cannot be supported by the workers. It is not a war against fascism, not a war to protect small nations from aggression, not a war with any of the character of a just war, not a war that workers can or should support. It is a war between rival imperialisms for world domination. The workers must be against this war. It is a war that threatens the American people as well as the peoples of the whole world.

The Nazi imperialists brazenly try to cover up their aggressive war and designs by claiming that Poland rejected their "peace terms" and provoked the war. This is a monstrous fascist deception and fraud.

The British-French warmongers and their apologists, on the other hand, cry out that Poland, martyred Poland, is the justification of this war, and the proof that their war must be supported by all lovers of peace, that they make war "to destroy Hitlerism." This is a hypocritical lie, one of those great historic lies which demand credence entirely on the grounds of their arrogance and their colossal dimensions.

This war is not being fought in defense of Poland. On the contrary, Poland was deliberately sacrificed by the British and French statesmen in order to provide the occasion for their predatory, robber, imperialist war.

The Polish government followed Chamberlain's dictation when it rejected the proposal of the Soviet Union for a joint British-French-Soviet guarantee to all victims of aggression, behind which guarantee the Red Army and Air Fleet would go into operation when necessary in the logical fields for such action—in those adjacent countries which might be invaded, including Poland. When Chamberlain rejected the only plan that could have saved the independence of Poland, he demonstrated for all men and for history that Britain cared nothing

for Poland except as an occasion for war, and a possible opportunity to turn Nazi military aggression against the Soviet borders.

German fascism—Nazism—the bloody dictatorship of monopoly capital, was nurtured and ushered into power by Chamberlain and his class. For years Chamberlain had been speculating upon a German-Soviet war; for this he helped Hitler to power and to rearm Germany; for this he accepted the fortification of the Rhineland; for this he approved the rape of Austria; for this he sacrificed Czechoslovakia; for this he helped strangle the Spanish Republic; for this he handed Ethiopia and Albania to Mussolini; for this he destroyed the League of Nations; for this he meekly accepted humiliation and injury from the Japanese imperialists in the Far East and abandoned China to their mercies; and finally for this he threw Poland to the fascist wolves.

Why did the Polish government lend itself to this scheme which results in its own destruction? Because this Polish government was itself fascist in character; because for years it has been involved in all plots for the destruction of the Soviet Union; because up until a few months ago it was itself in closest communion with the Nazi government, and participated with it in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia; because it followed the Nazi policy of persecution of the Jews; because it was a government of corrupt and tyrannous landlords and bourgeoisie, not only oppressing and robbing the Polish people, but also oppressing subject nationalities within its own borders numbering more than one-third of the total population. Such a government could not defend Poland.

This government of the Polish "colonels" and landlords has broken up and fled the country at the first impact of war, abandoning the peoples to helplessness and destruction. In this situation the Soviet Union has met its responsibility to its own security, to its immediate neighbors connected by territory and nationality, and to the cause of world peace, by moving the Red Army into Western Ukraine and Byelo-Russia, while proclaiming its neutrality in the war, and its aim in securing peace and protection for the peoples abandoned by their former rulers.

We Communists, of America and all countries, wanted and did everything in our power to bring about the formation of a real anti-fascist front, with the participation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and the United States. Not only we, but all serious advocates of the Peace Front, knew and declared that without the U. S. S. R. any self-styled peace front would be only a huge fraud, a mask for a new predatory imperialist war. But the Tory coalition in the United States blocked American support, and the British and French statesmen rejected the U. S. S. R. participation just because they wanted, not a peace front, but a new predatory war to achieve a new Versailles and a new Munich.

The U. S. S. R., the only great nation with a consistent peace record, the only nation which kept faith with China, Spain and Czechoslovakia, strong in its magnificently growing socialist economy, its solid inner unity based upon abolition of classes and free cooperation of its component family of nations, and its powerful Red Army, Navy and Air Fleet, repulsed from its desired role of helping organize world peace, in which for years it fought alone without a single great power coming to its support, demonstrated that it was entirely capable of protecting its own peace, thereby making a contribution to the peace of the world. The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, whereby the Nazi government renounced its long-standing agreement with Chamberlain under which they promised to destroy the U. S. S. R. in return for British help in rearmament and destruction of other nations, exposed the final debacle of Chamberlain's "appeasement" policy.

This victory for peace of the Soviet Union, now being followed by cessation of hostilities on her eastern borders, tremendously improved the international position of the U. S. S. R. itself and also strengthened the position of the working class and all true democratic forces everywhere. It created the conditions for the people of the United States to keep America out of the imperialist war, and to promote in a new way the aim of a peaceful and orderly world. The U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R., despite their contrasting economic and political systems, are now in a position, more than ever before, to collaborate for the common interests of their peoples, which are the interests of the masses of all countries.

The outbreak of the Second Imperialist War, which for years has been developing as a one-sided war, fundamentally changes the situation hitherto existing. All issues and alignments are being re-examined and re-evaluated in the light

of these changes. The previous alignment into democratic and fascist camps loses its former meaning. The democratic camp today consists, first of all, of those who fight against the imperialist war. The preconditions have been created for the destruction of fascism by the German people themselves. The Axis is broken, and British imperialism works feverishly to incorporate its disconnected parts into her war system, trying to transform the war into a general anti-Soviet war. Democracy in Britain and France, long in eclipse, suffers a "blackout" which can be lifted only when the working class, leading the nation, defeats the predatory aims of their ruling classes.

Communists in all the belligerent countries are exposing the imperialist and predatory character of the war, they will vote against war credits, they go among the soldiers at the fronts and the masses at home explaining that this war will bring the people nothing but misery, burdens, destruction and death.

The United States must keep out of any involvement in this imperialist war, or in the rivalries and antagonisms from which it arose. The people must demand that the President's promise that this country will not be involved shall be kept inviolate, and they must be constantly on guard against the powerful forces at work in our land toward such involvement. Equally must we be on guard against the hidden enemies of peace, who hide themselves behind loud protestations that we must "keep out of war" while advancing policies that prepare to get us in war. Such, for example, are Coughlin, Hearst and Lindbergh, decorated by Hitler for his services in bringing Munich to its disastrous consummation a year ago, who now comes forward as spokesman for that section of the reactionary camp which, demanding the retention of the Neutrality Act, has other plans for profiting from and finally involving America in the war. Such, on the other hand, are those spokesmen of the same camp who demand the repeal or revision of the Act for the purpose of United States help to British and French imperialism, and thereby drawing America into the war. Such are the gentleman who have been piling up profits by supplying to Japan more than half of all the materials for her war against China, one of the most shameful pages in American history.

In the United States Congress, as it meets in special session September 21, the issue of keeping our country out of the imperialist war will be presented in a most distorted form. Enormous efforts will be made to convince that 90 per cent of the people who demand at all costs that America keep out of the war, that retaining the Neutrality Act will do the job for them, or else, on the contrary, that repealing or revising the Act will do it.

Both claims are lies and hypocrisy. On both sides of this issue are warmongers and their agents, with plans carefully laid out to utilize the decision, whichever way it goes, as the starting point for dragging America into the war. And also on both sides of the issue are masses of workers, farmers and middle classes, who are of one deep and fervent desire and opinion, that America can and must keep out of this disastrous and fruitless war, but who are divided and set to fighting one another over the false issue of whether to keep the Neutrality Act, revise it, or repeal it. But not this one position or the other will help keep America out of this war, while the divisions upon these unreal questions will help no one but the warmakers.

The task of the day in the United States is to overcome the artificial divisions among the peace forces, that set them fighting among themselves, and to bring them into a united front against the warmakers who stand on all sides of these confused issues. The Neutrality Act, which in the past played the reactionary role of helping strangle the Spanish Republic, and of keeping America's influence from helping realize that real Peace Front for which we fought so long and so hard, is now, with the destruction of the Peace Front possibility, and the outbreak of the imperialist war, no longer an important or decisive issue. It serves only to distort the real issues, to clutter up the political scene, and bring confusion instead of a clear program to the masses of the people who seek the road to peace.

Hammering out a real peace program for the United States, one that will really guarantee keeping America from involvement, we must keep two guiding thoughts in mind: First, allow no single measure to be taken for purposes of giving American help to either side of the imperialist conflict; second, find the most effective means of keeping out of the war, without any regard to whether these means incidentally happen to confer some small advantage to one side or the other. These two guiding thoughts are inseparable; in every concrete issue,

they will help us decide what is best for the American people; neglect of one would soon destroy the effectiveness of the other.

In an entirely different category must be considered the question of aid to China. The great Chinese people are fighting a war of national liberation, a just war, in which not only American sympathy but its national interests demand all possible aid be given.

Especially must we beware of the war propaganda which is being spread by the Social-Democrats, Trotskyites and Lovestoneites of this and every other country, who helped prepare the war by disrupting working class unity, nationally and internationally. These Judas creatures talk in the name of socialism, but have begun openly to agitate for war against the Soviet Union, the land where socialism has been realized for the first time in history. Their whole course has been one of assistance to Chamberlain, for whose crimes they are jointly responsible, and which they have defended. They are among the most dangerous enemies of American peace, they are among the most vicious and insidious who would drag our country into the imperialist war.

American national and social security today require, first of all, to keep our country out of the imperialist war. Only the people's fight to keep America out of the imperialist war will make it possible to maintain and improve such measures of social security as we now have; only the fight for greater social security and democracy can strengthen the security of our nation and save us from the horrors of fascism and war.

This is a period of great social convulsions and catastrophes, sudden changes and transformations, when history is running with the speed of the airplane and radio instead of the old seven-league boots. The workers and all toilers must be prepared to meet and adjust themselves to sudden changes in their situation and problems, to unite their forces on the broadest scale, to promote the democratic alliance of workers, farmers and middle classes with labor's initiative in this alliance, to make sharp changes in demands, alignments and tactics, that may be required by the social convulsions that a rotten and dying capitalist system inflicts upon the people. A determined struggle will be necessary to preserve civil liberties and living standards against reactionary attacks already launched.

On the road of struggle against the imperialist war, the struggle for the maintenance of national and social security, for jobs, security, democracy and peace, the working class and toiling masses of America will begin to advance seriously and on a mass scale toward the establishment of a new system, without classes and without exploitation, in which the economy of the country is the common property of all and used for the common good—that is, a socialist system—which alone will abolish forever exploitation, oppression, unemployment, poverty, fascism and war, and realize all the best dreams of mankind for a happy world.

In this grave hour of crisis, when American peace and democracy are at stake, the Communist Party of the United States of America, now as in the past, pledges all of its efforts and strength to promote unity of action of labor and the working people to:

Keep America Out of the Imperialist War! For America's National and Social Security!

Build the Democratic Unity of the American People Against Imperialist War, Fascism and Monopoly Capitalist Reaction!

Forge the Democratic Alliance of the Workers, Toiling Farmers and Middle Classes Against the Economic Royalists and Imperialists Warmakers! Protect and Improve Living Standards, Democratic Liberties, and the Right to Organize and to Strike!

United Labor as the Bulwark of the Nation, Democracy and Peace!

Strengthen the Unity of the Democratic Forces of the Americas for Peace, National Freedom and Real Good Neighbor Relations!

Give Maximum Support to China and to all Oppressed Peoples in Their Struggle Against Imperialism and Fascism, for Freedom and National Independence!

Support the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union—the Land of Socialist Democracy, Progress, Peace and National Liberation!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

WM. Z. FOSTER, National Chairman

EARL BROWDER, General Secretary

EXHIBIT No. 166

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4307]

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Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, is the most authoritative definition or statement on the present line of the Communist Party set forth in *The United Front*, by Dimitroff?

Mr. BROWDER. I would say that is the most authoritative statement of the general line of the World Communist movement as formulated by the Seventh World Congress in 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would also like to have that identified.

(The book above referred to was marked "September 5, 1939. Witness Browder, W. R. G.")

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Dimitroff is the secretary of the executive committee of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right. He is general secretary of the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. His position with the Communist International corresponds to your position with the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And his book represents—it is the best representation of the present line of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER. In its international phase; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In its international phase?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

EXHIBIT No. 167

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4308]

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Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, is the Communist Party of the United States affiliated with and a part of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. The Communist Party of the United States is affiliated with the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 168

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4309. Statement by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A.]

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Mr. BROWDER. Well, we have reported, in the period in which I can speak of my own personal knowledge, at the international congresses and conferences in person. Most of those since 1930 I have myself attended, and I have given oral reports to all of my associates of the other Communist Parties, both in personal conversations and in formal meetings of the Communist International. I have spoken about American conditions and problems, and tried to explain them and to make clear these problems and conditions, and also the attitude of the Communist Party of the United States to them.

EXHIBIT No. 169

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4310. Statement by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A.]

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Mr. BROWDER. So far as the political essence of the problem is concerned, there is the closest harmony between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 170

[Source: Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4310. Statement by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A.]

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Mr. THOMAS. You said the closest harmony existed between the Communist Party in the United States and the Communist International. That is the statement you just made; is not that correct?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. That is true; is it not?

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

Mr. THOMAS. What I want to know is whether the closest harmony exists right today, now that Mr. Stalin has made his non-aggression pact with Mr. Hitler, that did not exist a few weeks ago?

Mr. BROWDER. I understand your question now. Yes. Yes; the closest harmony and agreement exists.

EXHIBIT No. 171

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

TAKE YOUR CHOICE WAR AS IN APRIL 1917, OR THIS IN APRIL 1940 JOBS—PEACE

A Job, marriage, a home, security, civil liberties and peace; OR Shell-shock, gas, an armless body, a grave in some "Flanders Field." You've got to make that choice—RIGHT NOW!

THINGS DON'T LOOK SO HOT

Here's news that's not in the papers. These days the Stockyards, Harvester, Steel mills in South Chicago and Gary, are firing, not hiring. Five million unemployed youth tramp the streets, looking for work. In the richest country in the world, it doesn't have to be this way. Jobs can be made for all.

Yet, President Roosevelt's budget cuts down the WPA, NYA, CCC, and aid to the farmers—to the bone. In April, 14,800 WPA workers will be laid off in Illinois. One third of the NYA students at the University of Chicago will soon be laid off.

NEGRO AND WHITE UNITE

The plight of the Negro Youth is even worse. Fifty per cent of all the unemployed Negro people are young. Those who work receive the district jobs for the lowest wages. A recent NYA survey reveals that they receive an average pay of \$9.06 a week, \$3.50 less than their white brothers. They're forced to live in firetraps and pay Goldcoast rents. They're packed into overcrowded schools. Motion pictures like "Gone with the Wind," which are a disgrace to real Americanism, slander and insult the whole Negro people.

JOBS, NOT GUNS—PEACE, NOT WAR

While President Roosevelt and Congress kicked the jobs and public works program out the window, they have increased the war-budget to over \$574,000,000. While twelve million unemployed Americans suffer privation, President Roosevelt joined hands with Hoover, sending public funds to Mannerheim.

At the same time he is maneuvering for loans to the Allies, going to bat for the profit-crazy gang that runs the banks and war industries of our country. He panned the American Youth Congress for condemning loans to the stooge for American, British and French financiers—Mannerheim. He said that the idea that loans could involve our country in war was "Twaddle."

Run up to the Hines Memorial Hospital on the far West Side. Ask the first armless vet you meet what he thinks about "Twaddle."

It was just 23 years ago, this April, that our country entered the First World War. Then, young men gave up their jobs, their farms, their schools, their

homes, their sweethearts and wives and—their lives. Why did they go? President Wilson told them "It's a war to save the world for Democracy." "It's a war to end all wars." When those who were lucky returned, they said "Never again."

THE HIGH COST OF KILLING

It cost the United States \$22,000,000,000 to help kill 10,000,000,000 soldiers and wound 22,000,000 others; 18,000 new American millionaires made \$12,000 profit on each dead soldier. When those who came back tried to get jobs, they got the run-around. "What do you mean, jobs?" they were asked. "What jobs?" Then the boys found out that while the war lasted, a war industry had been built up. When it ended, the whole setup collapsed. The workers gained nothing, the rich, made profits.

THIS TIME—THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING

We are young. We want to live a decent life. As long as imperialist war continues to exist and spread into other sections of this globe, our own peace is in danger. The whole American people, especially the young people, want Peace. We want to keep this country out of the present imperialist conflict in Europe. We join hands with the American Youth Congress—voice of 5,000,000 young men and women—who sang—"We're not so green as the boys in '17." We join hands with the whole labor movement and others who have raised the slogan "The Yanks are NOT coming." No, we want a useful job over here, not a useless death over there.

THE RED ARMY CLOSES THE DOOR ON IMPERIALIST WAR

Have you been following the papers? You must have been puzzled. The rich: the Roosevelts, the Chamberlains and Daladiers, have been disappointed in the Soviet-Finnish Peace. Those who have sold-down-the-river Austria, Ethiopia, China, Czechoslovakia, and Spain—those who oppress the people in Ireland and India now speak about Soviet "harshness." They wanted this war to spread so it would involve all of the Scandinavian countries, spread into the Balkan and Near East countries, a war that would involve ALL countries, including our own. The same papers that shout for economy at the expense of the people, that cry for even more cuts in the WPA, NYA, that urge anti labor legislation—are howling against the Soviet Union. They, however, cannot hide the fact that the Soviet-Finnish peace has narrowed down the theatre of war—and has prevented Sweden and Norway from becoming involved in the European war.

FOR LIFE WITH A PURPOSE

We have a life ahead of us—for we are young. Things may look bad, but we know "He who has Youth has the Future." What kind of a future are we looking forward to? We know the burning desire of all young people to rid our country of war, unemployment and hunger can come about only when there will be no one to make profit from our sweat, when the land and factories will be run by the people who work them, when our country will really belong to the people who inhabit it. This is our desire—this is our goal. This is called Socialism. This is the system they have established in the Soviet Union. Today, the Soviet Union is the land of real opportunity for all. This is the only country in the world where the workers rule.

JOIN THE ARMY

Are you strong and healthy? Join the "Army"—an army for jobs and peace. We do not want to destroy—we want to build. We must build ourselves in the first place. **WE MUST GET JOBS, OR HELP FROM THE GOVERNMENT, UNTIL WE DO.** We support the American Youth Act—an act that will help give young people jobs. We demand that the Governor call a special session of the State legislature to take up the need of our unemployed. We need more democracy here.

JOIN NOW

This is what we stand for. It is for that reason we are called 'RED.' We would much rather speak our own minds and be called "Reds" than suffer in

silence. We support the Communist Party, because it is the only party that fights against this War, for Jobs, for the People, for Socialism. They are trying to shut us up. They are trying to send some of the leaders to jail. But they cannot destroy us. Thousands are joining our ranks. We advise you to think through our message. We would like to hear your opinions. But we say: **FOR LIFE WITH A PURPOSE JOIN US.**

Issued by the Young Communist League of Illinois and Lake County, Indiana.

EXHIBIT No. 172

[Source: An excerpt from an original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

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WAR BULLETIN

Thursday, November 23, 1939, Vol. 1—No. 4

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING

WANT TO DIE? WALL STREET NEEDS DOUGH

The wolves of Wall Street are wearing some of their very best sheep's clothing these days, but their bleat that business doesn't want war profits is the phoniest cry since Chamberlain at Munich said he had won "peace in our time."

Big Business lives on profits. And it doesn't care whether it gets them by killing workers on the picket lines or the front lines, on Memorial Day at Chicago's Republic Steel plant or any day on Flanders Fields.

Big Business is already tasting blood in the European imperialist war, and, to insure that war trade, it is trying its vilest to drag the United States into it.

The Associated Press reports that corporation earnings Sept. 30, were at a rate more than 55 per cent greater than a year ago. It also reports that Federal Government figures show business in mid-November actually at the all-time "prosperity" peak reached in 1929.

As John L. Lewis has pointed out, however, workers and farmers are the losers in any war, and even right now are getting swindled of their share in the increased industrial activity.

Wall Street doesn't want to kill the goose that's laying its golden eggs, and that is why it whipped Senators and Congressmen of both parties into line to repeal the embargo clause of the Neutrality Act and open wider the gates of trade with those countries, England and France, who are prolonging the conflict.

Published by Communist Party of Massachusetts, 15 Essex Street, Boston—
Phil Frankfeld, Editor

EXHIBIT No. 173

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

TO EVERY YOUNG MAN AND WOMAN IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

ON GUARD!

Youth Wants No Part of the War

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING

The old song and dance is on. President Roosevelt, aided and supported by reactionary forces, wants to convince us that the time has come when we have to prepare to go to war again "to save the world for Western civilization." Instead of calling the American people to help put out the "four-alarm fire," he's proposing to add fuel to it—in the form of the lives of thousands of us in another bloodbath.

They are pouring out lies and half-truths by the ton. They are deliberately making it appear that there is nothing left but to give full support to the Allies and prepare to fight if necessary. They are deliberately flammng the will of the American people to keep out of war, expressed in hundreds of ways in recent years, and shown this year in the tremendous April 6th peace demonstrations, April 19th student strikes and resolutions and actions of hundreds of groups, especially in the labor movement. They are stopping at nothing and using every trick in the bag to incite and inflame us to plunge into the war.

The "boogey-man" story about Hitler being around the corner is a fake. It is being conjured up by Roosevelt and the reactionary press to blackmail the American people into agreeing to billions of dollars in loans and war materials to the Allies and to a big army and navy so that a better war can be waged. Hitler's victories have been exaggerated by the newspapers with a definite aim in mind. There have been no decisive battles yet; and it is more likely that it is part of the Allied campaign designed to scare America into plunging headlong into the war. The early German victories in the last war did not mean a final victory. The danger is not that Hitler will come over here; this is a deliberate falsehood. The danger is rather that we will again be tricked into going over there.

It is wrong to believe that there is nothing left except to support the Allies. There is plenty left. We can keep out of this war. We can refuse to take sides. We can refuse to supply any military means or money to either side. We can exert all the force at our command to stop the war in Europe. The Allies, the Churchills and Chamberlains, the Reynauds and Daladiers are as guilty as Hitler, having nurtured Hitler and paved his way all during the past years. To support the Allies means to support the same forces of imperialism and war mongering that Hitler represents in Germany. Some believe that there is very little the people can do now. Remember the last war. The people did finally have their say and they said plenty. In Germany, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Finland and in America the people spoke out against war. In Russia they took matters in their own hands, kicked out the war makers and stopped the needless slaughter. They removed the profit system from which imperialist war arises and have built a society devoted only to the peace, freedom and prosperity of its people—a socialist society. Don't think that because one reads only about Hitler or Churchill, Reynaud or Roosevelt, that they speak fully for the people of their countries. The people of France and England, of Germany, of India, Ireland, the Balkans, the Lowlands have yet to speak. Despite government repression, the people's opposition to the war is being felt. In England and France hundreds of unions, youth organizations and the co-operatives have condemned the war as imperialist and are fighting against it. The underground movement in Germany has intensified its fight against the war. They will tell the war-mongers off in no uncertain terms. They will throw the Churchills and Hitlers and their like into the garbage can of history and build lands and a Europe freed from perpetual murder and war. The youth already on the battlefields of Europe say to us: "Keep out of this war and help us get out of the trenches!"

The issue now is to stop the war, to do everything in our power to see that America is not drawn in. The job now is to work hard to guarantee that nothing is done that will lead to the slaughter of thousands of us on European battlefronts.

On guard, youth of Southern California! Beware of the lies in the press. Organize yourselves now and make your voice heard against those who would plunge us into a war. Don't be fooled by sweet words and past records. Any government leader has to be measured by today's needs and not those of yesterday. Any one in American public life who works to bring America into the war in any form is guilty of the highest treason to the American people and has to be defeated in his efforts. Drown Washington in protest against the war preparations and war enactment!

Not a man, not a cent, not a gun for imperialist war and military purposes—all funds for the improvement of the conditions of the poor, the aged, the unemployed, the sick, for improved education and housing. Let the money be devoted to giving youth a decent chance in life by passing the American Youth Act now before Congress.

We, Young Communists, are part of the young generation of America. We love our country, and because we do, we don't want to see its youth torn to pieces on a foreign battlefield for the profits of war-makers. The reaction-

aries can rave and rant but we stand fast and pledge our every effort together with the American people, that America will not be sucked in.

Youth Wants No Part of the War!

Issued by Young Communist League, 124 W. 6th St., Room 605, Los Angeles, California

EXHIBIT No. 174

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

YOUNG AMERICA DEMONSTRATE ON MAY DAY!

MAY FIRST, International Labor Day, grew out of the great struggle of the American workers for the eight-hour day. On this day, we, the American people, youth and adult, declare:

"THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING—WE WANT WORK, NOT WAR!"

ROOSEVELT STANDS FOR HUNGER AND WAR

His budget slashed N. Y. A., C. C. C. and W. P. A. but gave 2 billions for the Army and Navy. Only the protest of the American Youth Congress, the trade unions, and progressives forced the House of Representatives to add \$69,000,000 to N. Y. A. and C. C. C. and cut \$68,000,000 from Roosevelt's war appropriation.

WHAT ABOUT MAYOR LA GUARDIA?

He begged the City Council to cut funds from education and relief. This means more over-crowded schools, fewer playgrounds and swimming pools, etc. La Guardia labored to make our city an OPEN SHOP town by his attack on the Transport Workers Union. He cooperated to permit the bankers to filch over \$512,000,000 profit from the subways. Furthermore, the Coudert-Moffat Bill authorizing a higher fare was introduced in the State Assembly at La Guardia's request. This would mean an increase in the family budget of one to two months rent money over a year's time.

Their tune is "Johnny Get Your Gun," but Young America will not be starved into the imperialist war! NOW YOUNG AMERICA IS OUT TO PASS THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT. This provides for jobs for young people at trade union wages with the money to come out of the huge Roosevelt war budget.

ROOSEVELT SAYS IT'S "A WAR FOR DEMOCRACY"

Is it to make America and the world "safe for democracy" that Roosevelt and Wall Street supply the Japanese militarists with the war materials being used against China? Is that why in all his speeches he incites against the Soviet Union, a country with which we are at peace?

And what about democracy at home?

Why are lynching, the Ku Klux Klan, the denial of the right to vote to 11 million Southerners, and oppression of the Negro people OK'd by Roosevelt and the Republicans? Why do they give the green "go-ahead" signal by their conspiracy to kill the anti-lynching bill and anti Poll Tax Bill? Why the gang-up to destroy the Labor Relations Act? Why is the Sherman anti-Trust Law being used to bust the unions and not the trusts? Why does Roosevelt imitate Hitler and Daladier in his attacks on the Communists?

Since when have the overlords of the British and French empires become the champions of democracy? Who but the imperialists would have the impudence to claim that the enslavers of Ireland, India, Palestine, Africa, Indo-China, and Morocco are fighting a "war for democracy and the independence of small nations"? Who but the so-called "Socialists," Norman Thomas, Leon Blum, Atee, would sell themselves to the imperialists by telling the workers this is a "just" war? Didn't Britain's mining of Norwegian waters in violation of her neutrality spread the war to Scandinavia by bringing on the German invasion? Wasn't Britain prepared to move in, even if Hitler hadn't?

Both sides, the Allies and Germany, are guilty and we cannot we must not—support either side.

Roosevelt is out to pull a "Woodrow Wilson." If his or Republican policies are pursued, it means America's involvement in the European war. Already he speaks of extending the Monroe Doctrine to Iceland and Greenland, bringing us closer to the theatre of war.

WE, THE FORGOTTEN YOUTH, MUST JOIN TOGETHER UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE POWERFUL AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT TO ORGANIZE A MIGHTY ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT—AN ANTI-WAR FARMER-LABOR PARTY FOR JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE.

SOVIET UNION FIGHTS FOR PEACE

The great land of socialism, established by the workers and farmers, firmly pursues the fight for peace. It is the best ally of the American people. The Soviet Union is truly neutral. It defended the cause of peace and the interests of its Socialist state by destroying the British-made Mannerheim Line, thus putting an end to the Anglo-French and American Imperialist war instigators, and securing the independence of Finland. Contrast the Soviet Union's non-aggression pact with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which have helped to keep these small neutral nations out of the war and Britain's guarantee to Norway which dragged that country into the war.

This peace policy of the Soviet Union is possible because it is a nation where Socialism exists. Socialism means that the workers and farmers own the country and its riches. There are no capitalists to solve their difficulties by the bloody profit of war. There is no unemployment, poverty or race hatred there. Young people study and go to school and get paid a salary while doing it. The wealth, rising production, rising standard of living of the U. S. S. R., in contrast to the misery of capitalism, is the final answer to the desire of America's youth for jobs, peace and civil liberties.

**YOUNG AMERICA—MARCH ON MAY DAY TO: PASS THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT!
DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS! FOR JOBS NOT GUNS! KEEP AMERICA OUT OF
THE IMPERIALIST WAR!**

Hear Earl Browder, Friday, May 3, 7:30 p. m. Royal Windsor,
69 West 66th Street

EXHIBIT No. 175

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

* * * * *

Hey Buddy!

Did you read about it? Roosevelt just ordered your uniform, plus 999,999 other khaki collins. He's got your size so you don't have to worry. He expects you soon. In fact if the Plattsburg Group (Leading business men who were instrumental in bringing America into the last war) have *their* way, you are getting into that uniform *sooner* because they want universal *compulsory* military training. (That means YOU.) And if the Herald Tribune has *its* way, you will get that uniform *tonight*, because they say, "The least costly solution, in both life and welfare, would be to declare war on Germany *at once*."

It won't cost you much, the treat is on them—\$3,500,000,000 and all you chip in is your life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Yes, it's a wonderful party. We're all friends now. Hoover likes Roosevelt and Alf Landon gets invited to a White House luncheon.

But weren't the Republicans worried about balancing the budget? Well, F. D. R. is making them happy. He cuts \$1,000,000,000 from PWA and WPA, \$75,000,000 from NYA and the CCC and \$400,000,000 from the AAA.

The Hoover boys were afraid that the unions were getting too strong. Leave it to Frankie. His "New Deal" phonies are trying to bring up crippling amendments to the NLRA, the Wages and Hours Law and Thurman Arnold is union-busting in the name of trust-busting!

Or are you afraid business has no confidence in government? It has. Why not? Some 250 corporations just announced \$272,000,000 net profits for first three months of 1940, a 50% increase over 1939. Not bad? Eh sucker?

Or are you a sucker? "The American White Paper" by Alsop and Kintner, giving unadmitted statements by Roosevelt reveals a White House "... nervousness concerning the determination of the American people for peace."

You bet they're nervous. From all corners of America, individuals, unions, youth groups are writing to Washington:

"THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!"

"No Loans, No Credits, No Munitions to the Belligerents!"

"Work not War! . . . Pass the American Youth Act!"

Come on buddy, join in and help give the war-mongers a nervous breakdown. Write to Roosevelt tonight and tell him you're not going to war. And tell him again!

"THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!"

Yours for peace,

Club Lincoln

Young Communist League

P. S.—Read the Daily and Sunday Worker,* It's your paper.

EXHIBIT No. 176

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

BILLION \$ BLITZKRIEG ON OUR PEACE!

President Roosevelt's speech to the special joint session of Congress brought the U. S. closer to the brink of war than at any time since 1917.

The President asked for an "Emergency" Arms Program amounting to \$1,182,000,000—and whipped up an already war-frenzied Congress to a new peak of hysteria.

On the same day, the NEW YORK HERALD/TRIBUNE, former enemy of Roosevelt and the New Deal, openly joined forces with him in declaring: "THE LEAST COSTLY SOLUTION, IN BOTH LIFE AND WELFARE, WOULD BE TO DECLARE WAR ON GERMANY AT ONCE!"

PEACE IS AMERICA'S BEST DEFENCE!!!

PEOPLE OF JACKSON HEIGHTS—PARENTS, TAXPAYERS, WORKERS, YOUTH!

Here is what Wilson's solution got us in 1917-18:

1. Killed and died-----	126,000
Wounded-----	234,000
Total-----	350,000

(Total killed in all countries: 8,358,000—wounded, 21,210,000)

- Prices of daily necessities rose from 50 to 100 per cent.
- The people were saddled with the 10 billion dollar debt on which the Allies had defaulted and on which Wall St. Collected.
- The people inherited an economic crisis immediately after the war, which inevitably laid the basis for the overwhelming crisis of 1929 and for the unemployment reaching 12,000,000 today.
- 18,000 new millionaires were created.
- The profits of American corporations increased in the years 1916-18 by 5 billion dollars over their profits of 1914-16.
- American imperialism seized profitable trade from its rivals, winning domination of the Canadian and Latin-American markets—a domination which it hopes to expand today into a world empire.

WE HAVE THE STRENGTH TO KEEP AMERICA OUT!

IN THE NAME OF DEFENSE—DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT STAY OUT OF WAR!!

That it advance the living standards of its people! That it feeds America and starves the war! That it refuses all aid to the belligerents! That it co-operates with the Soviet Union in its efforts to extend Peace by limiting and stopping the War!

**WRITE OR WIRE YOUR CONGRESSMAN AND THE PRESIDENT—CIRCULATE PETITIONS
PROPOSE RESOLUTIONS IN YOUR ORGANIZATIONS!**

**DEFEATISM IS TREASON—WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE!—THE YANKS ARE NOT
COMING!!!!!!**

**Lincoln Club of the Young Communist League—99-16 Forty-third Ave., Corona,
L/I/N/Y/**

EXHIBIT No. 177

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

THE YANKS NOT COMING

MAY DAY MASS MEETING

On the Stage . . . See the Historic Struggle of Labor . . . in Song—Dance—Drama

AGAINST WAR!

Hear: William Schniedermau, Pettis Perry, Paul Cline

Embassy Auditorium, Ninth and Grand, May 1st 1940 Wed. 8 p. m.

Admission 25c & 35c. Auspices Los Angeles Communist Party. 124 W. 6th, L. A.

EXHIBIT No. 178

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

AMERICANS WANT PEACE

FATHERS:

Remember 1917! You were led into war to "save democracy." The same forces which persuaded you then are trying to do the same now. France and England are pictured again as the saviors of democracy. But didn't they betray democracy in Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Palestine, Czechoslovakia, and now China? They did it in 1917. They would do it again today. **DEMONSTRATE FOR PEACE ON MAY DAY.**

MOTHERS:

Remember your own mothers who gave up sons in 1917 to be maimed and killed. Don't let the same thing happen to you. Do you want to be a Gold Star Mother? Campaign for neutrality. Protest against loans and credits to France and England. Loans and credits get us deeper into war. **FIGHT FOR PEACE FOR OUR HUSBANDS AND SONS. MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD ON MAY DAY.**

YOUTH:

War is facing you. Don't become cannon fodder. Protect civil liberties to insure peace. An attack against civil liberties is the forerunner of fascism, anti-semitism, and finally war. **UNITE WITH PROGRESSIVE FORCES ON MAY DAY.**

EVERYBODY:

Be neutral.

Join in a protest for peace.

Shout to the world "The Yanks are not coming."

Make your protest stronger at the **May Day Mass Meeting at RUSSELL HALL, 306 NORTH 52nd STREET, Wednesday, April 24th, 1940. Speakers—CARL REEVE—MAUDE WHITE.**

KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF WAR.

**NO LOANS TO ANY BELLIGERENT COUNTRY. LOANS ARE THE ROAD TO WAR.
REMEMBER 1917.**

DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF THE DIES COMMITTEE
ALL OUT MAY 1st AT REYBURN PLAZA

Issued by the 34th Ward, Communist Party

EXHIBIT No. 179

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

* * * * *
MARCH MAY DAY TO: PASS THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT!—DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS!—FOR WORK, NOT WAR!—FOR JOBS, SECURITY, CIVIL LIBERTY, AND PEACE!—KEEP AMERICA OUT OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR!

On May First, International Labor Day, we the American people, youth-adult, declare: "THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING—WE WANT WORK, NOT WAR!"

Roosevelt stands for hunger and war. His budget slashed NYA, CCC, and WPA, but gave 2 billions for the Army and Navy. What about Mayor La Guardia? He begged the City Council to cut funds from education and to slash relief. This means more over-crowded schools, fewer playgrounds and swimming pools, etc.

Yes, the tune of these Wall Street politicians is: "Johnny Get Your Gun." But Young America will not be starved into the imperialist war! NOW YOUNG AMERICA IS OUT TO PASS THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT, providing jobs and education for youth. The Yanks of 1940 are going to fight a war for democracy right here at home, for the passage of the Anti-Lynching and Anti-Poll Tax Bills, for the defense of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, against the infamous use of the Anti-Trust Laws to bust the unions, against FDR's insidious attempt to pull a Woodrow Wilson on the American people. WE, THE FORGOTTEN YOUTH, ARE JOINING TOGETHER UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE POWERFUL AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT TO ORGANIZE A MIGHTY ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT—AN ANTI-WAR FARMER-LABOR PARTY FOR JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE.

In this struggle, the best ally of the American people is the Soviet Union. The great land of Socialism, established by the workers and farmers, firmly pursues the fight for peace. It is truly neutral. It defended the cause of peace and the interests of its Socialist state by destroying the British-made Mannerheim Line, thus putting an end to the Anglo-French and American war instigators, and securing the independence of Finland. Contrast the Soviet Union's non-aggression pact with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania which have helped to keep these small neutral nations out of the war and Britain's guarantee to Norway which dragged that country into war.

This peace policy of the Soviet Union is possible because it is a nation where Socialism exists. Under Socialism, the workers and farmers own the country and its riches. There are no capitalists to solve their difficulties by the bloody profit of war. There is no unemployment, poverty, or race hatred there. Young people study and go to school and get paid a salary while doing it. The wealth, rising production, rising standard of living of the U.S.S.R., in contrast to the misery of capitalism, is the final answer of America's youth for jobs, peace, and civil liberties.

Youth of Washington Heights March on May Day. Come to 36 St. & 9 Ave. at 4:30 P.M. Hear Earl Browder, Royal Windsor, 59 W. 66 St., Friday, May 3, 7:30 P.M.

FORT GEORGE CLUB YCL 521 W. 179 ST.

EXHIBIT No. 180

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

DEMONSTRATE FOR PEACE APRIL 6TH

Why should you worry about your future?

They're thinking about it for you over in Washington and on Wall Street.

The President and his administration have got it all mapped out for you. They stay up nights planning the thing out. That's a fact.

Maybe you read about those plans in the President's budget speech.

READ THOSE FIGURES: YOU'LL SEE THEY SPELL WAR!!!

They provide for two and a quarter billion dollars for guns and cannons and warships, and they take this money from the W. P. A., from the farmers, the unemployed, the young people, from the whole American people.

Those figures mean that Wall St. is back in the White House.

The President does not talk about economic royalists any longer; he smiles at Garner and shakes his hand, he invites Republicans to the Jackson Day Dinner, he calls for Unity with Wall St.

The Administration is preparing for war and it is taking the same steps toward war that the nations of Europe have taken. They've got plans. Don't kid yourself about that. If there's a war they can outlaw strikes and break the trade unions, they can cut wages in a national emergency and lengthen hours, they can do away with free speech and assembly.

We've got a big job ahead of us. We've got a war of our own on our hands—a war against war. While Wall St. and Mr. Roosevelt and all the big shots and money pots of the world are busy whipping their armies into shape for slaughter, we've got to organize an army of peace. We've got to organize in every city and town, organize the people into a great army for peace.

Not an army that just talks about peace. Not an army that spouts phrases against war, but battalions and regiments of people who know what war is about and how to combat it. First of all the peace army will turn its guns against those who would wipe out the Bill of Rights. **FREE SPEECH IS OUR BIG GUN AND WE HAVE TO KEEP IT!!**

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!

Club Herndon, Young Communist League, 800 Westchester Avenue

EXHIBIT No. 181

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

IS ROOSEVELT TAKING WILSON'S PATH?

Did Roosevelt send Welles to make a deal with the Allies as Colonel House did in 1915?

Will the billion dollar airplane deal with the Allies be followed by loans which will drag us into the war?

2,000,000 people lost their jobs since January. Why did the Administration cut W. P. A.?

The destruction of civil liberties is the first step towards war. Why do the Dies Committee and the F. B. I. terrorize all progressives who speak for peace?

"THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING"

Rally, Friday April 12th, 8:30 p. m., at 144 2nd Ave.

AUSPICES STUYVESANT CLUB, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, 144 2ND AVE.

Speaker Joe Clark, Editor of the "Review," Member, National Council, Young Communist League. Admission Free—Dancing before and after the meeting—starts at 7:30.

Read the "Review"—Join the Young Communist League

EXHIBIT No. 182

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

Friday, April 5, 8 p. m.—Admission Free—Manhattan Trade School,
129 East 22nd St.

PUBLIC ANTI-WAR MASS MEETING

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR!

Speaker: Clarence Hathaway, Editor Daily Worker

23 years ago April 6th America entered the first World War and gave its best sons to save our Bankers who grew rich on the suffering of our people. Roosevelt has scrapped his New Deal, united with war-making reactionaries. Americans want to stay out of this European War. Keep our money, our war materials and our boys at home! Feed Americans first. Americans want **JOBS**—not War!

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT PEACE—THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!

Auspices Br. 3&4 Communist Party 26W18

EXHIBIT No. 183

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

* * * * *

WAR

TOTAL WAR has begun. Terror and death engulf all Europe. Americans draw back in horror at the carnage.

Yet, despite our desire to KEEP OUT of the conflict, we all feel our country being drawn closer with each new event. Today the Roosevelt Administration considers our country an ally (non-belligerent). Tomorrow, will it consider our country an ally (BELLIGERENT)?

Why this criminal policy of un-neutrality? Can we be fooled again so easily with fake slogans of a war for "Democracy" and "Civilization"?

Isn't this war simply Round 2 of Imperialist Germany vs. Imperialist England? Can our Hatred of Hitler Fascism blind us to the facts:

1. Chamberlain was the "Angel" for Hitler's whole rotten "Show" in Germany.

2. Chamberlain changed his Appeasement Policy when Hitler refused to direct his aggression against Eastern Europe and began to threaten BRITISH IMPERIALIST INTERESTS!

3. The peoples of India, Ireland, Palestine and the other British colonies are brutally exploited and oppressed just as the peoples conquered by Hitler.

4. Democracy has been COMPLETELY extinguished in France. Trade unions are government controlled, the Communist Party has been outlawed and the FRENCH FASCIST leader has been taken into the CABINET!

The war is the responsibility of the criminal imperialist rulers of ALL the belligerents: Germany, England and France. American support to EITHER SIDE can only extend the war and increase the suffering and aid one gangster in robbing another.

It is up to the people of Europe to put an end to the war by getting rid of the Imperialist and establishing Socialism. AMERICA'S job is to STAY OUT.

Even Pres. Roosevelt can't turn the pages of history back 23 years.

THE YANKS OF 1910 ARE NOT COMING!

Raise your voice at home, at work and in your organizations against sales, credits or any support to EITHER SIDE.

Write to Washington advising the President and your Congressman of your desire to keep America out of war.

Read the Daily Worker, a NEUTRAL and TRUTHFUL paper.

Join the Communist Party, the leader and organizer of the forces for peace and security.

Communist Party, 289 Bleecker St., N Y C

EXHIBIT No. 184

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

BLACKOUT

SHALL WE BLACKOUT OUR DEMOCRACY BY JOINING THE IMPERIALIST WAR?

In 1917-18, America had a blackout "to make the world safe for democracy". In 1940, are we to be led onto a more horrible blackout in the name of "humanity and civilization"?

In 1917, as every American knows, British propaganda and Wall Street investments dragged us into a European war. War-mongers invented German atrocities and worked up a war fever until we were made to believe that we had to exterminate the Huns or perish by their sword. They didn't tell us about the billions of Wall Street dollars that were at stake in a British victory.

So we went to war "to make the world safe for democracy".

What did we get?

The big capitalists got billions in blood-stained war profits.

And the workers got millions of dead and crippled, the burden of worldwide economic depression, and millions of hungry unemployed.

Today, the same war-mongers are trying to play us for suckers. They are screaming of their love for democracy and humanity, but what did they do?

Sacrificed Ethiopia, sold out Spain, cold-shouldered China, and turned over Austria and Czechoslovakia to Hitler.

ARE WE TO SACRIFICE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY TO SAVE BRITISH, FRENCH, AND WALL STREET IMPERIALIST INTERESTS?

President Roosevelt asks a billion dollars for defense. Defense; well and good—we all want adequate defense. But did you note the kind of defense he advocates?

1. We are to defend all the Americas, including European colonies.
2. We must be ready to make our defense "flexible". In plain English, be ready to send our boys over!
3. The defense of "civilization", just as America was the defender of "democracy" in the First Imperialist War;
4. The supplying of airplanes and munitions to the Allies. "Our first line of defense is on the Rhine."

BUT WHAT DOES THIS DEFENSE PROGRAM MEAN FOR THE 96% OF AMERICANS WHO WANT PEACE?

- *1. Cutting down of the relief, health, and housing programs;
- *2. Attack on organized labor in the name of "national solidarity" and "emergency"—suspension of wage and hour standards in the name of national "defense";
- *3. Abolishing civil liberties for all who do not agree with the war policy of the ruling class.

STOP THIS BLACKOUT OF LIBERTIES, PEACE, DEMOCRACY!—BLACKOUT THE WAR-MONGERS!!—THIS TIME THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!!

Communist Party of U. S. A., 35 East 12th St., New York

EXHIBIT No. 185

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

ITALY ENTERS WAR

The young fellows of another country have been dragged into the imperialist war. Just as British young men are dying for "civilization", so Italian youth will die for "the honor and interests of the future."

Italy's entry into the bloodbath of war must be a lesson to us. Up until now Mussolini stood on the sidelines doing "everything short of war." Like Italy was a moment ago, America is today—not *neutral*, but *non-belligerent*. Italy sent trade, then guns, then doughboys. America already sends trade and guns, and Wallstreet is yelling to send the doughboys. Unless we stop this step by step war policy, Roosevelt and Wall Street will drag us in. When Italy entered the war, Roosevelt said, "Full speed ahead." But what lies ahead . . . ?

CONSCRIPTION FOR YOU

Already, just like Italy Roosevelt has come out for universal military conscription in peace time. This means, job or no job, you can be conscripted. If you have no job, if you need W. P. A. or C. C. C. or relief, the war boys have another trick. Already in New Jersey men have been thrown off relief and told to join the army. And for what? To "make the world safe for democracy" again. But there is no difference between the capitalist bandits in London and Paris who built up Hitler, and Hitler Himself. Both sides are responsible for this war. Both sides smash lives for empire, for markets, for oil, metal, and rubber.

PROFITS FOR WALL STREET

Italy enters war—Stock prices boom, profits soar. The fat boys on Wall Street are out for the same things as the English French and German war-makers. Morgans boys, Stettinius and Knudsen, are on F. D. R.'s "Defence" Board. Morgans U. S. Steel buys \$200,000,000 worth of government guns for \$50,000,000—then resells them to the Allies at a juicy profit. . . . What price glory? But we, the youth of Washington Heights, don't have any war profits to protect. We don't even have jobs. We must speak now for peace or forever hold a gun. Flood Congress and the President with letters and telegrams demanding that the America keep out: NO LOANS, NO CREDITS, NO MUNITIONS TO THE BELLIGERENTS! JOIN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE to guarantee that—

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!

Fort George Club, YCL, 521 West 179 St. Patrick Henry Club, YCL,
2032 Amsterdam Ave. (meets this Friday—P. M.)

EXHIBIT No. 186

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

BRITAIN STRANGLES FREEDOM

While His Majesty's government says it is waging war for Democracy and the "Independence" of Small Nations, British Imperialism strangles the fight for Freedom and National Liberty in Ireland and India!

Two more workers have added their names to the long list of martyrs in the fight for a Free Ireland!

British Imperialism stops at no length to keep the Irish people—and all the people of the "British Empire"—chained and enslaved. They hypocritically speak of "freedom"—yet they refuse to grant liberty and independence to the people of Ireland and India!

The fight for Independence of the Irish people is the concern of all the people who cherish freedom and democracy. It is also bound with our struggle as Americans to Keep our Country Out of the Imperialist War! Strike a blow at British Imperialism by refusing to have our country come to the support of the Chamberlain government.

FOR A FREE IRISH REPUBLIC.—THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!—THERE IS NO FUTURE
IN FLANDERS FIELD!

Mass Meeting For Irish Freedom. Hear E. G. FLYNN, PAT TOOHEY, and other speakers. Songs and Ballads of Ireland. This FRIDAY NITE at P. S. 43, 136th St. and Brown Place. Admission Free. Ausp. Helen Lynch Club, Young Communist League, 694 E. 141st St.

I would like to have more information about the Y. C. L. My name is -----

My address is-----

Read the Daily & Sunday Worker

EXHIBIT No. 187

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

UNITE AGAINST WARMAKERS—KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!

APRIL 6, 1917

Cannon thundered across Europe. Johnny got his gun "to make the world safe for democracy." What of democracy today? Chamberlain in England, Daladier in France, Hitler in Germany, throw the crushing weight of the war machine against the trade unions and against all organizations that fight for progress and for freedom. They attack civil liberties, they wipe out democratic rights, imprison those who are for peace, unleash a new wave of anti-Semitism, gag the press. And in the United States, there is Franklin D. Roosevelt's war and hunger budget.

In 1917 we were told that it was a war for the rights of small nations, for the self-determination of peoples. Then what of India today whose workers and peasants are bombed by British planes when they ask independence? What of the Philippines and Puerto Rico? What of the masses of Africa sweated by British, French, Belgian, Dutch masters? What of Chamberlain's betrayal of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine? What of the Negro people in our own country to whom the promises made in 1917, promises of suffrage, education, an end to Jim-Crowism and lynching, remain promises?

Who today does not know that 1914 was an imperialist war, a war to redivide the earth among the great powers, a war bred by capitalism?

Who today does not know that America entered the war in 1917 to protect Wall Street's loans to the Allies? To serve the American capitalists to whom every corpse on the battlefield meant added dollars of profits?

APRIL 6, 1919

Again cannon thunder across Europe.

The Roosevelt government has taken long strides towards war. Roosevelt is not neutral. The resources of America are again at the disposal of British-French imperialism. The newspapers of America serve them. The radio of America broadcasts for them. Sumner Welles goes to Europe, as did Colonel House, to hasten America's getting fully into the blood-bath.

They try to tell us that this is a war against fascism because they know we hate fascism. But who assisted, financed, reared German fascism? Was it not Chamberlain and Daladier, with their policies of appeasement? Did they not betray Spain and Czechoslovakia? Are they not ready to sacrifice every small nation in their own imperialist interests? Are they not looking for new battlefields in the Balkans and in the Near East? Did they not nurse German fascism in the hope that it would turn against the Soviet Union?

The Roosevelt government is playing a leading role in the war plots against the Soviet Union. A "holy war," a crusade, against the U. S. S. R., the workers' country.

But why should American working people fight against the Soviet Union? Because Soviet workers own their factories, their mines, their power-plants? Because Soviet farmers own their land? Because the Soviet Union has abolished unemployment? Because Soviet children and youth receive free schooling, its old people pensions? Because it is the sole country with universal suffrage? Because in the former Czarist land of pogroms, of Jewish ghettos, of national

antagonisms, all men are free and equal? Are these reasons why we should fight the Soviet Union?

LEST WE FORGET

Roosevelt's War and Hunger Program Means Suffering and Death for the people.

The 200 days in which we fought in the last war cost us 350,000 casualties and 200 billion dollars. Think of the food, the clothing, the housing, the education, the medical care that this money could have brought to Americans!

Already we are paying the costs of the present war. The Roosevelt budget cuts WPA, public works, youth aid, and help to the farmers, by \$1,252,000,000. It is an "economy" budget. But the knife that cuts the budget, cut only one way. The appropriation for the army, the navy, and the anti-labor activities of the F. B. I., totals over two billion dollars.

It is a budget of hunger and war. Butter is transformed into cannon, housing into battleships, medical services into bombs. All the rights for which we have fought for so many generations, are in danger. The government's M-Day plan for mobilization of labor, endangers the very life of the trade unions. Anti-trust laws designed to curb the monopolist bosses are being used by Roosevelt's Department of Justice to attack the unions. The Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act are under fire of the reactionary "national unity" majority in Congress. Over eighty anti-alien bills aimed at the foreign-born and at dividing and weakening the unions, are pending in Congress. The anti-lynching bill is being knifed in a Congressional committee. Mayor LaGuardia has launched an open-shop, union-smashing campaign against labor and labor's rights in New York City. The Roosevelt war and hunger program has the active support of such labor officials and Social-Democratic leaders as Green, Tobin, Hillman, Dubinsky and Thomas.

Today, Communists are under fire because they have been the most vigorous in opposing war. But the attempt to suppress civil liberties, which always begins with Communists, ends by involving all who work for a living, all who want peace and liberty.

Today, Communists are under fire because they have been the most vigorous in opposing war. But the attempt to suppress civil liberties, which always begins with Communists, ends by involving all who work for a living, all who want peace and liberty.

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING

We Americans have our own war, a war right here at home. It is a war on unemployment, on sickness, on poverty, on lynching. A war to maintain and extend our democratic liberties. That war must be pressed forward. Americans want no part of the European war. Organized labor—the C. I. O. and the members of the A. F. of L.—the unemployed, the youth, the mass of the farmers, as well as the common people generally have announced to the world that the Yanks are not coming. They are opposed to the war and hunger program of Roosevelt and are organizing for peace, security and freedom for America.

Roosevelt's new course—unity with the Economic Royalists of Wall Street for war and hunger—has made it necessary for the workers, toiling farmers and exploited city middle classes to seek a new way out, through independent political action. Instead of a third term for Roosevelt, the masses are uniting in the movement for a third party—a united people's front against the imperialist war, reaction and exploitation by the bosses.

The people have already dealt the war-makers heavy blows. The stockbrokers and munition makers tried to start a world war in Finland. They failed. They wanted Sweden and Norway as a battlefield for the Allied armies. They failed.

A VICTOR FOR PEACE

The Soviet Union has always wanted peace. That was the reason for the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany. That was why the Red Army liberated the White Russians and Ukrainians in Poland. That explains the peace pacts with the small Baltic countries and the return of Vilna to Lithuania. In the Finnish as in all other international situations, the Soviet Union has been guided by the policy enunciated by Joseph Stalin when he declared:

"We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighboring countries which have common frontiers with the U. S. S. R. That is our posi-

tion; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet State. . . .

"We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet border."

The Soviet-Finnish peace was a victory for the anti-war forces throughout the world. This mighty blow against the war-makers was made possible not only by the peace policy of the Soviet Union and its incomparable Red Army, but by the peace forces throughout the world. By the refusal of the Scandinavian peoples to be made the pawns of British, French and American imperialism. By the fight of the British and French masses against the policies of their own war-making governments. And, not least of all, by the struggle of American labor and the people against being trapped into support, with loans and intervention, of the "Belgium of 1940."

On April 6, 1940, American labor and the people have greater possibilities of victory over the war plans of Washington and Wall Street because the American masses have already struck telling blows against the war-makers. The mighty tide of opposition to America's being dragged into the robber war of Europe needs only to be united into a single, organized movement of labor and the people against the warmongers and their war and hunger program.

Forge the unity of labor and the people against the unity of the war makers!

Keep America out of war!

Defeat the war and hunger budget; defend the living standards of the people!

Defend civil rights!

Stop the persecution of the Communist Party!

Put an end to the anti-Soviet policies of the Roosevelt administration!

Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union!

N. Y. State Committee—Communist Party. N. Y. State Committee—Young Communist League. 35 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

Read the Daily Worker—Join the Communist Party

EXHIBIT No. 188

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

ARE YOU OLD ENOUGH TO DIE?—DO YOU COME WITHIN THE CONSCRIPTION AGE LIMITS?

With all sorts of dressings and camouflage, Mr. Roosevelt has brought in a plan for compulsory military training and forced labor. Nothing suits a military plan like camouflage. So Mr. Roosevelt calls his scheme "Government service." But it's still compulsory training and cheap labor. And it still has a stamp on it—Made in Germany. The whole set-up sounds just like Hitler's labor camps and regimentation of youth.

WHY DOES ROOSEVELT IMITATE HITLER?

What is the real purpose of this fascist-like system? There must be some hidden meaning, or else the U. S. war-mongers would not be copying every detail of fascism. Just compare Germany and the announced plans of Roosevelt and party.

HITLER FASCISM

1. Regimentation of youth; forced labor.
2. Abolition of free education and civil liberties.
3. Destruction of rights and living standards of labor.

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

1. Conscription plan—forced labor for youth at military pay.
2. Cut educational funds—6 million from D. C. Budget. Increased size, power and ruthlessness of F. B. I.
3. Attempt to destroy unions through use of anti-trust laws, emasculation of N. L. R. A.

And that isn't all! There are plans for concentration camps, persecution of minorities like the foreign-born and Negroes, attacks on the Communist Party—

that fights for peace. The Administration and its followers are ready to destroy our freedom. WHY? For the same reason that Hitler built fascism in Germany—WAR! Step by step Roosevelt is trying to drag this country and its young people into a war in Europe, just as in 1917. And to be able to get away with it he must silence and crush all opposition.

ROOSEVELT ATTACKS YOUTH!

Because the young people of America are opposed to his war efforts, our President saw fit to rebuke them for having no "idealism". So displeased was the President that he introduced the conscription plan to discipline youth—to support his program. In other words, if we disagree, we shall be put into uniforms and labor camps to see to it that we come around.

But the President is in error. Youth has ideals—great American ideals of freedom, security, and peace. The youth of our country have a sincere love for democracy and will defend it from all enemies. That is why today they do not throw themselves behind Mr. Roosevelt. They do not trust him. What is democratic about labor camps? What is peaceable about the destruction of our neutrality? No, young people do not have Mr. Roosevelt's ideals, because a job in America is better than a grave in Flanders Fields.

YOUTH ANSWERS WITH ITS OWN PROGRAM

The so-called advantages of the conscription plan sound very phony to us. People say that military training and underpaid work will build health and character, improve the soul. Real health comes from a decent job at decent wages—not from drilling, not from working for a pittance. As for the character building and soul-uplifting, regimentation did not produce such effects in Germany and will not do it here. What this plan calls for is slave-like obedience—and youth has a mind of its own.

The youth of America reject the war schemes of both parties of Wall St.—the parties of Roosevelt and Hoover.

We want work, not war. A real program for job training is the American Youth Act. And the health and character of young people will best be advanced by this type of youth aid, by defense of labor and by maintenance of civil liberties. The youth of America will fight for peace—jobs—and civil liberties!

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!

Issued by the Young Communist League, Washington, D. C. 527 9th Street, N. W.

Read the Review! On newsstands at 1753 Penn. Ave., 2727 Georgia Ave.

EXHIBIT No. 189

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

SAVE AMERICA'S PEACE

ACT NOW!—ACT NOW!—KEEP THE U. S. OUT OF WAR!

YOUNG WORKERS, FARMERS, AND STUDENTS OF AMERICA!

Look at the inferno let loose in Europe by British, French, and German imperialism!

The horror, mass murder and destruction of imperialist war sweeps through Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Open cities are bombed; the countryside is ravaged. The most terrible kind of warfare known to history rages on; war that involves civilians as well as soldiers. Rivers of blood are flowing!

Young people of America! Our own peace and our own lives are in terrible danger! Despite our overwhelming demand to stay out, Roosevelt and Wall Street are dragging this country into the slaughter at breakneck speed!

Peace hangs by a thread!

The Roosevelt Administration has already destroyed the neutrality of the United States. Let us recognize this bitter and dangerous truth: The Roosevelt government is not neutral: it is an active non-belligerent on the side of the Allies!

The speech of President Roosevelt to the Pan-American scientists and his message to the King of Belgium were deliberately designed to provoke the hysteria needed by Wall Street to get the United States completely into the war on the side of the Allies. Only a short while ago the American people demanded that Ambassador "Doris Duke" Cromwell be removed from his post for making a war-mongering speech supporting the Allies. Now President Roosevelt is making the same kind of speeches himself! When President Roosevelt aids the Allies and weeps crocodile tears over "little Belgium"—remember, that's the way it happened in 1917! President Wilson, too, aided the Allies and shed false tears over "little Belgium"! That's why American youth rot in Flanders Field today.

It must not happen again!

No one can look at this imperialist butchery without raising still higher the mighty shout, the demand that America must keep out of the war! Keep out of the imperialist war! That is the single, insistent and overwhelming demand of the American people! That is the cry that comes from the hearts of millions of youth. Let us raise that cry so loudly that Roosevelt, leading the war drive of Wall Street and its twin instruments, the Republican and Democratic Parties, will be compelled to listen, will be compelled to heed the voice of the people.

With horrible brutality the imperialist armies of Germany, Britain and France turn one country after another into a battlefield; convert one people after another into cannon fodder. The imperialist gangsters of Nazi Germany invaded Norway, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. The imperialist gangsters of England and France followed them. The capitalist bandits who have their headquarters in London and Paris were getting ready to strike. The capitalist bandits who have their headquarters in Berlin struck first. That is the only difference.

Both sides are guilty! Both sides smash democracy at home! Both sides destroy freedom of nations! Both sides fight for empire, for markets, for raw materials, for oil, metal and rubber. Both sides are offering up the lives of youth as a bloody sacrifice on the altar of profits. Neither side fights for right, justice or freedom!

American youth can support neither side!

Every plane, every bomb shipped to the Allies by Wall Street is already helping to bring about military participation in the war. But even this is not fast enough for Wall Street. Now the Roosevelt Administration is driving full speed ahead to grant loans and credits to the Allies in order to tie our youth with chains of gold to the trenches of Europe.

Our lives are being gambled with because Roosevelt, with whose war policy the Republican Party is in complete agreement, wants to make American imperialism supreme in the world. Yankee imperialism is reaching out for control of the Dutch East Indies with its vast deposits of oil, tin and rubber. It wants to use the Army, Navy and Marines to make the Western Hemisphere safe for Wall Street, for Standard Oil and its investments in Mexico, for the sugar trust and its investments in Cuba, for the rubber trust and its investments in Brazil. Even now it is plotting together with Mexican traitors to overthrow the democratic government of Mexico a la Franco so that together they can rob the Mexican people of their oil, their mineral wealth, and their right to rule themselves.

That's why the administration is spending billions of dollars for battleships and armaments. That's why the M-Day plan is ready. That's why the draft blanks are already being printed. That's why plans are already completed for sending a new American Expeditionary Force to Europe.

But the youth of America don't have foreign investments to protect. They don't even have jobs. The youth of America want peace! And louder than ever they raise their voices in the mighty cry of the American people that **THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!**

We won't be fooled again!

What did the last imperialist war get us? For some, a cross over a grave in Flanders Field! For others, life without an arm or a leg. Depression and unemployment for the whole nation! Lynchings for the Negro lad who came back from the front! There was nothing in that war, and there is nothing in this

one for the youth at the bench, at the plow, or in the school. It is only the capitalists who are already reaping a golden harvest in war profits, who will gain.

The burden of a staggering, unprecedented armaments program of two billion dollars has already been unloaded on the backs of the people. Now, the Roosevelt Administration which can't find the 500 million dollars needed to finance the American Youth Act for jobs and education is proposing that another 800 million dollars be added to the war budget!

The youth of America want jobs not cannon!

The youth of America have a war of their own to fight right here. Our war is at home against poverty, disease and unemployment. It is a war for jobs for five million unemployed youth; for the passage of the American Youth Act. It is a war for higher wages and shorter hours. It is a war for defense of the Bill of Rights, a war to bring democracy to all the people. It is a war to abolish lynching and the poll tax, to secure full rights for the Negro people.

Young workers, students, farmers! Negro and white! Raise your voices against America's involvement in the war. **KEEP AMERICA OUT OF THE WAR!**

Build the unity of youth against the war! The youth of Germany, France and England don't want the Yanks to come over.

Strengthen the bonds of cooperation with the progressive labor movement! Unite with labor, the farmers and Negro people to build a third party, a party of peace. Beware of the agents of Wall Street in the ranks of labor, the Norman Thomases, and Old Guard Socialists, the Dubinskys, Hillmans and Wolls! They are the blood brothers of the European Social-Democrats, the British Laborites and French Socialists, who sit in the war cabinets of Europe directing the murder of millions of youth. Here, too, they want to chain American labor and the people to the war-chariot of Roosevelt and Wall Street.

Look at the Soviet Union, sons and daughters of the American working people! There is the only country in the whole world that is really neutral. It is a Socialist country where working men and women govern and where they collectively own and operate its land and factories for use and not for profit! It is a country that wants peace and is at peace. In this land of Socialism there are no bankers, no industrialists, no landlords who profit from war or who need colonies and foreign investments. It has no stake in the dog-eat-dog butchery of the capitalist countries for world supremacy. That is why it can fight for peace. Only Socialism can guarantee peace!

While the capitalist countries wage this war, while the United States pours oil on the flames by providing munitions and money to keep it going, and works feverishly to drag our youth into it, the Soviet Union offers to live at peace with all countries; it has thus far rebuffed all efforts to start a "holy crusade" of the capitalist countries against it. It works for peace because its interests are the same as the interests of the masses all over the world.

Youth of America! The fight to keep America out of the imperialist war is the fight for our very lives! We must speak up; we must act! Flood Congress and the President with letters and telegrams demanding that America keep out! Get your organizations to pass resolutions and to hold protest meetings. Let a storm of opposition develop and make itself felt until Wall Street and its government is forced to halt its plans for mass murder of American youth!

No Loans, No Credits, No Munitions to the Imperialist Belligerents!

Jobs, Not Cannon! Pass the American Youth Act!

Defend the Rights of the Negro People! Pass the Anti-Lynching Bill! Abolish the Poll Tax!

Keep Yankee Imperialism Out of Latin America and the Far East!

Support the Liberation Struggle of the Chinese People! Stop the arms shipments to Japan!

Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union!

For Friendship and Trade with the Soviet Union!

Young Men and Women! You Who Are Opposed to the Imperialist War:

JOIN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE!

Issued by: National Council, Young Communist League, U. S. A., 799
Broadway, NYC

N. Y. STATE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

50 East 13th St., 5th Floor
New York City

- I want to join the Y. C. L.
 I want more information about the Y. C. L.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

EXHIBIT No. 190

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

23 YEARS AFTER—WILL IT HAPPEN AGAIN

ROOSEVELT AND WALL STREET ARE TRYING TO DRAG AMERICAN YOUTH INTO THE
SLAUGHTER FOR THE CAPITALIST'S PROFITS.

April 1917, 23 years ago America was thrown into the First World War which was supposed to "save the world for democracy." Millions of Young Americans were killed and wounded and died at home . . . all for the purpose of stuffing the fat BOY'S MONEY BAGS!

ROOSEVELT APES WILSON

Today Roosevelt is repeating step by step, the war preparations of Woodrow Wilson who was elected because he "kept us out of WAR."

LET'S COMPARE THE RECORD

WILSON—1917

1. Wilson broke U. S. Neutrality by selling War supplies to Europe. 7 BILLION dollars worth of exports and loans was the "Democracy" that America's Youth "saved" at the price of their lives.
2. Millions for "National Defense" . . . Not a cent to help a guy get a job.
3. Col. House, "The Angel of Peace" was sent to stop the First World War . . . 6 months later we were in it.
4. The Anti-Negro Film "THE BIRTH OF A NATION" was released in order to split the unity of Negro and White against the blood bath.

ROOSEVELT—1940

No sooner did the Profiteers' War between England, France and Germany begin that President Roosevelt lifted the embargo (which crushed Democratic Spain) and started to sell Murder material to Europe.

ROOSEVELT BUDGET:

600 Million MORE for Army and Navy.

100 Million MORE for Bankers' Interest.

500 Million LESS for W.P.A.

15 Million LESS for N.Y.A.

Sumner Welles, "Modern Angel of Peace" was sent to stop the present Imperialist War. 6 months later . . .
???

The Anti-Negro Film "GONE WITH THE WIND" intends to play the same role.

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!!

Peace Rally. Friday, Mar. 29th, 8:30 P. M. Speaker Al Steele, Adm. Secy.,
Y. C. L. Sing Trio Lillian Zahn Internationally Known Singer, Crystal
Palace, 1373 43rd Street

Peace Demonstration, Saturday, April 6th, at 2 P. M. Madison Square Park,
23rd St. & 5th Ave.

OUR OWN WAR

But Young America is waging its own war: It is a war against UNEMPLOYMENT and SICKNESS, against low wages and long hours, against closing the schools and recreation centers, against closed opportunities to learn a trade, against anti-Semitism and Negro discrimination.

UNITED ACTION

Organized Labor through the C. I. O. and members of the A. F. L. and Organized Youth—Through the American Youth Congress are leading the battle against Roosevelt's War and Hunger budget. For PEACE, JOBS and CIVIL LIBERTIES!

Every Young American has gained by the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet-Finnish Peace Pact has stopped Roosevelt from using Finland as an excuse to get America into the war. Only in a country where Socialism exists will unemployment and profiteers' wars be ended forever. The Young Communist League stands for a Socialist America and its members are in the forefront for the improvement of youth conditions.

JOIN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Jobs not guns—Pass the American Youth Act—Keep Democracy alive—Pass the Anti-Lynching bill—Unite the Boro Park Youth Clubs to keep America out of war—The Yanks are not coming.

Auspices of The Boro Park and Abraham Lincoln Branches of the Young
Communist League, 1213 50th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Please send me more information about the Y. C. L. I would like to join the Y. C. L.

Name ----- Address -----

EXHIBIT No. 191

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!

The British and French governments are at war with the German government. They say they are fighting "Hitlerism," for "the rights of small nations," etc. It's a lie. This war is the same kind of war as the last one. (They were supposed to be "making the world safe for democracy" then—remember?)

This war is an imperialist war. Both sides are fighting for profits, colonies, raw materials, "spheres of influence," the mastery of Europe. The common people on both sides are the sufferers. They will have to fight, die, starve. It's not their war.

And it's not *our* war! But there are people in this country who want to get us in. The Wall Street money-men, the high-salaried columnists, the big rich newspaper and radio chains, industrialists and bankers who see a chance for fat profits—all of them are trying to get us into this war. First they are cunningly trying rouse sentiment in support of the war. Then they will gradually try to get us in—to have American boys cross the Atlantic to fight for the British Empire.

But the Yanks aren't coming! Not this time. The American people are against this imperialist war. Talk to people on the street, in their homes, in public places. Read the resolutions passed by trade unions and other organizations. See the results of national polls. They all prove that America doesn't want this war.

What can we do about it? That's the big question mark.

We Communists are solidly against this imperialist war, and we are doing everything we can to prevent this country from being sucked into it by the war-mongers. We have some ideas about how to help give organized expression to American anti-war feeling.

Here are some examples of what has been done in other places. Why not try them right here in Indiana?

1) In California: trade unions are getting together around the slogan **THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!** It's effective. The idea is expressed in the following resolution being passed by West Coast organizations:

Whereas, no matter what neutrality legislation Congress may or may not enact there is no possible means of preventing American financiers and industrialists from making loans or extending credit in devious ways if they see the hope of a profit, and

Whereas, American financiers and industrialists are now breaking their necks to make as much money as possible out of the war, and

Whereas, most of them are doing so in the belief that if these loans or credits are endangered, they will be protected by American troops, and

Whereas, it is only fair that they be informed of the truth, now therefore be it Resolved, that we serve due notice that in our considered opinion every dollar invested on either side of that imperialistic and highly dirty war is thrown out the window, and be it further

Resolved, that we make it plain that we are heart and soul for the suffering people on both sides, but have no use whatever for the conniving higher-ups on either side of this imperialist war and sincerely hope the various peoples give them a good dressing down before the thing is over, and be it finally

Resolved that we serve explicit notice on Wall Street that the American people will not underwrite their loans or credits or foreign interests with its blood and that **THE YANKS ARE POSITIVELY NOT COMING.**

Copies to: The President and members of Congress; The United States Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.; The National Association of Manufacturers, 14 W. 49th Street, New York City; The New York Stock Exchange, New York, N. Y.

How about introducing a similar resolution into your organization? Tell your friends about it, too.

2) Defend civil liberties. First step in the campaign to get us into the war is an attempt to shut off the right to speak freely. This attack against civil and democratic rights is being led by the Dies Committee. The Dies Committee is out to destroy all progressive organizations, and first of all the Communist Party. Why? Because they know the Communists are the strongest fighters against imperialist war. That's why they have indicted our General Secretary, Earl Browder, on a flimsy charge. You can bring this to the attention of your organization. Resentment against the Dies Committee's dirty work has been expressed by auto workers, packing house workers, etc. Why not by your union? Resolutions should be sent to the President and the Attorney General, demanding that no more appropriations be given for the continuation of this fascist committee. Remember: the Dies program is first to knife the Communists, then the unions and progressiv [sic]

3) Fight the increase in cost of living. Rally the people to defend their living standards. The big monopolies have already raised prices, trying to make money out of the war even before dragging us into it.

4) Remember that the Soviet Union, with 185,000,000 people, is anti-war. Join the defense of the peace policy of the only socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union.

5) Keep up with what's happening. Check the war propaganda of the Wall Street press and radio by reading the Communist press. Here's the list of papers, pamphlets and magazines you can easily get:

The Communist, New Masses, Daily Worker, Weekly Record.

Whose War Is It?—Browder; Behind the Headlines—Fields; The War and the Working Class—Dimitroff; Report to the Supreme Soviet—Molotoff.

We suggest that you carry some pamphlets around on you. Give one to people who discuss the war with you. Let them make up their own minds by considering the arguments. That's the reasonable way. It's the American way.

And keep this bulletin handy. It's a memo to help you in your work, keeping the U. S. A. out of this imperialist war.

EXHIBIT No. 192

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

MUTUAL ASSISTANCE PACTS

The Soviet Union sought to protect itself and the freedom and independence of Finland through a mutual assistance pact similar to the ones signed with Latvia,

Lithuania and Esthonia. The Soviet Union returned Vilna to Lithuania. Is this aggression? The Soviet Union gave these Baltic countries the use of the Soviet Baltic-White Sea Canal. Is this aggression? The Soviet Union arranged trade agreements favorable to these countries. Is this aggression?

The Soviet Union wished to secure certain islands and territory near Leningrad for its protection, for which it offered twice as much territory in Soviet Karelia as compensation.

The Socialist USSR wanted only to assure its own safety. Behind its proposals was no Wall Street, no Big Business control and exploitation of smaller nations.

The governments of Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia and their consuls have publicly expressed their satisfaction at the friendly relations between their countries and the USSR. As a result of these pacts, Mr. Johannes Kaiv, Esthonian Consul in America, declared: "The pact of mutual assistance does not affect the political status of Estonia. The fears about any change in the governmental or economic systems are groundless."

The White Guard Mannerheim government broke off negotiations with the Soviet Union because behind "little Finland" is the Big Boss—the British War Office.

YOUNG PEOPLE MUST REMEMBER THE LIES OF THE LAST WORLD WAR

In the last World War, millions of Americans were fed the wildest propaganda in order to get America into it. Let us not be fooled again. Learn the truth about the British-Wall Street plot centered around "little Finland." The plan to use Finland as an excuse to drag the whole world, including the U. S. A., into a war against the Soviet Union is admitted even in the lying capitalist press.

Pope Pius informed the United Press in Vatican City that "the British proposal called for the formation of a bloc of powers, such as the British Empire, France, Spain, the U. S. A., and other nations wishing to halt Communism. The British leaders wanted the Pope to give his blessing to the movement and exhort Catholics to participate in it." (U. P. dispatch from Vatican City.)

The British Government weeps crocodile tears over alleged Soviet bombings (which did not take place) while plotting with General Franco against the Soviet Union. General Franco is the fascist who bombed women and children in Madrid for 2½ years. General Franco, who with the aid of Nazi pilots and Mussolini's planes bombed the holy city of Guernica off the earth, is the new British hero to defend democracy and the "independence" of small nations.

The cry of "poor little honest Finland," the lies of Soviet bombings are being spread now in order to get us into the imperialist war—to make us join a horrible anti-Soviet world war.

THE HERALD-TRIBUNE AND "DEMOCRACY"

Mr. Walter Lippmann, writing in the *Herald-Tribune*, suggests fascist Italy as our partner in a war for "democracy." He says: "In order to give Finland active diplomatic support, we should consult with Italy and find out whether it is possible for Italy and the U. S. to work together in support of the northern countries against Bolshevism." Fascist Italy, which bombed and murdered women and children in Ethiopia, Spain and Albania, has now become a champion of democracy and freedom! Walter Lippman speaks for the British War Office and for Wall Street.

Today as in 1919 America is urged to intervene against the Soviet Union. In the files of the State Department in Washington is the record of American supplies, credit and weapons sent to Czarist generals operating from Finland against the Russian people and their newly chosen Socialist government.

BEWARE, AMERICA'S YOUTH—LET US KEEP OUT OF IT!

The old lies about this war being a war against "Hitlerism" did not take with America. A new lie has been manufactured. The Finnish situation is cleverly played up as the "moral issue of the war." It is meant to whip the peoples of Europe and America into a war spirit. The real truth behind the news about Finland was stated 20 years ago by British imperialism as follows: "The best approach to Petrograd is from the Baltic and the shortest and easiest route is through Finland . . . *Finland is the key to Petrograd and Petrograd is the key to Moscow.*" (London Times, April, 1919.)—AMERICANS MUST NOT DIE FOR BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND ITS WALL STREET PARTNERS. DON'T BE FOOLED BY THE NEW WAR LIES. AMERICA MUST KEEP OUT OF IT.

The Yanks are not coming! Our answer must be: Not a man, not a cent, not a gun for imperialist war!

NEW YORK YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE,
822 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

For the truth about the war read *The Daily Worker* and *The Sunday Worker*.

EXHIBIT No. 193

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

IRISH PATRIOTS HUNG—CHAMBERLAIN IS THE HANGMAN

More Irish blood has been shed. British imperialism has hung two Irish patriots, Peter Barnes and Jame Richards.

Two more martyrs for Irish freedom have been added to the toll by bloody British imperialism. All true Americans honor their names and memories, just as they honor the martyrs for American independence.

The vile, hypocritical Chamberlain professes to be making war for "democracy and self-determination of small nations". It was the vile Chamberlain that betrayed these smaller nations to Hitler and Mussolini.

The same Chamberlain refused to show mercy to these two Irish patriots. Chamberlain refused to spare them their lives. Chamberlain refuses freedom to Ireland. Chamberlain refuses to grant any rights to the 350,000,000 Indian people.

Communists do not approve of any acts of terrorism or violence that have been committed. But the real crime, for which British imperialism ruthlessly exacts these Irish lives, is the crime of demanding Irish independence and of refusing to fight in Chamberlain's war for plunder.

Irish-Americans can now clearly see the kind of "civilization" which this country is supporting, when it aids British imperialism in the war. And when it rushes loans and "relief" to the imperialist puppet, the butcher Mannerheim of Finland.

The whole American people have one answer for Chamberlain and the American war mongers—The Yanks are not coming.

Keep America out of the imperialist war by opposing the Roosevelt War Budget.

No loans or "relief" for the imperialist butcher, Mannerheim of Finland.

Feed America first, jobs and security, not war, for the American people.

All support for a free and United Ireland.

Phone your protest of the execution of Barnes and Richards to the British Consul—Tel. Liberty 2810.

Issued by: Communist Party of Mass., 15 Essex St., Boston

EXHIBIT No. 194

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

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PEACE IN FINLAND!

Peace in the Baltics is Assured! The Finnish-Soviet Armistice, which began at 12 noon Wednesday (Moscow time), means peace for all the Baltic states and the Scandinavian countries.

Payment by Russia for leasing the Port of Hango and the exchange of land on both sides give the laugh to the fable that this is "Red Imperialism". The gains made by the Soviet Union not only secure the protection of Leningrad and the Gulf of Finland but open the way for genuinely peaceful trade relations between the two countries. Among the Finnish people, in progressive and trade union circles, the peace will be considered a great victory. It will

discredit the Mannerheim-Ryti crowd that insanely plunged Finland into war under prompting of foreign imperialist powers.

In one stroke is swept away the whole tissue of lies constructed in the press. The reports in the American press on the whole Finnish campaign now become the comic section of history.

The Peace Means:

1. Chamberlain's and Daladier's attempts to spread the war to the Baltics has been spiked.

2. Sweden and Norway have been saved from becoming battlefields against their will.

3. Once again, the Soviet Union has been able to restrict and isolate the European war.

4. The myth that England and France are fighting for the independence of small nations vanishes as it becomes clearer and clearer that they are using these people only as pawns for their imperialist aims.

5. The efforts of British, French and American financial interests to prevent peace show who the real war-mongers.

6. It becomes as clear as the noonday sun that the spread of war can be stopped.

Wall Street's work to prolong the fighting in Finland and to keep the European War going is a threat to American peace.

We Can Keep Out of It! The answer of Labor and peace-loving Americans to the Wall Street-White House war plans is a thunderous—The Yanks Are Not Coming This Time.

Issued by the Communist Party of Rhode Island, 767 Westminster St., Providence, March 13, 1940.

EXHIBIT No. 195

[Source: An original leaflet in the files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1940]

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RALLY FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES AND AGAINST AMERICA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE
IMPERIALIST WAR

ATTEND LENIN MEMORIAL MASS MEETING

Thursday Evening February 8th, 1940 at 8:15 P. M., at 408 Court Street,
Elizabeth, New Jersey. Admission 25 Cents.

Speaker: MARTHA STONE well known women labor leader
Also: "THE GREAT CITIZEN" outstanding soviet film

The Roosevelt administration joined by "apple-Herbie" Hoover is working hard to drag America into the Imperialist war. Like in 1917 when 50 thousand American boys gave their lives in a war that made the millionaires billionaires, today the Roosevelt government is trying to get us into the present squabble started by Chamberlain, Deladier and Hitler for a new division of the world's markets. Today Finland like Belgium in the last war has been made the issue around which to draw the U. S. into war, with its main object being the destruction of the Soviet Union.

TODAY HOOVER AND THE BANKERS WANT YOUR PENNIES—TOMORROW THEY'LL
WANT YOU

Hoover and the bankers are organizing committees to aid the Mannerheim White Guard army in Finland. This they say is to help "Democracy". But if these people are such lovers of Democracy, let them explain where they were when Democratic Spain was being crushed by the joint forces of Germany and Italy, and choked by the non-intervention of Chamberlain plus America's own embargo. What help did these people give Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania? What are they doing to help democracy in China? NOTHING!

Or is the reason for the sudden "democratic" gusto of these bankers and "open-shoppers" towards Finland to be found in the fact that they see in the Mannerheim-banker's government a clique to their own liking, one that has allowed these international bankers to reap huge profits from their nickel and mining investments in Finland, as well as to have a good base to carry on their anti-Soviet Union intrigues and plottings.

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

Today 13 million people are still out of work in America. Decent housing, adequate relief jobs, better working conditions and higher wages, are still pressing needs to America's underprivileged, where "one-third are ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed." Yet Pres. Roosevelt proposes in his recent budget message to Congress drastic cuts for all social needs except military.

This is what Roosevelt's War and Hunger Budget Means.

MORE—Army and Navy—\$574,000,000 more; interest to bankers \$100,000,000 more.

LESS—WPA, PWA etc. \$800,000,000 less; NYA, CCC Camps, etc. \$75,000,000 less; Farm aid \$400,000,000 less.

Today more than ever unity of the American working class is needed to protect the civil liberties and social needs of the people. The voice of the American masses must be heard around such vital issues as PEACE, JOBS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Join with us in saying, "THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING."

Issued by: Communist Party, Union County, 147½ First Street,
Elizabeth, New Jersey

EXHIBIT No. 196

[Source: Excerpt from a prepared speech by Thomas Patrick O'Dea, identified by witness before Special Committee on Un-American Activities, April 3, 1940, page 7502]

* * * * *

Our League has been working in groups for a period of several months, and during this time has participated in several campaigns, both Party and mass campaigns, has distributed a great amount of literature, and has at least raised the question of our comrades going into mass organizations. Today, let us take stock and evaluate.

Let us examine the work of our groups to see just where their strength and weakness lie.

In our campaigns on the campus, in the campaign for the Washington Pilgrimage, in the campaigns of the Party for the Browder and Foster meetings, what part did our groups play? An evaluation of this kind is particularly important at this time because we want to prepare now for several campaigns much greater than any we have participated in thus far. Following the Washington Institute we must be prepared, together with the whole youth movement in the State, to launch a campaign around the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," to culminate in some demonstrative action on April 6, the day that has been set aside by the N. M. U. as "The Yanks Are Not Coming" Day. This year the spring peace demonstrations must not be limited to the campus, but must become the property of the entire youth movement. At the same time we must be prepared to participate in the campaign to popularize the American Youth Act. These two must become real mass campaigns, embracing large numbers of young people.

The Y. C. L. must be ready to play an honorable part in the Party election campaign which will begin immediately, and we should be able to sell 1000 tickets for the meeting in the Boston Arena which will be held at the end of March or the beginning of April. We must make this meeting with Comrade Browder a demonstration of the strength of our movement and of the demand of the people to keep out of war.

EXHIBIT No. 197

[Source: Excerpts from The War Crisis—Questions and Answers, by William Z. Foster, published by Workers Library Publishers, January, 1940. Pages 5, 10, 47-48, 51]

* * * * *

Q. Which are the aggressor states in the present war between the Allies and Germany?

A. In its recent statement the Communist International correctly puts the war responsibility upon the imperialists in both camps. It says:

"The ruling circles of Britain, France and Germany are waging war for world supremacy. This war is the continuation of many years of imperialist strife in the camp of capitalism. . . . The blame for this war falls on all the ruling classes of the belligerent states." ("Peace to the People," The Communist, p. 1092, Nov. 1939.) [page 5]

* * * * *

Now, however, with the beginning of the war between the Allies and Germany, the former distinction between the "democracies" and the fascist countries has lost its significance. The imperialist war, the product of capitalist reaction, has become the organizer of every form of reaction. [page 10]

* * * * *

Q. How do you explain the rapidly growing tension between the United States government and the Soviet Union, despite the fact that there is no rivalry for markets or territory between them?

A. The United States is the central fortress of world capitalism and its ruling circles have from the beginning watched with undisguised enmity the growth of the young socialist giant, the U. S. S. R. In this hostile spirit the U. S. government sent its troops, along with England, France, Japan, etc., to participate in their counter-revolutionary efforts to destroy the Soviet Government by military action in 1919; it also gave moral and financial support to various White-Guard movements in the Civil War of 1918-22.

Furthermore, for years it tried to strangle the U. S. S. R. by economic boycott, and it was the last of the great powers to grant diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Government.

For a time, under the Roosevelt Administration, this deeply hostile attitude of the U. S. Government toward the U. S. S. R. relaxed somewhat. Roosevelt, then following a policy partially in opposition to the great banking and industrial interests, recognized the Soviet Government in 1933.

But now Roosevelt has patched up his differences with the great capitalist interests and therefore has lapsed back into the anti-Soviet attitude characteristic of the Hoover-Coolidge days. He and the State Department are allowing no occasion to pass unutilized (City of Flint case, Finland, etc.) in order to create tension between the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. What the great exploiters of the world are striving for above everything else is a united war of all the big capitalist powers against the Soviet Union, and the United States Government, in collaboration with Great Britain and France, is becoming increasingly active in developing this anti-Soviet campaign. [pages 47, 48]

* * * * *

Q. What did the U. S. S. R. accomplish by the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact?

A. Speaking to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., when the pact with Germany was up for adoption, Premier Molotov stated its general purposes as follows:

"This pact not only eliminates the menace of war with Germany, narrows down the zone of possible hostilities in Europe and serves thereby the cause of universal peace; it must open to us new possibilities for increasing our strength, of further consolidation of our positions, for further growth of the influence of Soviet Union on international developments." (The Meaning of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, p. 15.) [page 51]

EXHIBIT No. 198

[Source: Stenographic reports of speeches by Stalin, Kuusinen, and Molotov, on "The American Question," submitted in evidence by Jay Lovestone before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, December 2, 1939, pages 7111-7133]

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Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, I would like to have you identify this set of documents, if you will, please.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is a stenographic report of the speech of Stalin in the American commission.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, there are several speeches here. I will ask the witness to identify them more specifically and explicitly:

Stalin on "The American Question," May 14, 1929.

Stalin on "The American Question," again, May 14, a second speech on that day.

Stalin on "The American Question," May 6, 1929.

And then a speech by Comrade Kuusinen, at the sitting of the American convention on May 12, 1929.

Will you please see if that is the way in which you identify these documents, Mr. Lovestone?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the importance of these, I think we might correctly say the historical importance of these speeches of Stalin and Kuusinen, I should like to ask that they be incorporated in full in the record.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think it is correct to say that these speeches, at least in their full form, have never before appeared in print and they are now not accessible to students of the history of the Comintern.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I don't think anybody else has got them. I would like to have them myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think, Mr. Chairman, wholly apart from Mr. Lovestone's desire to have them, that they are a matter of historical importance to all students of the question of the development of the Comintern.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection they will be incorporated in full in the record. (The documents in question are as follows:)

FIRST SPEECH AT THE PRESIDIUM

Only for the Minutes

SESSION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF MAY 14, 1929

AMERICAN QUESTION

STALIN: Comrades, we are now confronted with a unique fact which deserves most serious attention. A month has already passed since the American delegation arrived in Moscow. It is already a month since we have been busying ourselves with it, discussing questions which have come to the fore in the American Party, and finding a way out of the present situation. Each member of the Delegation had a chance to use his right of speaking and criticising the comrades with whom he disagrees. You know that all made full use of this right without being in the least molested by the ECCI. You know that Comrade Lovestone insisted that the Russian comrades should express their opinion. You know that the Russian comrades have already spoken on the substance of the matter. Hence the Commission has fulfilled the conditions necessary in order to be able to find a way out and to bring the matter to an end.

But what do we see? Instead of serious attention being paid to the question and readiness shown at last to liquidate factionalism, we meet with a new outburst of factionalism among the members of the American Delegation, new attempts to destroy the cause of unity in the American Party. A few days ago we had no draft resolution of the Comintern on the American question as yet. We merely had an outline of the general principles of the solution of the question, an outline aiming at the liquidation of factionalism. But instead of waiting for the draft resolution to be ready, the American Delegation flared up without much ado with a Declaration of May 9th, an ultra-factional Declaration, an anti-Party declaration. You know the hostility with which that Declaration was received by the members of the Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI. You know that the Commission did not leave a stone unturned in that Declaration. One might have thought that the American Delegation would think matters over and correct its mistakes. However, quite the contrary has been the case. As soon as the Draft proposals of the Commission now distributed to all members of the Presidium of the ECCI and the American Delegation appeared, the American Delegation flared up with a new Declaration on May 14th, a Declaration more factional and more anti-Party than the Declaration of May 9th. Of course you know that Declaration. Comrade Gitlow read it here in his speech. Its main feature consists in the enunciation of the thesis of NON-SUBORDINATION to the decisions of the Presidium of the ECCI.

This means that the extreme factionalism of the Majority leaders has driven them to the path of non-submission, that is to the path of struggle against the Comintern.

There is no denial of the fact that the American comrades, as all Communists, have a full right to disagree with the Draft Resolution of the Commission, that they have the right to fight against it. And so long as they confine themselves to the utilization of this right, there is nothing wrong in that. But the trouble is, that the Declaration of May 14th does not stop at that. It goes further than that, saying that the struggle must be continued even after the Draft will have become a decision of the Presidium of the ECCI. We must, therefore, put the question squarely to the American Delegation, do they consider it permissible for themselves not to submit to the decision after the Draft will have been adopted as a mandatory resolution of the Comintern. We have been discussing in the Commission in the course of a month, we had a series of debates, we spent an enormous amount of time on this business which might have been used to better advantage elsewhere, and finally, we have come to the point when the discussion has been exhausted and when we are about to pass Resolutions which should be obligatory for all members of the Comintern. But here is a question, do the members of the American Delegation, as communists, as Leninists, deem it admissible not to submit to a decision of the Presidium of the ECCI on the American question? * * * [Line missing.]

the various right errors and right tendencies in the work of the Party were all pointed out. A study of the Theses of the VI World Congress and of these documents is absolutely necessary for every single Party member in order to really understand the situation in which the Party has to work.

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

In view of the rapidly growing possibilities for work for our Party, the tasks of the Party stand out as especially great in the present period. An appreciation of the political and economic situation in this country must lead directly to a real understanding of the basic tasks before the Party.

1. *International Red Day.*—The International Red Day Campaign to culminate in militant mass demonstrations on August 1st is the central campaign for the entire Party, the campaign to which all Party work must be directed and subordinated. It is an international campaign against the war danger and in defense of the Soviet Union and was initiated last year by the VI Congress of the Comintern. In this campaign the work of political clarification of the membership—the explanation of the character of American imperialism, the relations between the war danger and rationalization, and especially the popularization of the Leninist conceptions on militarism and war and the struggle against pacifism must be brought into the foreground. The campaign must be rooted in the factories and the shop papers widely used. The whole campaign must culminate in mass demonstrations and strikes on August 1, 1929, the fifteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War. Factory gate meetings, factory discussion groups, extensive distribution of Party literature and the Party press must be organized in preparation for Red Day.

2. *The Trade Union Unity Convention.*—The preparation for the Trade Union Unity Convention, to be held in Cleveland on August 31st remains a great task. Comrades must remember that it is not just merely "another conference"; it is the establishment of a new revolutionary trade union center in America in opposition to the A F of L, an event of tremendous significance in the history of the working class of this country. Comrades must also bear in mind that the work for the TUUC must be the gathering point and focus of all our activities in the existing trade unions, in the shops, and among the unorganized workers, and only to the extent that we succeed in our work of building shop committees, organizing the unorganized, strengthening the left wing in the existing unions, will the Trade Union Unity Convention be a success.

3. *The Gastonia Campaign.*—From a number of viewpoints the recent events in Gastonia constitute the most significant feature in the American class struggle for many years. It is the duty of the Party to draw the main political lessons of these events and to popularize these lessons among the Party membership and among the ranks of the workers. It is the urgent task of the Party to mobilize the working masses of this country in defence of the victims of the murder frame-up in Gastonia. The campaign of the International Labor Defence is not a mere "technical" matter but is a political campaign of the highest importance and must be given the fullest support by all Party members and organizations.

4. *Work Among the Miners.*—The building of the National Miners Union, which should become the backbone of the revolutionary trade union movement of this country, must be appreciated in all its importance by the Party membership. The growing movement of the miners away from the Lewis "union", the coming struggle in the anthracite (upon the expiration of the five year agreement) for which the operators are already preparing, the spontaneous movements in the unmorganized territory, provide great opportunities for the Party which must be utilized. The building of the Party in the mining fields—considerably neglected at all times—should be made a central task.

5. *Colonial work.* The Party must really make a beginning in colonial work. Hitherto our work in this respect has been extremely weak. The coming World Congress against Imperialism and the recent All-American Revolutionary Trade Union Congress held in Uruguay must be popularized among the workers of this country. Work among the Latin American masses in this country must be intensified. The developing activities of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. * * * [Line missing.]

of factionalism and the restoration of Unity, ever since 1925. One only has to acquaint oneself with the Resolutions of the Congresses of the Comintern to convince himself that we have, in the present Majority leaders incorrigible violators of the spirit and letter of the decisions of the Comintern.

As to the 6th Congress of the Comintern, it squarely said in its resolution on the American question, that the "most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional strife— which is not based on any serious differences on principles". What has the Lovestone group done to execute this decision of the 6th Congress? Can you see for yourselves, comrades, that so far it has done nothing. But instead, it has done and is doing its utmost to convert this decision of the 6th Congress into a meaningless scrap of paper.

Such are the facts.

And if, despite all these facts, the Declaration accuses the Presidium of the ECCI of its violation of "the letter and spirit of the line of the 6th World Congress," what does it mean? It means that the authors of the Declaration want to counterpoise the decisions of the Presidium of the ECCI by the line of the 6th Congress, which they themselves have been, and are violating. What do they do that for? They do that in order to combat decisions of the Presidium of the ECCI, while phariseically covering themselves with the banner of the 6th Congress. By doing so, it seems that the authors of the Declaration wish to say: we, the Lovestone group, are for the 6th Congress, but the Draft Open Letter is at variance with the line of the 6th Congress, and therefore, we are going to fight against that decision of the Presidium of the ECCI.

The authors of the Declaration apparently think that by this false "manoeuvre" they accomplish something new and that we are not going to decipher its intrinsic meaning. But that is not so, comrades. Their calculations are quite wrong. The history of the Comintern shows that comrades departing from the Comintern always start precisely with such "manoeuvres". When Zinoviev left the Comintern, he started by counterpoising the line of the Comintern to the decisions of its Executive Committee. He was doing so in order to veil his struggle against the Executive Committee, by speaking in the name of the Comintern line. The same thing happened with Trotsky who began his departure from the Comintern by counterpoising its line to the decisions of its Executive Committee and the Presidium. This is an old and beaten path of opportunism, as old as the world. It is sad, that the authors of the Declaration have been attracted towards this path.

In counterpoising the ECCI by the Comintern, the authors of the Declaration mean just as Zinoviev and Trotsky meant to DIVORCE the Executive Committee from the Comintern. A ridiculous and stupid hope. The authors of the Declaration forget, apparently, that it is the Executive and its Presidium who interpret the decisions of the Congresses of the Comintern, and not they. The authors of the Declaration are mistaken, if they think that the American workers will believe their commentaries more than the commentaries of the Presidium of the ECCI.

Such is the substance of the Declaration of the American Delegation.

The Declaration of the American Delegation is thus a platform of STRUGGLE against the line of the Comintern on behalf of opportunist wavering, on behalf of unprincipled factionalism, on behalf of violation of the unity of the American Party.

Now as to the Draft of the Commission.

What is the Draft of the Commission, now brought to the attention of the Presidium of the ECCI, based upon? It is based on the idea of the defence of the line of the Comintern within the ranks of the American Party, the idea of bolshevization of the American Party, the idea of struggle against deviations from the Marxian position, and especially against the Right deviation, the idea of Leninist unity in the Party, finally and *first and foremost*, the ideal of liquidation of all factions. It must at last be realized, comrades, that factionalism is the *main evil* in the Communist Party of America.

We bolsheviks have not infrequently had to wage a factional struggle against opportunism in the history of the revolutionary movement of the working class. That was at a time when the bolsheviks and mensheviks belonged to ONE PARTY, when the bolsheviks were obliged to organize a faction in order to undermine the prestige of the social-democrats, to organize a split away from the social-democrats and to create an independent Communist Party. Factionalism was then useful and essential. But now? Now it is quite different. The situation has radically changed. Now we have our own Communist Parties, sections of the Communist International. Now factionalism is dangerous and harmful, for it weakens the force of the onslaughts of Communism against reformism, against social-democracy in the Labour movement.

Why is factionalism harmful in the ranks of the Communist Parties?

First and foremost because factionalism weakens the sense of Party spirit, dulls revolutionary sensitiveness, and blindfolds the Party leaders to such an extent that in their factional enthusiasm they are bound to place factional interests above the interests of the Party, above the interests of the Comintern, above the interests of the working class. Factionalism frequently goes to such lengths that Party leaders blinded by the factional struggle are inclined to regard all facts and all events in the affairs of the Party, not from the point of view of the interests of the Party and the workingclass, but from the point of view of the interests of their own factional circle, from the point of view of the interests of their own factional kitchen.

Did not Comrade Lovestone and his friends know that one must keep away from Pepper, that one must disassociate oneself from him, lest one be discredited as a revolutionary? Why did they not part with him in good time, notwithstanding the several warnings of the Comintern? Because they acted primarily as factionalists. Because in a factional struggle, each splinter, each string, each soldier, though he be a poor one, each officer, though he be poor, is valuable. Because, even such people as Pepper might be useful in the factional struggle. Because, factional blindness compelled them to place the interests of their faction above the interests of the Party.

Did not Comrade Foster know that one must keep away from the hidden Trotskyists, who were to be found in his group? Why did he not part with them in good time notwithstanding the several warnings. Because he behaved primarily as a factionalist. Because in his factional struggle against the Lovestone group even hidden Trotskyites could be useful to him. Because factional blindness kills the Party sense of people, and makes them indiscriminate in the use of methods. True such a policy is harmful and is at variance with the interests of the Party. But as a rule, factionalists have an inclination to forget the interests of the Party. They see their own factional clan only.

Secondly, because factionalism interferes with the education of the Party in the spirit of principles, it interferes with the training of cadres in the spirit of honest, proletarian, incorruptible revolutionaries, free from rotten diplomacy and unprincipled machinations. Leninism teaches that politics based on principle is the only correct policy. Factionalism, on the contrary holds that factional diplomacy and unprincipled factional machination is the only correct policy. That, in substance explains the reason why an atmosphere of factional strife does not cultivate sound politicians but shrewd factional schemers, experienced rogues and crooks, capable of hoodwinking the "rival" and getting off the scent. True, such "educational" work of the factionalists is at variance with the cardinal interests of the Party and the working class. But that is none of the concern of factionalists, they recognize only their own factional diplomatic kitchen interests.

It is therefore, no wonder that sound politicians and honest revolutionary proletarians are not sympathized with by the factionalists. Instead, factional tricksters and schemers, unprincipled jugglers and masters in the secret are of working behind scenes in the organization of unprincipled blocs, have place of honor.

Thirdly, because factionalism, weakening the Party's desire for unity and undermining the Party's iron discipline, gives rise in the Party to such a specifically factional regime under which all its internal life is exposed to the eyes of the class foe, and the Party itself is in danger of becoming a plaything in the hands of the agents of the bourgeoisie. Usually this happens as follows: Say a certain question is decided upon in the Polit. Bureau of the C.C. In the Polit. Bureau there is a Minority and a Majority each of which views that decision from its own, factional point of view. If a factional regime prevails in the Party the schemers of both factions immediately inform their periphery of the given decision of the Polit. Bureau, endeavouring to agitate them in their favour and to work up sentiment in a corresponding manner. This method of information usually becomes systematic. It becomes systematic because each is in readiness for a fight with the factional opponent. The result is that confidential and important Party decisions become the property of the street. And since the street mingles with the surrounding environments, the agents of the bourgeoisie find access to the secret decisions of the Party which facilitates their possibility of using information on inside affairs in the Party against the interests of the latter. True, such a regime menaces the Party with total demoralization of its ranks. But that is none of the business of factionalists, for the interests of their own groups stand above all.

Finally, because the harmfulness of factionalism lies in the fact that factionalism undermines the basis of all positive work in the Party, kills the desire of Party members to concern themselves with questions of everyday needs of the working class (wages, the working day, the betterment of the material conditions of the working class, etc.), weakens the activities of the Party in the organization of the working class for the class war with the bourgeoisie and thus creates a situation in which the Party's prestige must inevitably decline in the eyes of the workers, and the workers, instead of flocking to the Party in whole detachments, are compelled to leave the ranks of the Party. That is exactly what I see in the American Party today. What have the factional leaders of the Majority and the Minority chiefly been doing of late? They were engaged in factional intrigues, factional trivialities, composing of good for nothing platforms, big and little, making tens and hundreds of big and little amendments to these platforms. Weeks and months are squandered, in order to catch the factional rival, to drag him out, to dig up something out of his personal life, and if there is nothing to dig up, then to concoct something out of nothing. It is obvious that in such an atmosphere real work must suffer, Party life must become nil, the prestige of the Party must decline, and the workers, the best and revolutionary minded workers, who want deeds and not intrigues, have to leave the Party.

That is in substance, the harm of factionalism within the rank of the Communist Parties.

The major task of the Communist Party of America, therefore, is to put a stop to factionalism and to cure itself at last of this disease.

The Commission's draft brought to our attention, is based precisely on that.

A few words about the boastful manner of Comrade Lovestone's group, in speaking here in the name of the whole Party, in the name of 99% of the American Party. They never speak in any other way, but in the name of 99% of the Party. One could really think that they have 99% of the Party membership in their pocket. That is bad style, comrades of the American delegation. I should remind you of the fact that Zinoviev and Trotsky also at one time trumped with percentages, assuring everybody that they have, or at any rate, will have 99% of the Party membership. You know comrades how farcically Trotsky's and Zinoviev's boastings ended. You assure us, that you have a sure majority in the American Party, that that majority will be with you under any conditions. That is not true, comrades of the American delegation, it is absolutely untrue. You had a majority because the Communist Party of America saw in you until now staunch supporters of the Communist International. And just because it beheld in you friends of the Comintern, you had a majority in the ranks of the American Party. But what will happen when the American workers find out that your intentions are to break up unity in the ranks of the Comintern, and that you mean to conduct a struggle against its executive bodies—that is the question, my dear comrades. Do you think that the American workers will follow you against the Comintern, that they will give preference to the interests of your factional group rather than the interests of the Comintern? The history of the Comintern knows a series of instances, when popular leaders, more popular than you are, became isolated, just as soon as they

raised their banner of revolt against the Comintern. Do you think that you will be luckier than those leaders? No hopes, comrades! Now you still have a formal majority. But tomorrow there will be no majority for you, and you, and you will be hopelessly isolated if you try to fight against the decisions of the Presidium of the ECCL. You can be sure of that, my dear comrades.

Comrade Lovestone is spoken of as a gifted leader, as the founder of the Communist Party of America. They say that the American Party cannot do without Comrade Lovestone and that his removal may ruin the Party. That is not true, comrades. Moreover it is not sincere. Woe to a party which could not do without one or another of its leaders. The Communist Party of America is not as weak as some comrades think. At any rate, it is much stronger than they image. Parties are created by the working class and not by the individual leaders. It would be preposterous to assert the contrary. Added to that, Comrade Lovestone is not such a wonderfully great leader. Of course he is a capable and gifted comrade. But how has he used his talents? On factional intrigues, on factional machinations. Comrade Lovestone is unquestionably an able and talented factional schemer. You cannot deprive him of that. But one must not confuse factional with Party leadership. A party leader is one thing—a leader of a faction is quite another. Not every factional leader is destined to be a Party leader. I very much doubt Comrade Lovestone's fitness to be a leader of the Party, in the present phase.

This is how matters stand, comrades.

What is the way out, you will ask. In my opinion the way out lies in the adoption of the Commission's draft, a rejection of the Declaration of the American delegation, and compelling all members of the American Party unreservedly to carry out the decisions of the Presidium. Either the American comrades will unhesitatingly submit to the decisions of the ECCL, and actively work for their enforcement,—which will mark a great step towards the annihilation of factionalism, towards the establishment of peace in the Party,—or they will adhere to their Declaration and refuse to submit to the decisions of the ECCL, which will not mean peace but war against the Comintern, war in the ranks of the American Party. We propose peace and unity. If the comrades of the American delegation accept our terms—good and well, if they don't, so much the worse for them. The Comintern will take its own under any circumstances. You can be sure of that, dear comrades.

Finally, a couple of words on the new processes of bolshevisation of the Comintern sections, taking place at the present moment.

The other day, Comrade Lovestone in a conversation with me said that his expression about the "running sore" in the apparatus of the Comintern was just a slip. He assured me that this phrase was used accidentally and had nothing to do with the questions concerning his attitude towards the Comintern. My answer was that if that phrase was really nothing but a slip, then it wasn't worth while taking any notice of it, although in itself it was absolutely wrong and mistaken. However, some time after that I made myself acquainted with Comrade Lovestone's speech at the 6th Convention of the American Party, in which he referred also to a "running sore", this time not in relation to the apparatus of the Comintern, but in relation to world capitalism. Apparently, the "running sore" expression is not a chance phrase of Comrade Lovestone's vocabulary. The "running sore" in relation to world capitalism one should think means the crisis of world capitalism, the process of its decay. But what could Comrade Lovestone have meant by the "running sore" in relation to the apparatus of the Comintern. Apparently, the same crisis and decay in the Comintern apparatus. What else could that phrase have implied? What was it that should have made Comrade Lovestone speak of a "running sore" or a crisis in the apparatus of the Comintern? Apparently, the same thing that induces the Right wingers in the ranks of the CPSU to speak of a crisis and demoralization in the Comintern. Speaking of demoralization in the Comintern, the Right wingers usually refer to such facts as the expulsion of the Rights from the Communist Party of Germany, the demolition of the Right wingers in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the isolation of the Right wingers of the Communist Party of France, the struggle for the isolation of incurable factionalists in the Communist Party of the United States, and so forth and so on. Well, perhaps these facts are indeed a sign of serious illness of the Comintern, a sign of its demoralization, a sign of a "running sore" in the Comintern? Of course not, comrades. Only philistines and mediocrities in the Party can regard matters in this light. In reality it is a beneficial process of purging the sections of the Comintern from Right wingers and Conciliators, a beneficial process which cleanses the Com-

munist International from opportunist and wavering elements. The Parties are being bolshevised and strengthened by ridding themselves of bad elements. That is the meaning of the recent events in the German, Czecho-Slovakia, American, French and other communist parties. The philistines in our parties see in that a sign of demoralization of the Comintern because they cannot see farther than their noses. But revolutionary Marxians know that this is a beneficial process of bolshevisation in our parties, that without this beneficial process the parties and the proletariat cannot be prepared for the forthcoming class combats.

Many are of the opinion that nothing has recently changed in the international situation, that everything is just as it was. That is wrong, comrades. The fact of the matter is that we are witnessing an accentuation of the class struggle in all capitalist countries, a growing revolutionary crisis in Europe, development of conditions of a new revolutionary upheaval. This was signalized yesterday by the General Strike in Lodz. The other day we had a signal in Berlin. Tomorrow new signals will come from France, Great Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, America, India, China. Soon the earth will be too hot for world capitalism. The task of the Communist Parties is to begin right now with the development of mass preparatory work for the imminent class combats, to prepare the working class and the exploited masses for the coming revolutionary battles. The struggle against reformation and social democracy must be intensified. The struggle for the capture of the millions of the working class for communism must be strengthened. The struggle for the forging of genuine revolutionary cadres and for the selection of genuine revolutionary party leaders, people capable of going to war and leading the proletariat with them, people who will not retreat before the storm and will not be panic-stricken, but will face that storm, must be increased. But in order to do that we must right now, without a moment's delay, for time does not wait, cleanse the communist parties of Right and Conciliatory elements who are objectively the agents of social democracy in the ranks of the Communist Parties. And this must be done, not in the ordinary way, but at an accelerated rate, for I repeat, time does not wait, and we cannot afford to let events find us unawares. A year or two ago, it might not have been necessary to hurry, counting on the Parties' gradual ejection of the right and vacillating elements, all the Brandlers and Thalheimers, all and sundry factional schemers, etc., etc., in the molecular process of their bolshevisation. Then it was not necessary to hurry, as there was no danger of being late. But now, it is another matter. To go slowly now, means to be late, and to be late means to be caught unawares by the coming revolutionary crisis. Therefore, the process of cleansing the communist parties of unstable elements now going on, is a beneficial process of consolidation of the Comintern and its sections. Philistines are afraid of this beneficial process and in their fright they blabber about the demoralization of the Comintern, simply because they are Philistines. Revolutionaries on the contrary will always welcome this beneficial process, because it is a constituent part of the great work of preparation of the working class for the coming class combats, which is now the main task of the Communist Parties of the world.

It is a merit of the Commission's draft, by the way, that it facilitates the American Party in the fulfillment of this main task.

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[Strictly confidential]

SECOND SPEECH AT THE PRESIDIUM

Not for Publication. Only for the Minutes.

SESSION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF MAY 14TH, 1929

AMERICAN QUESTION

STALIN: It seems to me, comrades, that some American delegates do not fully appreciate the situation which has been brought about by the adoption of the Commission's project by the Presidium. Apparently the comrades do not fully understand that to defend one's convictions prior to the passing of a resolution, is one matter, and nonsubordination to the will of the Comintern after such resolution has been passed, is quite another. One could and should have criticized and combatted the project of the Commission to the extent that the members of the delegation considered it fallacious. But now that the Commission's draft has become a resolution of the Presidium, the American

delegates must muster sufficient manhood in order to submit to the collective will, the will of the Comintern, and to undertake responsibility for its execution.

The stubbornness and tenacity of the eight out of the ten American delegates displayed here in their fight against the Commission's draft should be appreciated. But the fact that these eight comrades refuse to submit to the will of the highest authoritative body, the will of the Presidium of the ECCI, after their ideas have met with utter defeat, cannot be approved. Genuine courage does not consist in placing one's individual will above collective will, above the will of the Comintern. Genuine courage consists in finding sufficient stamina in fighting against oneself, in restraining oneself, and in subordinating one's will to the collective will, to the will of the highest Party authority. Without this, there is no collective will. Without this there can be no collective leadership.

I think that you will not deny the manfulness, firmness and ability of the Russian Bolsheviks in defending their ideas. How did the various groups of Russian Bolsheviks behave when they were found to be in the minority? Not wishing to infringe upon the iron discipline of the Party, the minority usually submitted to the will of the majority. There have been tens and hundreds of instances in the history of our Party when one group of Bolsheviks, convinced that the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party passed a wrong resolution, nevertheless declared after a discussion, after heated debates, after a fight for their ideas, that they are fully prepared to submit to the decisions of the highest leading body and to carry them into effect. I could refer for instance to such a fact as the case of 1907, when one part of the Bolsheviks advocated a boycott of the Duma and a greater part stood for a change of policy in favour of participation in the Duma, and when the minority unconditionally submitted to the will of the majority. The Russian Bolsheviks would have defeated the cause of the Russian Revolution if they had not been able to submit the will of individual comrades to the will of the majority if they had been incapable of concerted action. That is how we Russian Bolsheviks, the same Bolsheviks who have overthrown the bourgeoisie, established a Soviet Government, and are now upsetting the foundations of world imperialism, have been trained. Ability of concerted action, readiness to submit the will of individual comrades to the collective will, that is exactly what we call genuine Bolshevik manliness. That is so because without such manliness, without the ability of being able to overcome, if you like, one's own egoism, and of subordinating one's will to the collective will, without these qualities, there is no collectivism, there is no collective leadership, there is no Communism. That is true not only in respect to Parties and their Central Committees. It is particularly true in relation to the Comintern and its executive bodies which unite all Communist Parties of the world.

Comrades Gitlow and Lovestone have declared here with self-confidence that their conscience, their convictions, do not permit them to submit to the decisions of the Presidium, and to carry them into effect. But only anarchists, individualists, and not Bolsheviks, not Leninists, who must regard the collective will above their individual will, can speak thus. They speak of their conscience and convictions. But the members of the Presidium of the ECCI also have their conscience and their convictions. What is to be done if the conscience and convictions of the Presidium of the ECCI clash with the conscience and convictions of individual members of the American delegation? What is to be done if the American delegation received only one vote in the Presidium in favour of its declaration, the vote of Comrade Gitlow, while all other members of the Presidium have unanimously expressed themselves against the American delegation's declaration and in favour of the Commission's project? Do you, comrades of the American delegation, think that Comrade Gitlow's conscience and convictions are higher than the conscience and convictions of the overwhelming majority of the Presidium of the ECCI? Does it not dawn upon you that if each one of us will begin to act his own way, refusing to reckon with the collective will, then we shall never have any decisions, we shall never have a collective will or a collective leadership?

Let us take some mill or factory as an example. Suppose a majority of the workers of a factory are inclined to strike, while a minority, based on its convictions, is against the declaration of a strike. A struggle of ideas begins, meetings are called, and at the end, the great majority decides in favour of a strike. What would you think of the ten or twenty workers who constitute the said minority of the factory, if they declared that they cannot submit to

the decision of the majority since they disagree with that decision? What would you call them, my dear comrades? You know that such workers are usually called scabs. Is it not clear that strikes, demonstrations and other concerted mass actions would be absolutely impossible if the minority would not submit to the majority? Is it not clear that we should never have any kind of decision or collective will, neither in the Parties nor in the Comintern, if individuals or minorities would not submit to the majority, to the higher collective will?

This is the turn that things have taken, comrades of the American Delegation. Finally, a couple of words on the fate of the Communist Party of the United States of America in connection with the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. The comrades of the American delegation see the thing in too tragic a light. They assure us that as a result of the adoption of the Commission's project, the American Party is doomed or at least is at the brink of a precipice. That is not true, comrades. Moreover, it is absolutely ridiculous. The American Party lives and will live in spite of the prophesies of the comrades of the American Delegation. Moreover, the American Party will grow and prosper if only it will drive unprincipled factionalism out of its midst. The significance of the decision of the Presidium lies precisely in the fact that it facilitates the liquidation of unprincipled factionalism in the American Party, that it will bring about unity within the Party and that the Party will at last be in a position to enter upon the highway of mass political action. No, comrades, the American Party will not be ruined. It will live and prosper to the horror of the enemies of the working class. Only a small factional group will be ruined if it will persist, if it will not submit to the will of the Comintern, if it will hold on to its mistakes. But the fate of a small factional group is by no means identical with the fate of the American Party. From the fact that a small factional group may be politically ruined, it does not at all follow that the whole American Party will be ruined. If that small factional group is destined to ruin, let it be ruined for the sake and development of the Communist Party of America. Yours is too pessimistic an outlook, my comrades of the American delegation. Mine is a more optimistic perspective.

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[Strictly confidential]

Not for publication. For the Minutes only

AMERICAN COMMISSION. MAY 6TH, 1929

STALIN: Comrades, Since many speeches have already been delivered and the political position of both groups of the Communist Party of the United States of America has been made sufficiently clear, I shall not expatiate on the subject. I shall not deal with the political position of the Majority and Minority leaders, I shall not deal with that because both groups, as has been discovered in the course of the discussions here, are guilty of the principal error of exaggeration of the specific features of American capitalism. You know that this exaggeration is the basis of all the sundry opportunist errors both of the Majority as well as the Minority groups. It would be a mistake to leave out of account the specific peculiarities of American capitalism. The Communist Party must reckon with them in its work. But it would be even more incorrect to base the activities of the Communist Party on these specific features, since the basis of activity of any Communist Party, including the Communist Party of America, are the general features of capitalism, features which in the main are the same in all countries and are not the specific characteristics of the given country. It is this that determines the international character of the communist parties. Specific features merely supplement the general features. The mistake of both groups is that they exaggerate the importance of the specific features of American capitalism and forget thereby the fundamental features of American capitalism which are also the attributes of world capitalism. That is why when the leaders of the Majority and Minority mutually accuse each other of elements of Right deviations, there is no doubt that these accusations contain a grain of truth. There is no denial of the fact that American reality provides a favourable environment for the Communist Party to blunder and to exaggerate the strength and firmness of American capitalism. It is this situation that causes our American comrades, both of the Majority and of the Minority, to commit mistakes of a Right wing character. It is this situation that is the cause of the fact that now one and now another section

of the Communist Party of America in one degree or another fails to see reformism in America, underestimates the radicalization of the working class and is in general inclined to regard American capitalism as something standing outside of and above world capitalism. That is the basis of the unsteadiness on methods of principle, on the part of the one as well as the other section of the American Party.

After these general remarks we shall proceed with the practical political issues.

What are the main shortcomings in the work of the Majority and Minority leaders?

They consist, firstly, in the fact that they, especially the Majority leaders, are prompted in their daily work by considerations of unprincipled factionalism and that they place the interests of their faction above the interests of the Party.

They consist, secondly, in the fact that both groups, and especially the Majority group, are to such an extent infected with the malady of factionalism that they take as the basis of their relations with the Comintern, not the principle of confidence, but a policy of rotten diplomacy, a policy of diplomatic play.

Let us take a few examples. I take such a simple fact as the speculation on the divergencies in the C. P. S. U., practiced both by the Majority as well as the Minority leaders. You know that the one as well as the other section of the Communist Party of America is vying with each other, overtaking each other as if at the races, strenuously try to speculate on the existing and non-existing differences in the C. P. S. U. Why do they do that? Is that in the interests of the American Party? No. Of course not! They do this for the benefit of their own particular faction and to the detriment of the rival faction. Foster and Bittelman see nothing criminal in declaring themselves to be "Stalinites" so as to demonstrate thereby their loyalty to the CPSU. But this is downright indecency, my dear comrades! Don't you know that there are not and there should not be any "Stalinites"? Why this indecency on the part of the Minority? In order to pinch the Majority group, Lovestone's group, in order to show that Lovestone's group is opposed to the CPSU and hence opposed to the main kernel of the Comintern. This, of course, is not true and not serious. But that is not the Minority's business. Its chief object is to pinch and discredit the Majority in the interests of the faction of the Minority.

And how does the Lovestone group behave in this respect? Is it perhaps more decent than the Minority group? Unfortunately not. Unfortunately it behaves even more indecently than the Minority group. Judge for yourselves. Foster's group demonstrates its proximity to the CPSU, declaring itself as "Stalinites." Lovestone sees that his faction loses something by that. Ergo, to be out of debt, his group suddenly performs a "hair-raising" stunt and produces at the Convention of the American Party a resolution about the Comintern's removal of Comrade Bucharin. The result is a race game on the principle of who will outwit the other. Instead of a struggle of principles, we thus meet with a most unprincipled speculation on dissensions in the CPSU.

Such are the results of a policy which places factional interests above the interests of the Party.

Another example. I have in mind Comrade Pepper's affair. All of you are more or less familiar with the history of that affair. The Comintern twice demanded Comrade Pepper's recall to Moscow. The CEC of the American Party resisted and essentially infringed upon a series of ECCI decisions concerning Pepper. The Majority of the American Party has, by doing so, demonstrated its kinship with Pepper whose opportunist waverings everybody knows. Finally, the ECCI delegation comes to the Convention of the American Party and again demands in the name of the ECCI Comrade Pepper's immediate recall. The Majority, headed by Lovestone and Gitlow, again resisted, finding it unnecessary to carry out the decision of the ECCI. Foster's group utilizes this affair against Lovestone's group, declaring that the Majority of the American Party goes against the Comintern. Lovestone's group finally begins to feel that it may lose out from the point of view of the interest of its faction, if it will be found to be in opposition to the Comintern, and, therefore, performs another "hair-raising" stunt and expels Comrade Pepper from the Party, the same Pepper whom it but yesterday defended against the CL. Again, we see a struggle for first place—who will beat the other. What explains the fact that the Majority resisted and did not carry out the Comintern decision concerning Pepper? Of course, not the interests of the Party. It is to be explained exclusively by the interests of the Majority faction. What explains the fact that suddenly the Majority turned the other way round and unexpectedly expelled Pepper from the Party? Is it perhaps the interests of the Party?

Of course not. It is to be explained simply by the interests of Lovestone's faction which did not want to leave an extra trump in the hands of its rival, the Foster, Bittleman Factional Group. Factional interests above all!

The Foster Group wants to display its loyalty to the CPSU and proclaims itself as "Stalinites". Good and well. We, Lovestonites, will go further and the Foster group will demand the removal of Comrade Bukharin from the Comintern. Let the Fosterites try and beat us on that! Let the Muscovites see how we Americans play on the Exchange!

The Foster Group wants to demonstrate its closeness to the Comintern and is playing for the carrying out of the Comintern decision concerning Pepper. Good and well. We, Lovestonites will go further than that. We will expel Comrade Pepper from the Party. Let the Fosterites try and beat us on that! Let the Muscovites know how we Americans can play on the Exchange!

Such are the fruits of the Majority and Minority factionalism.

But comrades, the Comintern is not an Exchange. The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class. The Comintern must, therefore, not be taken for an Exchange. EITHER we are Leninists and our relations toward each other as well as the relations of the Sections towards the Comintern, and vice versa, must be built on mutual trust, must be as clear and as transparent as crystal, in which case there must be no rotten diplomacy in our midst, OR we are not Leninists, in which case rotten diplomacy and unprincipled factional struggle have full sway in our relationships. One or the other. One must choose, comrades.

To characterise the manner in which pure Communist morals are perverted and besmirched in the course of the factional struggle, one might refer to such a fact for example, as my conversations with Comrades Foster and Lovestone. I have in mind the conversations which took place during the CI Congress. It is characteristic that in writing to his friends Comrade Foster refers to that conversation as something mysterious, as something about which one must not speak aloud. It is also characteristic the Comrade Lovestone in presenting his indictment against Comrade Foster in connection with this conversation, refers to his own conversation with me, boasting that he, Comrade Lovestone, unlike Foster can keep a secret and will, under no condition, make public the substance of his conversation with me. From whence this mysticism, and what is it wanted for, my dear comrades? What could there be so mysterious in my conversations with Comrades Foster and Lovestone? Listening to these comrades one might get the impression that I spoke with them concerning matters which one would be ashamed to talk of here. But that is absurd comrades. Why this play in mysticism? Is it not clear that I have nothing to hide from the comrades? Is it not clear that I am always ready to tell my comrades, at any moment, the substance of my conversation with Foster and Lovestone from beginning to end? What then becomes of the mysticism so diligently spread here by Foster and Lovestone?

What did Foster speak to me about? He complained of the factionalism and unprincipled character of Comrade Lovestone's group. What was my answer? I admitted that Comrade Lovestone's group is guilty of these disgressions but immediately added that Comrade Foster's group is equally guilty of them. From this, Comrade Foster comes to the strange conclusion that I sympathise with the Minority group. The question arises, why? What grounds has Foster to think that I see no shortcomings in the Minority group and that I even sympathize with it? Is it not clear that that which Comrade Foster WISHES, seems to him to be REALITY?

What did Comrade Lovestone speak to me about? Of the unfitness of the Foster, Bittleman group. What was my answer? I told him that both groups suffer from vital defects and advised him to take steps towards the liquidation of factionalism. And that is all.

What mystery was there in that, concerning which one might not speak aloud? Is it not strange that out of these simple and clear facts the comrades of the Majority and Minority groups should have made a mystery which can only evoke laughter among serious people? Is it not clear that there would have been no mystification, and there been no factional atmosphere which poisons the life of the American Party and degrades the most simple and pure communist ethics?

Or, for example, let us take another fact. I will take my interview with Comrade Lovestone which has taken place RECENTLY. It is characteristic that Comrade Lovestone circulates absurd rumors also concerning this conversation of mine with him, and makes a secret of it. What an incompre-

hensible passion for "mysticism". . . . What was the subject of our conversation? He spoke to me on the subject of rescinding the decision of his recall from America by the Presidium of the Comintern. He said that he, Lovestone, undertakes to carry out the proposed decision of the Presidium of the ECCI, if it will not be accentuated against the Majority leaders of the American Party. He said that he promises to be a loyal soldier of the Comintern and to prove it in action if only the Comintern would give him a chance. He said that he is not looking for any high position in the American Party, but he only wants to be tested and that he be given an opportunity to prove his loyalty to the Comintern. What was my answer? I replied that the Comintern has been experimenting on Comrade Lovestone's loyalty in the course of three years, but nothing good has come of it. I replied that it will be advantageous for the American Party and for the Comintern if Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman remain for a while in Moscow. I replied that the mode of action devised by the Comintern is one of the best methods of curing the American Party of factionalism and of the danger of demoralization. I replied that regardless of my opinion I agree to hand over his proposal for consideration by the Russian comrades, and that I undertake to let him know the result.

That seems clear. Nevertheless, Comrade Lovestone is trying to shroud these clear facts in mystery, circulating all kinds of absurd rumours on my conversation with him.

It is clear that there would be no mystification and that ordinary things would not be metamorphosed into mysterious legends if there had been no policy of regarding factional interests above the interests of the Party, and diplomatic play, above the interests of the Comintern.

To put a stop to this outrageous business and to put the American Party on the path of Leninist policy, one must first of all put a stop to factionalism in that Party.

That is the conclusion that the enumerated facts lead to.

What is the way out?

Comrade Foster has shown one way out. From his motion it follows that the leadership must be handed over to the Minority. Can that be accepted? No it cannot. The ECCI delegation made a mistake when it sharply disassociated itself from the Majority by not disassociating itself **JUST AS SHARPLY** from the Minority. It would be sad if the Commission of the Presidium would repeat the mistake of the ECCI delegation. I think that the Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI must disassociate itself in its draft both from the mistakes of the Majority, as well as the mistakes of the Minority. And precisely because it must disassociate itself from the first as well as the second, it cannot be in favor of handing the leadership over to the Minority. Hence Comrade Foster's motion with all that it implies, falls to the ground.

The American delegation proposed another way out which is diametrically opposed to that of Comrade Foster. The proposal of the American delegation, as you know, contains 10 points. Its substance amounts to a total rehabilitation of the Majority leadership, a recognition that the factional work of the Majority is correct, a withdrawal of the decision of the Presidium of the ECCI to recall Comrade Lovestone, and, therefore, a sanctioning of the policy of throttling the Minority. Can that be accepted? No, it cannot. It cannot because such a way out would mean, not the liquidation of factionalism, but its adoption as a principle.

What then, is the way out?

It is as follows:

(1) The activity and proposals of the ECCI delegation must, in the main, be approved, with the exception of the points which resemble Comrade Foster's proposals.

(2) An open letter should be sent in the name of the ECCI to the members of the Communist Party of America, giving an outline of the mistakes of both sections of the Party, and accentuating the point of the necessity for eradication of all factionalism.

(3) The activities of the Majority leaders at the Convention of the American Party, especially on the Pepper question, should be condemned.

(4) The present state of affairs in the American Party, whereby questions of positive work, questions of the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, questions of wages, the working day, trade union work, the struggle against reformism, the struggle against the Right deviation, are kept in the shade and prominence is given to insignificant questions of factional strife between the Foster and Lovestone groups, must be liquidated.

(5) The Secretariat of the C. E. C. of the American Party must be altered and people added to it, who are capable of reorganizing the class struggle of the workers against the capitalist class and not only the factional struggle, who are capable of placing the interests of the Party and its unity above the interests of individual groups and leaders.

(6) Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman must be recalled and placed at the disposal of the Comintern so that the leaders of the American Party may realize at last that the Comintern is in real earnest about combatting factionalism.

That is the way out, in my opinion.

A few words concerning the tasks and mission of the American Party. I think, comrades, that the Communist Party of America is one of the few Communist Parties in the world upon which history has placed tasks of decisive importance from the point of view of the international revolutionary movement. The power and might of American capitalism you all know. Many seem to think that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. This, of course, is wrong. It is absolutely wrong, comrades. The crisis of world capitalism is rapidly growing and it cannot fail to involve American capitalism. The 3 million unemployed in the United States, is the first sign that a crisis in America is brewing. The accentuated antagonism between America and Great Britain, the struggle for markets and raw material, finally, the colossal growth of armament, these are another sign indicating the approach of a crisis. I think that the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will be unleashed in America; when that revolutionary crisis comes in the United States, it will mark the beginning of the end of world capitalism. The Communist Party of the United States must be aimed to be able to meet that historical moment and to head the forthcoming class combats. Preparation is necessary for this, comrades, a preparation of all forces. For this the American Party must be improved and cleansed. For this all factionalism and all deviations must be liquidated in that Party. For this it is necessary to establish unity in the American Party. For this it is necessary to forge out real revolutionary cadres and genuine revolutionary leaders of the proletariat, who would be capable of leading the many millions of the American working class towards their class revolutionary battles. For this it is necessary to throw aside all and sundry personal feelings and factional considerations, making the revolutionary education of the working class of America the foremost issue.

That is why I think, comrades, that we must most seriously consider the proposals of the commission of the Presidium of the ECCI, submitted for your consideration, as these proposals are intended for curing the Communist Party of America, for the annihilation of factionalism, for the establishment of unity, for the strengthening and bolshevisation of the Party.

COMRADE KUUSINEN'S SPEECH AT THE SITTING OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION ON
MAY 12, 1929

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Comrades, The sub-commission proposes to you to adopt the draft Open Letter to all members of the American Party, which has already been distributed among the comrades.

It is not for the first time that the Executive has to deal with the question of the factional strife in the American Party. But it is for the first time that such a big delegation from the American Party Congress is here. We have listened in the Commission to the extensive arguments of all the members of the delegation, and after a thoroughgoing analysis of the question, we have arrived at the proposals contained in the Open Letter. The delegates who have arrived here have done a good deal to elucidate the question, but I must say that they have done so from a one-sided point of view, or to be more exact, from two factional points of view. Properly speaking, the delegation as a whole does not exist. The comrades have now been here for over a month yet if I asked them how many delegate meetings they have had during this time, I believe their answer should be, none. This is already a highly characteristic fact. A delegation from the American Party Congress comes to Moscow, and not once do all the members of the delegation meet while in Moscow. Even here in Moscow the comrades behave themselves only as two factions. Precisely in the manner

that the factional strife was carried on in America both before and during the Party Congress, it has been continued here in Moscow.

The American Party convention had to solve two problems. These problems had been put before the Party both by the VI World Congress and by the Open Letter of the ECCI. What were these two problems? (1) The Party had to mobilize the membership for the fight against the Right danger; (2) For the liquidation of the factional strife. Did the Party Congress seriously attempt to solve these problems? No. Yet these two problems are insolubly bound up. No successful struggle against the Right danger can be waged in the American Party without disposing of the factional strife, and without the elimination of the lack of principle which is inseparably associated with factionalism. On the other hand, one cannot imagine a proper and serious fight to get rid of factionalism without waging a fight against the Right danger.

The two problems which had been put to the Party Congress by the VI World Congress through the Open Letter of the Executive were entirely misplaced on account of the factionalism existing in the Party. Naturally, a really correct solution of the most essential political questions is impossible as long as such a state of affairs prevails. The factional adherents accept without criticism the slogans and proposals of their leaders and the factional leaders are not fully responsible for their slogans and proposals, because they are working without the control of the Party comrades. This leads to the intensification of political deviations in both factions. Of this we have many instances. Whenever the factional leaders of one group or the other commit political mistakes, their adherents endeavor to explain away such mistakes by the flimsiest arguments. I shall cite here only a couple of instances.

All the members in the Politbureau of the American Party were agreed that Comrade Zimmerman, a leading comrade in the clothing workers' strike of January-February 1929, who nevertheless committed serious Right mistakes and a grave breach of discipline, should be put upon the CC, and there was not a word of criticism against it. Furthermore, Comrade Amter, an adherent of the majority group who wrote an article on "good and bad mayors" in which he opined that good mayors were those who carried out the laws of the bourgeois state, and bad mayors were those who trespassed against such laws, was also put on the CC without a word of criticism. Further the Minority did not criticise Comrade Wagenknecht who had called for three cheers for the "Vorwärts" newspaper. Did they wage a fight against his mistakes? If a member of the faction commits ever so serious Right mistakes, no fight is made against him, but rather an effort is made to protect him.

The Minority comrades, Foster and Bittelman, have said that they have carried on a fight against the Right danger in the American Party. Yes, they did carry on a factional fight against the Majority group. The Majority group sees the Right danger in Trotskyism and in the Minority. The Minority sees the Right danger only in the Lovestone-Pepper group. On our part, we cannot support this factional point of view. Our thesis is to the effect that the Right danger is very much increased in the American Party precisely by serious Right mistakes committed by both factions, that both factions have committed serious deviations towards the Right of the proper Leninist line, and thus the danger of open crystallization of the opportunistic Right deviation has been created. This is the thesis which we recommend to adopt. The American comrades must recognize that the Right danger has increased very much in the whole Party, in both groups, and that this fact urges the fight against the Right danger, against the increased Right danger in both groups.

In a similar manner, the thesis about liquidation of factionalism has been misplaced by both groups of the American Party. Properly speaking, what could both groups do in a practical way in the spirit of the Open Letter? Had they earnestly desired to carry out the instructions, then they should have directed their chief efforts to getting rid of factionalism in their own camp. Yet what they have done was the very opposite.

Comrades Lovestone and Pepper said to themselves upon receiving the Open Letter: Now that the Executive has pronounced against our faction, now there is danger, now we must even further consolidate the faction and carry on the fight against the Minority group.

What did the Foster-Bittelman group do upon receiving the Open Letter? They said to themselves: Yes, these instructions concerning the liquidation of factionalism in both groups are naturally diplomatic instructions of the Comintern. It could not say openly that it supports our group, but this is how we are to understand it, and we must pursue our factional fight with even greater energy.

We have been asked here by the Majority Comrades that the Comintern should treat them as the Party. Yes, dear comrades, this demand would have been proper if you had acted yourselves as a Party, but so far you have not done so. During the Party Convention you thought it necessary to organize caucus meetings. The Majority claims to have had 95% of the delegates behind it. If so, why was it afraid of the decisions of the Party Convention that it considered it necessary to discuss them previously at caucus meeting? If they had 95% of the Party Convention behind them, there was no need for caucus meetings. The only reason was that they wanted to mobilize the whole faction against the organizational measures of the ECCI. They were not sure that the Majority faction, without caucus meetings, and if given the opportunity to consider the decisions on organizational measures for themselves, would not vote against these decisions. They were to be denied the opportunity of independent thinking on these resolutions, but they were to be tied by the instructions of the caucus.

What is the way out that is proposed by both factions? I cannot conceive the Majority proposals otherwise than that they want the Comintern to give them a free hand to organizationally exterminate the Minority group. In the opinion of the leading comrades of the Majority group, the Comintern only hinders them in getting rid of the factional strife. If left to themselves, they would be quite able to dispose of the factional strife. Their solution would be simply in entirely destroying the Minority group, if the Comintern had given them a free hand in the matter.

If you want to go on in this way, you would have to expel one third of the Party. But is this a solution? Is this the way for the unification of the Party? No, this proposal cannot be accepted.

What is proposed by Foster and Bittelman?

Their proposals amount to this: A new Convention within three months. At the new Convention they hope that their faction will become stronger. They hope that in two or three years they may win a majority in the Party. And what then? Then the organizational destruction of the present Majority group. Thus, comrades, if we take up this prospect of development, it means that in two or three years, at best, if Comrade Foster's and Bittelman's plans will materialize, then we are going to have a situation similar to the one we have today, only with a reverse co-relation of forces. The present Majority would turn into a Minority. Would this be a solution of the question? Not at all!

But is it necessary to put an end to the factional strife?

If Comrade Lenin wrote after the March action of 1929 in regard to the German Party: "Now no more internal fighting, now must be an end to factional strife," how much more reason have we now to give these instructions to the American comrades. If things are to go on this way in the American Party, there is the danger of the political dissolution of the leading cadres of the Party, such a dissolution as will undermine the whole activity of the Party. The factional strife has already led to a certain stagnation as regards the growth of the Party. There is fluctuation going on the Party. Workers come and go, because they become disgusted by the factional strife which goes on in the Party. Instances of this kind might be cited without end. Even in labour fights the detrimental effect of the factional strife becomes quite noticeable. If one faction firmly holds the leadership of the fight in its hands, the other side obstructs, sabotages, and puts difficulties in the way. It is absolutely impossible to allow things to go on in this way. The Comintern has tolerated this situation altogether too long.

We are told here that the factional strife has already a history of six years. Nay, even more than that. Not only does this factional strife exist for six years, but it has existed already from the very beginning, since 1919-20. This factional strife has a history of 10 years behind it. The first fight was waged with Fraina. I have requested Comrade Reinstein to write an article on this subject. It will be very instructive for the American Party. It is the opinion of the Executive of the Comintern that it is necessary now to do everything to compel the American Party to put an end to this factional strife.

Whence shall this compulsion come?

From the membership of the Party. It is our expectation that the membership of the American Party will help the Comintern in doing away with the factional strife. The comrades in the Party are tired of the factional strife. We feel sure that the best elements of the Party will work hand in hand with the Comintern in waging this fight. Our hopes are based upon this.

In the discussion here the majority delegation has levelled its bitterest attacks against the comrades who have spoken unreservedly for the proposals of the Open Letter, for the proposals of the ECCI, against the comrades Weinstone, Wicks, and others. In the United States there is a whole number of such comrades. Formerly it was said about these comrades that they are excellent Party workers. But no sooner did they decide for the policy of the Comintern than they became the target for the most reckless attacks.

If these comrades commit the only mistake of supporting the proposals of the Executive, there is no ground for attacking them. I could only urge these two comrades to keep rigidly apart from both factions. It would be the greatest mistake for them to join either of the factions.

The sub-commission has had fairly long conversations with the Comrades Gitlow, Wolfe, Bedacht, Lovestone, and Pepper. What did we find in the course of those conversations? That these comrades have already far advanced along the road of factionalism. We hope it is not yet too late for these comrades to turn back from this road. We hope for the same from Comrade Foster. In the discussion here, as well as during the Party Congress in America, there was a campaign against Comrade Foster on account of his past mistakes, of his articles of 1913-16. Comrades, you know what Foster is now politically. Such campaigns can only compromise the whole Party in the eyes of the working class. We know what Comrade Foster politically is. We have seen during many years that he has been developing all the time ever closer to the policies of the Comintern. But he is factionally inclined, that is his weakness. In the instructions of the Presidium of the ECCI Comrade Foster was ordered to play an objective part in the new Party leadership. Comrade Foster has preferred to continue the road of factionalism, and he has also interpreted the Comintern line of organizational instruction in a factional way. He is too intimately associated with factional friends who give him factional advice. I tell Comrade Foster quite plainly that anyone who advises him to go on with the factional strife, be he ever so much a good friend of his, is rendering him a very bad service, whether it be Comrade Bittelman, Comrade Zack, Comrade Browder, or anyone else.

I must also take it as a sign of factionalism on the part of Comrade Foster that he did not early enough and clearly enough take a stand against the Trotskyists. It should have been his duty, above all, to expose the Trotskyites and to tackle the most reckless Cannon and the others. If Foster is now constructing a whole theory that it was not his group, but the group of Lovestone or Ruthenberg which had from the very beginning, on the question of the Labor Party and other questions, represented the opportunistic standpoint while Foster had represented the proper standpoint, we must say to Foster: You had better give up these constructions, as they will lead nowhere. Both Foster and Lovestone should earnestly think of what is the big difference between the method of a good group leadership and of a good Party leadership. I believe in our Parties we should elucidate this subject more than has been done hitherto. A good group leader must possess the ability for astute political manoeuvring; but he need not represent firm principles and a firm policy, he need not possess the political courage to speak against his own adherents in the interest of the Party if they commit mistakes. The Party leader must be able to place the Party interest above the group interest. He must realize that the Party interest coincides with the interest of the revolutionary working class. This ought to be his highest consideration. I urge the leading comrades of both groups to study the history of the Russian Party. Already during the time of Lenin you will find a great many examples of the difference between Party and group leadership, and even such examples you will find in the experience of the Russian Party in recent times.

A word or two about Comrade Pepper. We have had a conversation with him in the Sub-Commission. He figures that the only purpose was to keep him away from the Party Convention and that for this reason he was called back to Moscow. The comrades know that he had already been called back in September, when we did not yet know when the Party Convention would take place. For many months he resorted to sabotage. The leadership of the American Party, the Politbureau, have defended him in his sabotage towards the Comintern. Finally, about the beginning of February, it was decided that he shall depart. He asked then for a couple of weeks more to make his preparations for the journey. Then he ostensibly departed. Comrade Lovestone assures us that he had given him the money for the journey. Lovestone called that the decision of the Comintern was carried out. From that time on that is,

since February 20th, and until the end of March, Comrade Pepper disappeared. Where he was during that period, is hard to tell. I know only of two versions, which are hardly compatible with each other, at all events.

Comrade Pepper said he had left for Moscow. He did not wish to take the direct route. He had gone to Mexico, and waited there for a boat. A boat came, but it was not found suitable by Pepper. It was a slow-going vessel, and as the Comintern had waited so long, he could not make up his mind to take a slow boat. So he waited for a fast boat. But no fast boat came. He could only board the steamer six weeks later. Sea transportation must be in a very backward condition in some countries on the Pacific! Comrade Pepper learnt then that the other boat was also a slow one. So he went back to New York. He had found no Communists in Mexico. I am not going to say any more about Comrade Pepper's explanation. In Mexico there was a reactionary upheaval during his stay. But Pepper had spoken to no Communists. We were here very much worried that we had no representative of the Comintern in Mexico. The leader of the American Party was there, he was only engaged in inspecting ships, but spoke to no Communists. Eventually he got bored, and he went back to New York.

As to the second version, we have two testimonies about it. Comrade Gilbert Green, a supporter of the Majority group, has seen with his own eyes, during this time that Pepper was supposed to be in Mexico, that he was in New York. It may have been a "double" whom Gilbert Green saw as Pepper, as well as Lovestone and Stachel in whose company he is alleged to have been seen. Maybe it was a double of Comrade Pepper, that is quite possible. I have personal experiences of this kind. My own double is in Finland. He was killed, and it was asserted by the Government that it was me. Therefore, I do not implicitly put my faith in Comrade Gilbert Green's testimony; but there is yet another testimony by Comrade Gaumes, the shorthand typist. To wit, a representative of the Comintern in a mass organization cables from America that it was stated by the woman comrade in question that she had worked with Pepper during the Party Congress.

Comrades, the sub-Commission was no ICC. We could not so far investigate the question. But we must assume that these comrades do not lie when they tell us that Pepper was seen by them in the company of Comrades Lovestone and Stachel, and perhaps also Minor. It may perhaps be said that it was a Mexican conspiracy during the Party Congress in America. The Majority faction believed itself to be the Majority caucus, yet at the same time the little caucus was holding its sittings.

At all events, to Pepper, when going back from Mexico to New York, as he said, it was a question of his life whether he was to travel to Moscow or not. On this question, to travel or not to travel, he had hesitated for a long time. Until April 1st. On April 1st any strange thing may happen. Comrade Pepper made a political statement, and the Secretariat expelled him from the Party. (Interjection: That was an April joke.) Why did Pepper make a political statement? We have put this question to Comrade Lovestone in the Sub-Commission. Comrade Lovestone said he believed that Pepper had the intention of taking advantage of the absence of Lovestone, Bedacht, and other leading comrades, to get into his own hands the leadership of the Party. This has been asserted by Lovestone two or three times. (Hear, hear.) We believe this to be nonsense. Personally, I know of another explanation. Comrade Pepper had no prospect to gain the leadership of the Party. The time he is alleged to have spent in Mexico is also evidence that he possessed no particular courage for this step. I believe he hesitated between carrying out the instructions of the Comintern and a third party. With one leg he was still standing inside, but with the other leg he was already outside of the Party. He wanted to give his political statement for the event of quitting. Who helped him eventually decide to proceed to Moscow. I do not know. Perhaps Comrade Minor, perhaps also other comrades. Naturally, it would have been very inconvenient, had Pepper blurted out everything. Comrades, I must apologize for having at all touched upon the Pepper case. It is a case for the ICC. I have mentioned it only after even Comrade Stalin has spoken here and demanded that the relations of the leading comrades with the leaders of the Executive should be clear and crystallically pure. I fail to understand why such things, such fairy tales are brought up in the Sub-Commission.

The Majority of the American Party has entered the factional question upon one single question, upon the Lovestone question. This has been particularly done so by Comrade Lovestone. Comrade Lovestone is a very able,

a very gifted comrade, but an exceedingly factional group leader. Already the last time that the factional question was discussed here, I believe in 1927, we told him that he had not yet learned the difference between a group and a Party leader. I admit what has been said here by the other comrades about Comrade Lovestone, but I beg to differ when they want to identify Comrade Lovestone with the leadership spoken of by the VI World Congress. I say, this is too much. The VI World Congress said that the Communist Party of the United States had shown itself as a firm leader in many strenuous class fights. This was said by the VI World Congress about the Party, but not, as thought by Comrade Wolfe, about the CC Majority, or particularly about Lovestone. Comrade Wolfe has said even a good deal more in the Sub-Commission about Lovestone and other comrades. He opined that this was the very best that had been produced by the American working class for many years. This is a little too much, this is an exaggeration.

If Comrade Lovestone should agree to our proposal and spend a certain length of time, not in the American Party, but in some other work in the International, we believe this would not mean political death for the comrade; on the contrary, this might mean his political betterment, if he only wishes to be better. At any rate, this is a test for him. The rest depends on himself. I only consider it a bad sign, the threat which he uttered at the close of his speech:

"Whatever work is given me I will do. But we have a deep conviction that such an organizational proposal as the one aiming to take me away from our Party today is not a personal matter but a slap and slam in the face of our entire leadership. Go to the membership and you will be convinced. We know that if the new opposition bloc were to take the leadership away from the present comrades it would absolutely lead to ruin and wreck the Party. And it is our duty to come here and tell you that if you insist on taking some of these organizational measures against our Party you will create a situation in our Party under which thousands of workers will be disgusted and totally demoralized. We say to you comrades; Criticise, condemn but don't take any measures that will pull our Party out by its roots. Take no steps which will weaken and wipe out our Party as an effective force for years."

What does this mean? Is this not a concealed threat? Still clearer were Lovestone's threats after Comrade Stalin had addressed us here on the organizational plans which we should apply and which are incorporated in our draft. The comrades Lovestone, Bedacht and the others said: "By accepting this draft letter we would only further the demoralization, collapse, and chaos in the Party".

Comrades, have we ever before listened to such tones? That we are now listening to such tones in discussing the American question, is something striking, something new in connection with this question, yet nothing new in the history of the Comintern. Such tones we have already heard before from some of the Right opportunists, on the eve of their departure upon the road of splitting policies—from Hoglund and the others.

This we have characterized in our draft letter as an attempt at preparing the ground for the violation of the Comintern decisions, for the splitting of the Party. We call upon the comrades to turn back from this road unconditionally. We have told the Minority group that they are wrong when they say that the Congress was an anti-Comintern Congress; we have said that it was wrong to assert that the Majority of the Party consisted of anti-Comintern elements. We have characterized this as a harmful untruth, and I wish to remind Comrade Foster that we have told him that we have seen a deplorable anti-Comintern wing in their ranks, too, that those living in glass houses should not start throwing stones, that the words contained in the last statement of the Majority of the delegation were of ill omen. Our sub-commission deems it necessary to call quite definitely upon the delegation as a whole, and upon every individual member of the delegation, to state with absolutely clearness whether they are prepared to submit to the decisions of the Comintern on the American question and to carry them out implicitly and without reservations. Yes or no? It will substantially depend upon your answer, what character the measures of the Comintern upon the American question shall eventually assume.

From your declaration we see plainly that it is no longer a question of factionalism of the leaders of the Majority of the CC against the Minority group, but it is already a factional attitude towards the Executive of the Comintern.

Do you really wish to enter upon the path of splitting? A clear answer to this question must be given here, in Moscow. We are fully convinced that the

Party will march hand in hand with the Executive. This is not the question; the question is about the leadership of the Majority faction and about the leadership of the Minority faction. Will you help the Comintern in the fight for the elimination of factionalism, or will you hinder the work of the Executive? Will you take up a fight against the Executive upon this question, or will you submit unconditionally and without reservations? Will you urge your own supporters, the whole of the membership, to carry out unconditionally the decisions of the Comintern? Yes or no?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I would also like to have you identify this particular document.

Mr. VOORHIS. As I understand it these speeches were made by Stalin about what the American party ought to do and what it ought to be?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. LOVESTONE. This appears to be the principal speech, or one of the principal speeches, of Molotov in the American Commission, telling us what we ought to do and what we ought not to do, and how we ought not to do it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Molotov is at present the Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is one of his titles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I should like, Mr. Chairman, to have this also incorporated in the record. These documents are marked "confidential," and "not for publication," but under the circumstances I think that may be ignored.

Mr. STARNES. They deal with the American situation?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They deal with the American situation; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection, it may be incorporated in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[Confidential]

Not for publication

SPEECH IN THE SESSION OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION

Comrade MOLOTOV's: Comrades, the draft letter on the situation in the Communist Party of America was handed out yesterday. It has been in the hands of the delegates about twenty-four hours. The object of this draft is to direct the Party, the forces of both sections of the Party, towards the struggle for the liquidation of factionalism, a struggle for the unanimous carrying out of the line of the Comintern. However, what we have heard just now from Comrade Gitlow as a representative of the Majority group clearly indicates that that Group is by all means trying to keep its faction intact, to keep its faction as a separate group.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Commission and Comrade Kuusinen as the reporter appealed to the delegates here, asking them to answer as to whether they accept the draft letter as a basis after having closely studied it, as to whether they undertake unconditionally to submit to the decisions of the Comintern, as to whether they will carry these decisions into operation, even to this question which is elementary for each communist, we see that the comrades give no answer, that they want to make first clear their factional position, that they want to secede as a group, that they want to unite first so that the line of their group, the line of their faction may be more sharply counterposed to the line defended by the Comintern.

It seems to me that this is a bad sign, that it shows that the comrades do not go along the path desired by the Comintern, the path which must be followed by the Communist Party of America in order to fulfill the great tasks which confront it at the present time.

Recording this fact it seems to me that the Commission must decide today whether the draft letter is adopted as a basis and then proceed with the consideration of the various amendments that some of the comrades will make.

The question of the struggle against factionalism, the question of struggle for the main line of the Comintern, is so clear that each of the comrades here must declare openly and sincerely before taking the matter up in their caucus, before elaborating the question in their faction, as to whether he is in favour of combating factionalism which corrodes the Party, which menaces the development of the American working class. We must get a clear and concise answer to this question right here at this Session.

Comrades, I have very little to add to what Comrade Stalin has said. I fully agree with his estimate of the situation in the American Party and his estimate of the various Sections of that Party.

I will take up only one question, the question which was of particular importance during the Convention of the American Party.

The comrades of the Majority, and partly also the comrades of the Minority, attempted to draw a distinction between the political and the organizational sides of the decision of the Comintern. This is true also of Comrade Foster who defended the position of waiting—with the consideration of the question concerning the adoption of the political proposals of the Comintern until its organizational proposals will be known. By this Comrade Foster stressed his factional attitude towards Comintern decisions.

On the other hand, what the Majority faction did in relation to the Comintern proposals at the Convention of the Party has shown once more that the Majority leaders do not want to reckon with the will of the Comintern and that they are concerned in turning the Comintern decisions into something that is favourable for their faction and not to take them as given by the Comintern. I said that an attempt was made to differentiate the organizational from the political proposals. Why is it necessary to speak of that? Because even now the representatives of the Majority still hold this position. Therefore, even if the Open Letter of the ECCI were adopted "unanimously" both by the Majority and the Minority, that would be absolutely insufficient guarantee that the desired progress will be made in the struggle against factionalism in the Communist Party of America. It is not for the first time that the Comintern categorically demands the cessation of the factionalist struggle in America. Not only the Executive Committee and not only its Presidium, but also the Sixth Congress of the Comintern categorically demanded from the factional leaders to stop the factional fight which is ruining the Party and which does not allow the Party to occupy the place of honour in the American Labour movement and the Labour movement of the world which it should hold, and which it will unquestionably hold in the near future. The development of antagonisms in the system of American imperialism, and the changes which are now taking place in the American Labour movement, speak in favour of that. It is clear now that what has happened at the Convention of the American Party has fully confirmed the correctness of the Open Letter and the principal organizational conclusions which were drawn by the Comintern. The carrying out of these decisions of the Comintern (with the exception of the motion to make Comrade Foster General Secretary, which has already been withdrawn) must now be guaranteed so as to make it possible to shift the Party onto new rails.

Without organizational measures strengthening the position of the Comintern, the Communist Party of America will get into an intolerable situation. And yet the Party is confronted with great tasks.

Take the question of growth of the Communist Party. Has that Party become a mass political Party? No, it would be too early to speak of that. Many facts that have been cited here indicate that the workers are attracted to the Party, that the workers do want to take active part in the work of the Communist Party. However, not very many workers join the Party. The Party does not cope with its tasks in this sphere. The numerical growth of the Party is insignificant and, apart from that, there is great fluctuation in the membership. Not much has been accomplished as yet in making the American Party a mass Party.

It is still more important to touch upon the ideological development of the Party. If we take the principal parties of the Communist International, say the CPSU or the CPG, the process of ideological differentiation in the struggle against the Right and "Left" opportunists has taken place. This is shown by many facts in the development of these Parties in the recent period. Take any big Communist Party and you will find that there is no confusion on such questions as that of the struggle against Trotskyism. Moreover, it may be stated that in most Communist Parties the struggle against Trotskyism has in the main, already ended. Trotskyism has lost its influence in the Communist Parties, and stands exposed as an anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary tendency. Trotskyism is smashed.

As to the Communist Party of America, this is not yet the situation there. The Minority representatives, trying to defend the line of the Comintern, have not yet succeeded in purging themselves of Trotskyist elements and only recently have certain Trotskyist elements broken away from them and are now openly fighting the Communist Party. The process has not yet quite ended here and it is obvious that we must take into account the misdoings of the Minority in this respect. The struggle along these lines is at the present time of vital importance in the American Party.

But this is even much more so with regard to the Right Danger. The Sixth Congress raised the question of struggle against the Right danger as the central question for the Communist Parties. What is the situation in the American Party with reference to that? Here we see the clearest example of how far the process of formation of the Communist Party of the United States as one of the strongest forces of the Comintern, as a mass Communist Party, is still far from completion. To say for example, that the question of the struggle against the Right danger is not clear in the German Party would be ridiculous. However, it is quite different with regard to the American Party. The factional struggle in that Party has assumed such a character that it is still unclear as to what will be the line of division between the Rights and the Party. The opportunist mistakes of the Majority in the past period give a great number of examples showing that the Right danger is really of tremendous significance in the American Party. This, by the way, is to a certain extent true also of the Minority. The question of fighting the Right danger confronts both factions. But whereas the Open Letter of the Comintern says that the struggle against the Right danger must become of greatest importance in the American Party, the recent Convention of that Party did not do anything towards the carrying out of this line. The struggle against the Right elements, the struggle against deviations in the American Party is overshadowed by the factional group struggle.

The unprincipled factional struggle, the subordination of the practical revolutionary tasks to group interests, to factional interests, shows that opportunism in America is attired in motley colours. It is trying to don clothes which would prevent the membership from seeing the full danger of that deviation in the American Party. But the seriousness of the situation is obvious. With regard to the Right danger in that Party, the process is not yet completed but we must at any rate see that at the present time the struggle against the Right danger in the American Party, more than in any other, is very important owing to the fargone unprincipled factionalism in its ranks which savours of petty-bourgeois trickery and politicianism. But the time is near when the Party will understand what is going on, and then it will not go well with the Rights.

A few illustrations relating to the conclusions to be drawn from the above. In order to characterize the line of the leaders of the American Party a few instances will suffice.

It seems to me that one of such instances is the Pepper instance. Pepper played a very important role in the leadership of the American Party. For the Comintern it has been clear for some time that Pepper expresses opportunist tendencies, that he represents unsound Communist elements. However, Pepper until recently occupied one of the most prominent positions in the leadership of the Party, especially in its ideological leadership. The history with reference to Pepper's work, on the one hand his leading role in the organization of the Convention, and on the other the stubborn struggle for Pepper together with the struggle for Lovestone, has clearly revealed the ideological kinship of the Majority leaders with Pepper. Finally, that which happened after,—the decision of the CEC of the American Party to expel Pepper and the subsequent decision of the same CEC to reinstate him, these machinations show to what extent principles are subordinated to group interests, to factional interests. The Majority leaders have shown by this how prone they are to fall for Pepper's opportunist tendencies. This reveals the ambiguous position of the leaders and the lack of clarity in the Party which has as yet been unable to discover that the position held by its leaders is intolerable.

Another example. The Russian question and the question of the attitude towards Comrade Bucharin. The Majority leaders (Lovestone, Gitlow and others) passed a resolution at the Convention calling for Comrade Bucharin's removal from the Comintern, and later without giving new motives disavowed that decision in their statement on behalf of the American delegation at the Plenum of the Central Committee. All this goes to show how unsound, how unprincipled is the attitude of the leaders of the American Party to the line of the Comintern. Yet in the given case it is not only the interests of the American Party but the most vital interests of the whole Comintern that are involved. From this it is clear that the Comintern is confronted with the task of establishing a fundamental line in the American Party. What we have in America now is unreliable and unsound. A ruthless struggle is necessary for Comintern principles, persistent work must be conducted for the ideological consolidation of the Party. We must see to it that on important political issues the Party should not pass one decision today and an absolutely contradictory one to-morrow.

From the point of view of the attitude to the Comintern, we see a position which it is doubtful as to whether we had anything like it in any other Communist Party in the last few years. Comrade Lovestone's reference to the "running sore" in the Comintern, or what he now calls the "cancer" in the Comintern, this shameful attack on the Comintern is no accident. To make the Convention of the Party believe that the policy of the Comintern (and the organizational measures of the Comintern are its policy as they are inseparably bound up with its policy) is decided on the American question by the temporary correlation of forces in the Comintern and to instigate the Party against the Comintern by means of false manoeuvres, urging the Convention to take no notice of or even to openly violate the decision of the Comintern and to wait until the situation in the Comintern will become more favourable from the point of view of the interests of a certain group, means to fight against the Comintern, to make the Party hostile to the Communist International.

If we add to this all that we know concerning the attitude of the Party leaders to the Comintern Delegation which found expression during the Convention in most brazen-faced mockery of the Delegation, going so far as the organization of disloyal caucus meetings of the Convention (95 out of 104 delegates) behind the back of the Delegation, then it becomes clear how far the Majority factionalists have gone in their struggle against the Comintern. To train the Communist Party in this manner means to train it not in the spirit of the Comintern, but in the spirit of absolute hostility towards the Comintern. Such training of a Party which is about to become a powerful factor, which is about to develop into one of the most important parties of the Comintern, is of course, inadmissible. No mass Communist Party will be organized in America in this manner. Is it not clear that the present leaders of the Party who absolutely fail to understand their most elementary duties towards the Comintern have gone too far?

As to the factional character of both sections of the American Party, enough has already been said about that here. I fully agree with what has been said here concerning the excessive group and factional division in the American Party. This is at the present time the most dangerous thing because the American Party is now confronted with stupendous tasks. The radicalization of the workers gives rise to most favourable conditions for the development of the Communist Party as a mass political organization, as one of the most important sections of the Comintern. Under such conditions a most vigorous struggle against factionalism in the ranks of the American Party is absolutely necessary and cannot be postponed.

The Comintern would be no Comintern if it were not to effect at the present time a decisive change in the struggle against factionalism in the American Party. The struggle against factionalism now, in the present phase, must be different from what it was in the past. That is why it would not do to stop merely at the sending of an open political letter without taking certain organizational measures, measures mapped out by the Comintern prior to the Convention. The carrying out of these decisions is absolutely necessary in order to stop the factional fight in the Party. The time has come for the Communist Party of the United States of America to get on a new track, and, with the support of the Comintern, to ensure the proper development of the Party, ensure the liquidation of factionalism not in words but in deeds, and to ensure the transformation of its organization into a real leading force in the labour movement of America capable of playing a leading role in the mass labour movement and occupying an outstanding position in the ranks of the Comintern.

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EXHIBIT No. 199

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of Earl Browder, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4305]

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Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, who are the men upon whose books or writings communism is based, or founded?

Mr. BROWDER. The greatest authorities on the theory of communism are Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

EXHIBIT No. 200

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 5, 1939, page 4305]

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Mr. WHITLEY. Now, to repeat for just a moment, Mr. Browder. At the present time, in addition to being general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, you are a member of the executive committee of the Comintern; is that correct?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right—of the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 201

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 29, 1939, page 5325]

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Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state for the record as nearly as you can recollect, without notes before you, the occasions on which you made visits to the Soviet Union, beginning with the first.

Mr. FOSTER. All told, I have made a number, some 10 or more. I cannot state them all; I can state a number of them.

EXHIBIT No. 202

[Source: Excerpt from the testimony of William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 29, 1939, page 5325]

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Mr. MATTHEWS. What positions have you held in the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I am a member of the executive and a member of the presidium of the executive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you occupied those positions?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, probably—I cannot say exactly—probably about 10 years or more a member of the executive of the Communist International, and a member of the presidium since 1935.

EXHIBIT No. 203

[Source: Daily Worker, May 20, 1929, page 3]

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF UNITED STATES

An Address by the Executive Committee of the Communist International

DEAR COMRADES: The Executive Committee of the Communist International together with the delegation of the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States has very carefully discussed the situation in the American Communist Party. Having given all delegates the fullest opportunity for expressing their views and for making proposals, having carefully examined all material presented and having considered the question from all aspects, the Executive Committee of the Communist International deems it necessary to place in all seriousness the situation within the Party before all members of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party, has placed before it the fundamental tasks arising in connection with accentuation of the inner and outer contradictions of American imperialism in the present period, pointed

out the necessity of the Party's converting itself as soon as possible from a numerically small propagandist organization into a mass political party of the working class, which particularly at the present juncture is indissolubly connected with the intensification of the struggle against the right danger. This open letter declared categorically that the fundamental prerequisite for a successful carrying out of these tasks is the cessation of the unprincipled struggle of many years standing.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is compelled to record that at the Convention itself and after it not only was there no appreciable result achieved in the matter of doing away with factionalism, but on the contrary the factional struggle has become still more accentuated. Due to the unprincipled factional struggle the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party failed to produce the results which it should have produced in regard to bolshevization and the establishment of a healthier condition within the American Communist Party. Many of the most important political questions and tasks confronting the Party were not discussed by the Convention. The members of the Majority and of the Minority of the Party were not examined at the Convention as they should have been as a matter of bolshevik self-criticism. The Party was not mobilized for the struggle against the right danger. No consolidation of all forces of the Party for struggle against factionalism was secured at the Convention. On the contrary this Convention, which was composed of the best proletarian elements of the American Communist Party who uphold the line of the Comintern, became an arena for unprincipled maneuvers on the part of the top leaders of the Majority as well as on the part of the leaders of the Minority. The Convention was forced off of the line proposed by the Comintern and was mobilized for purposes of further factional struggle by both groups.

A gross distortion of the line of the Comintern was the theory translated into the Convention alleging that organizational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International were in contradiction to its political letter instead of being a necessary guarantee for carrying out the line of the Open Letter to the American Communist Party. A clearly factional distortion of the meaning of the organizational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International were also the efforts to interpret them as handing over the leadership of the Party to the Minority, which was not and is not intended by the Comintern since the fundamental task of the Open Letter and organizational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Sixth Convention was the consolidation of the Party on the basis of the line of the Comintern in the direction of the struggle against the factionalism of both groups. The Minority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States endeavored to make the Open Letter and organizational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International an instrument for getting the leadership of the Party into its own hands. The Executive Committee of the Communist International condemns these attempts of the Minority which show that it factionally distorted the meaning of the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and its organizational proposals and that certain leaders of the Minority have shown themselves unfit to play a role of a uniting factor in the struggle of the Party against factionalism in conformity with the directions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It is the factional leaders of the Majority with Comrade Lovestone at the head that are mainly responsible for making use of the Convention for factional purposes, for misleading honest proletarian Party members who uphold the line of the Comintern, for playing an unprincipled game with the question of the struggle against the Right danger in the Comintern and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for inadmissible personal hounding of the delegation of the Comintern at the Convention, for the organization of caucus meetings of the delegates of the Majority in direct contradiction with the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and in spite of verbal acceptance of that letter, for hounding those comrades who departed from the Majority faction and unconditionally accepted the line of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, for a campaign against certain responsible comrades of the Minority who were carrying out the line of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—for all these methods and intrigues which cannot be tolerated in any section of the Comintern and which clearly bear the imprint of petty bourgeois politics.

Both factions of the American Communist Party have been guilty of right errors. Both factions show serious deviations to the right on the general line

of the Comintern, which creates the danger of an openly opportunist right deviation crystallizing within the Party.

Since the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International the Majority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party has been committing a series of gross right errors pointed out in the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. These errors found their expression in overestimating American imperialism and putting the question of inner and outer contradictions in a wrong way, which led to the obscuring of the inner contradictions of American capitalism, in underestimating the swing to the left of the American working class, in underestimating American reformism which led to weakening the struggle against it, in underestimating the right danger in the American Communist Party, in substituting in place of the question of the right opportunist danger only the question of Trotskyism, in dealing with the question in a manner which led to the obscuring of the right danger.

The Minority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party was committing, in regard to questions dealing with the crisis of American capitalism and the swing of the masses to the left, "left", but in reality right opportunist errors; it dissociated the development of the inner contradictions of American capitalism from its external contradictions and from the general crisis of world capitalism, and in regard to the question of the struggle against the war danger it was sliding down to petty bourgeois pacifist slogans ("no new cruisers"—Comrade Bittelman). The Minority of the Central Committee was unable to dissociate itself at the right time from Trotskyism and did not properly struggle against it. An ideological lever of right errors in the American Communist Party was the so-called theory of "exceptionalism" which found its clearest exponents in the persons of Comrades Pepper and Lovestone whose conception was as follows: There is a crisis of capitalism but not of American capitalism, there is a swing of the masses leftwards but not in America, there is the necessity of accentuating the struggle against reformism but not in the United States, there is a necessity for struggling against the right danger but not in the American Communist Party. And yet the present period, when the process shaking the foundation of capitalist stabilization is going on, signifies for the United States that it is being ever more closely involved in the general crisis of capitalism. In America too the fundamental contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the growth of productive forces and the lagging behind of markets—is becoming more accentuated. The bourgeoisie is increasing its efforts to find a way out of the growing crisis by means of rationalization, i. e. by increased exploitation of the working class. The internal class contradictions are growing; the struggle for markets and spheres for investment of capital against other imperialist states is becoming more accentuated; there is a feverish growth of armaments and the war danger is getting nearer and nearer. With a distinctness unprecedented in history, American capitalism is exhibiting now the effects of the inexorable laws of capitalist development, the laws of the decline and downfall of capitalist society. The general crisis of capitalism is growing more rapidly than it may seem at first glance. This crisis will shake also the foundation of the power of American imperialism.

Under these conditions the theory of "exceptionalism" is a reflection of the pressure of American capitalism and reformism which is endeavoring to create among the mass of workers the impression of absolute firmness and "exceptional" imperialist might of American capital in spite of its growing crisis and to strengthen the tactic of class collaboration in spite of the accentuation of class contradictions. The Executive Committee of the Communist International points out that not only the mistakes of the Majority but also the most important mistakes of the Minority were based on the conception of American "exceptionalism." While it records the political mistakes of both groups as well as the growth of the right danger in the American Communist Party, the Executive Committee of the Communist International regards as a factional exaggeration the claim alleging that the group of the Majority as a whole is a bearer of the right tendency as well as the claim alleging that the Minority group represents the Trotskyist deviation. There are in the ranks of both groups elements with strong right tendencies which either show themselves openly or are masked by "left" phraseology. Neither of the two groups has carried on a proper struggle against these right tendencies in the ranks of its own faction and the factionalism of both groups has been the great impediment to the development within the Party of the necessary self-criticism and to the political educational of the Party members in the spirit of Bolshevik steadfastness based upon principle. A factional lack of principle which is also an expression of opportunism finds its expression in the

fact that both groups were putting the interests of their faction above the interests of the Party. On the strength of this the American Communist Party is confronted now in all sharpness with the question of the danger of the political disintegration of the present leading cadres which threatens to undermine the whole work of the Party. A characteristic manifestation of rotten factional diplomacy in regard to the Communist International is the attitude of the Majority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party on the question of Comrade Pepper's conduct. In spite of repeated decisions of the Comintern on the removal from work in the American Communist Party of Comrade Pepper who repeatedly exhibited opportunistic tendencies, the Majority of the Central Committee violated these decisions of the Comintern, shielding the political errors and gross breaches of discipline which were being committed by Comrade Pepper. The inconsistency and lack of principle in the attitude of the leaders of the Majority of the Central Committee in regard to Comrade Pepper found vivid expression in the fact that the Central Committee of the American Communist Party expelled him from the Party, pointing out that "the political platform of Comrade Pepper is no doubt the real cause of his cowardly disinclination to do his duty and to go and place himself at the disposal of the Comintern" (decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party approved by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee), whereas a few days later in spite of the political characteristic given to Comrade Pepper the Central Committee reinstated him in the ranks of the Party. The Majority as well as the Minority in 1929 was engaged in inadmissible, unprincipled speculation with questions of the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Comintern. If the Minority speculated in the version as if it were the only group in the American Communist Party sharing the attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its struggle against right deviations, the Majority, making use of methods of rotten diplomacy, went to the length of unprincipled maneuvering in regard to this question. This has found expression in the adoption by the Convention at the initiative of Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow and without the least attempt at informing the delegates of the Convention about the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of a resolution which proposed organizational measures in the struggle against the right deviation. And subsequently to the arrival in Moscow the delegation of the Majority in the person of Comrade Gitlow made a declaration which practically disavows this resolution and upholds the slanderous attacks of the right elements on the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern draws special attention to attacks entirely unworthy of a Communist, which during the Convention, Comrade Lovestone permitted himself to make on the leadership of the Comintern (Comrade Lovestone's reference to "a running sore" in the apparatus of the Executive Committee of the Communist International). The Executive Committee of the Communist International emphasizes that these attacks of Comrade Lovestone represent a repetition of slanderous attacks upon the Comintern made by right opportunists.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International draws special attention to the declaration of May 9th in which Comrades Bedacht, Lovestone and others tried to discredit beforehand the decision of the Comintern by stating that "the Executive Committee of the Communist International wants to destroy the Central Committee and is therefore following a policy of legalizing forever the factionalism of the opposition block and is recommending that it carry it on also in future."

The Executive Committee of the Communist International holds that this most factional and entirely impermissible anti-Party declaration of Comrades Bedacht, Lovestone and others represents a direct attempt at preparing a condition necessary for paralyzing the decisions of the Comintern and for a split in the Communist Party of America. The same manifest determination to oppose their faction to the Comintern found expression also in a second statement of May 14th submitted by the delegation from the Convention only in more diplomatic form. The assertion of the leaders of the Majority faction concerning their "loyalty" to the Comintern contained in that statement was clearly exposed at the very session of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at which the statement was reported, by the refusal of the majority of the signers unconditionally to carry into effect the decisions contained in this letter. The Executive Committee of the Communist International declares that in case the authors of the declaration refuse unconditionally to submit to the decisions of the Comintern and to actively put them into practice, the Executive Committee

of the Communist International will be forced to adopt all measures necessary to put a stop to all attempts at splitting the Party, to secure unity in the ranks of the Communist Party of America and to realize the decisions adopted by the Comintern.

In the course of years the Executive Committee of the Communist International had repeatedly demanded the liquidation of factionalism in the Communist Party of America. Thus for example in the resolution of the 5th enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1925 it is stated: "The Executive Committee holds firmly to the opinion that the factional struggle between the two groups must absolutely cease."

In a resolution of the 6th Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1926 on the American question, among other things it is stated: "To enable the American Communist Party to fulfill its historic mission the first prerequisite is complete and unconditional termination of the factional fight within the Communist Party not in words but in deeds."

In its resolution of July 1st 1927 the Executive Committee of the Communist International again reminded the Party that "this demand was not being carried out seriously enough" and that there is still in the Party "an impermissible situation of faction formation" which may lead to "a crisis in the Party."

The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928, while mentioning in its political theses that in the Party there is to be "observed a slackening of the long standing factional struggle," nevertheless found sufficient ground for deciding that "the most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to factional strife—which is not based on any serious controversies on points of principle."

Finally the Executive Committee of the Communist International, with the object of carrying out the decisions of the World Congress and in view of the fact that the inner-Party situation in the United States became anew accentuated, had addressed an open letter to the American Party in December 1928 and demanded from the Convention then pending that it begin at last really to carry out the decisions of the Comintern concerning the liquidation of factionalism. All of this was absolutely of no avail so far. The leaders of the Majority as well as the leaders of the Minority of the Central Committee, who repeatedly gave their verbal pledges to the Executive Committee of the Communist International that they will carry out the decisions of the Comintern, have systematically violated the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and their own pledges. Therefore the Executive Committee of the Comintern, approving in the main the work of the delegation of the ECCI to the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party, resolves to adopt the following measures:

1. To place the Majority as well as the Minority of the Central Committee under the obligation of dissolving immediately all factions and ceasing all factional work. To call upon all organizations of the American Communist Party to secure the putting into practice of this instruction, not shrinking from the application in regard to factionalism of the most severe disciplinary measures clear up to expulsion from the Party.

2. Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman as the extreme factionalists of the Majority and Minority, to be removed for a time from work in the American Communist Party.

3. To reject the demand of the Minority of the Central Committee in regard to the calling of a special Convention.

4. To recognize as necessary the reorganization and extension of the Secretariat of the Central Committee on a basis of securing real collective, non-factional activity, and to render to the Central Committee every possible help in the matter of putting an end to all factionalism in the Party.

5. To turn over Comrade Pepper's case to the International Control Commission for consideration.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls upon all members of the Party to get together for the struggle against unprincipled factionalism in the Party, to be able to carry on the struggle against the right danger, for the healing and bolshevization of the American Communist Party, for the genuine carrying out of inner-Party democracy and proletarian self-criticism. With these objects in view the Party must initiate on a large scale a discussion of the questions concerning the situation within the Party and the political tasks confronting the Party. It is necessary to carry on in all Party and young Communist organization a thorough enlightenment campaign concerning the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, the Open Letter

of the ECCI to the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of America, and concerning the present address of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In the course of this enlightenment campaign, while waging a struggle against all opportunists who want to fight the Comintern, while uniting in that struggle all honest and disciplined comrades who are loyal to the Communist movement, the Communist Party must concentrate its attention on the most important questions of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of America—on questions of unemployment, struggle for social insurance, wages, working hours, work in existing trade unions, work for the organization of new unions, struggle against reformism and struggle against the war danger. The Communist Party of the United States must strengthen its work in regard to recruiting and retaining in its ranks new cadres of workers that are joining the Party, especially of the working youth. It must widen its agitational and organizational work in the big plants in the main branches of industry and among the Negroes and must secure for the Party an independent leading role in the industrial struggles of the working class that are developing, organizing in the process of the struggle the unorganized workers.

It is only by relentless struggle against unprincipled factionalism, which is eating into the vitals of the Party, only by consolidating the whole Party for carrying out its fundamental practical tasks on the basis of the line of the Comintern and by more energetic struggle against the right danger that the American Communist Party will become the genuine Bolshevik vanguard of the American proletariat and will be converted into a mass political Party of the American workers in the ranks of which inner-Party democracy is being actually unfolded while at the same time an iron proletarian discipline is strengthened, to which all organizations and each individual member unconditionally submits; in the ranks of which is practised the submission of the Minority to the Majority on the basis of the Party's perusal of the line and practical directions of the Comintern. Such a Party will be capable to lead the American proletariat to victorious struggle against capitalism.

With Communist Greetings,

—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

EXHIBIT No. 204

[Source: Daily Worker, July 8, 1929, pages 1, 2]

**PARTY IS THOROUGHLY MOBILIZED AGAINST ALL ATTEMPTS TO BREAK ITS UNITY;
DECISIVELY DEFEATS LOVESTONE'S SPLITTING PROGRAM**

Statement of the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of the
U. S. A.

The campaign for the unreserved acceptance and immediate application of the Address of the Communist International to our Party has now proceeded for about one month. In this month the campaign has mobilized the Party, has made the Party fully conscious of the timeliness and correctness of the criticisms contained in the Address, and of the correctness of the political line laid down by it, and has fortified its determination to fight against and to defeat all efforts of drawing the Party away from the political path of the 6th Congress and on the road of opportunism, of Brandlerism. The Party is thoroughly mobilized against any attempts of breaking the unity of our Party, and has decisively defeated Lovestone's attempt to split.

The first response justified the judgment that our Party was a Comintern Party politically and organizationally, an integral part of the Communist International. The Party fully realized the right character of the political line represented by Lovestone. It realized that the actions of Lovestone up to and including his defiance of the Communist International were attempts to replace the revolutionary, political line of the Comintern by a right opportunist line. The Party rejects this right line. It defends and will follow the revolutionary line of the Comintern. It has manifested this intention very definitely by the immediate and almost unanimous support of the Central Committee in the expulsion of Lovestone. Aside from some hesitation shown in the Connecticut and California districts, the district committees and functionary bodies have, practically unanimously, endorsed Lovestone's expulsion.

Lovestone underestimated the political soundness of our Party. He hoped to carry it with him on the wave of a factional momentum for a struggle against the Communist International. The promptness with which the Party met this attempt of anti-Comintern mobilization undeceived him. Therefore, he changed his tactics. At first intending to mobilize the Party in its overwhelming majority for a direct fight against the Comintern, he now concentrates on mobilizing his handful of followers for a struggle against the leadership of the Party. That is why he made his gesture of a bow to Comintern discipline by a formal acceptance of the Address; but at the same time he reiterated his platform of opposition to the Comintern decisions, utilizing it as a re-recruiting platform for his followers. The political conflict between him and the Comintern is the all overshadowing issue with him and his followers. Thus, even their statements of "submission" take the form of a challenge to the political and organizational authority of the Communist International. The conflict pointed out in the Central Committee statement on Lovestone's expulsion again manifests itself: in words, we had condemnations of the opportunists in Czechoslovakia, Germany—but in deeds we met mobilization of the Party against the Comintern under the slogan of "destructive Comintern methods in the struggle against Brandler, Hais," etc; in words, we had condemnations of the conciliators,—but in deeds we met mobilization against the Comintern under the slogan "the Comintern is killing such valuable elements as Evert, Humbert Droz, etc.": in words, we were treated to condemnations of the Rights in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—but in deeds we were confronted by mobilization against the Comintern and against the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the slogan of "no hooliganism": in words, we are assured that they support the policies of the leadership of the C. P. S. U.—but in deeds we are treated to an attempt of mobilization against the five-year plan; in words, we are assured of submission to the decisions of the Comintern—but the deeds take the form of mobilization against the Comintern under the slogan "the Address destroys the Party and its leadership": in words, they call upon all to dissolve the factions—in deeds we find Lovestone in caucuses, making strenuous efforts to reorganize and reconstitute his faction for a struggle against the Party policy and against the Party.

This conflict between wordy protestations of loyalty to the Party and the Comintern and active creation and mobilization of disloyalty has now taken the form of an open conflict of Lovestone's anti-Party tendencies with the Party. The small handful of followers of Lovestone are trying to deceive the Party by a continuation of Lovestone's methods. They attempt to cover the meaning of their open anti-Party and anti-Comintern speeches with the introduction of and the vote for a formal declaration of submission to the Comintern. The Party resents this insult hurled at its political intelligence. It can distinguish very well between its loyal members and its enemies who parade under the disguise of loyalty. It demands unreserved submission to the leadership of the Communist International. It demands that every Party member become an instrument in carrying out the political line of the Communist International. It will not permit any member to mobilize any section of the Party against the Communist International. It will not be satisfied with formal professions of acceptance and submission; it will demand action for the line of the Comintern.

The expulsion of Lovestone has brought out into the open his political platform. This platform is one of political and organizational struggle against the Comintern. Its political contentions build bridges into the camps of different enemies of the Comintern. Lovestone's persistent propaganda of the deterioration and disintegration of the Comintern bows to Trotsky's theory of Thermidor. His assertions of the growing power of imperialism and his ridiculing of the most serious recent struggles of the working class, such as the May Day events in Berlin, are a bid to Brandler. His challenging of the correctness of the five-year plan of the C. P. S. U. are an open announcement of his engagement with the Right wing in the C. P. S. U.

Lovestone's platform is now supplying one of the crystallization points of hidden opportunists in our Party. When the Comintern demands disassociation from Lovestone, it demands primarily the rejection of the Right platform of Lovestone and the unconditional defense of the revolutionary platform of the Communist International.

Some members of our Party are still meeting and caucusing with Lovestone. Some of them are consciously determined to follow Lovestone's path of struggle against the Party; others are still wavering and undecided. To all those the Party wants to make clear that the time of compromise is passed. The unity

of the Party demands a quick choice between the line of Lovestone and the line of the Communist International. Some of the delegates who recently returned from Moscow have not yet reported to the Central Committee for Party duty; but they are found to tour the districts to agitate the Party in favor of Lovestone's anti-Comintern platform. They must choose and choose quickly between allegiance to the Party and allegiance to Lovestone.

Comrade Gitlow has not even found his way yet to formal submission to the Comintern decisions. In the meeting of the Presidium of the Comintern on May 14, he declared that he will not only not accept, but that he will actively oppose the decision. On June 29 he declared in a written statement to the Central Committee that:

"I have nothing to add or detract from the statement I made to the Presidium of the Comintern in reference to the Address of the Comintern to the American Party. I adhere to that statement."

Thus Gitlow upholds his declaration of war against the Comintern. The Party takes cognizance of this as well as of the active steps against Comintern decisions taken by him and others who declare their formal acceptance. The Party decisively rejects the theory that one can be for the Party as an organization, while being against the political line and purpose of the Party. The Party as an organization is only the means to put the political line into operation and to achieve the Party's purpose. The rejection of the line of the Party, after the discussion period is over, becomes a rejection of the Party itself. Unwillingness to carry out the line of the Party is objective support to the Party's enemies.

The Party fully understands this and will not permit anyone to play further with pro-Party words in order to hide anti-Party deeds. The Party has shown this determination in the promptness and decisiveness with which it supported the action of the Central Committee against Lovestone. The open defiance of the Comintern by Lovestone has put his political conflict with the Comintern into such clear relief that declarations of formal submission can no longer cover it. That is why the concealed opposition of yesterday becomes the open anti-Party army of Lovestone within our Party to-day. This fact enables the Party to meet the political assertions and propaganda of the Right wing opposition in the open. This will contribute to the clarification of the situation.

There is yet rampant in the Party a large amount of rumoring and whispering. "Secret decisions" are peddled concerning new additions to the secretariat or the Polcom of the Party; wholesale expulsions from the Comintern and by the Comintern are peddled as evidence of the disintegration of that body. With such rumors and whispers the Lovestone Right opposition is endeavoring to undermine the authority of the Comintern International and of the Central Committee. It is endeavoring to create and keep alive suspicions and factional sympathies. Even loyal Party members are still giving credence to such rumors and whispers and relay them. Thereby they help the enemies of the Party. Rumor and whispering campaigns are a disintegrating poison and must be treated as such. The carriers of rumors and whispers are poison peddlers and must be challenged as enemies of the Party.

The campaign for the acceptance and application of the Comintern Address has resulted in consciousness of the Party of the correctness of the revolutionary line of the Comintern. The political health of the Party found expression in its unswerving confidence in the Communist International. The Party will not permit any individual or any group of individuals to play with this confidence. The unity of the Party and its revolutionary integrity stand above all. The Party will defend this unity and strengthen this integrity by brushing aside all obstacles in its path.

It will defeat all efforts to push it from the line of the revolutionary class struggle. That the Party may do that effectively all the leading committees must carefully analyze their tasks and must intensify their activity. While a marked tendency is noticeable toward intensification of our trade union activity and of our work among the unorganized masses, yet there is still too much laxity; there is a lack of system in the plans as well as a lack of energy in the execution. This shortcoming must be consciously combated. The coming Convention of the Trade Union Educational League must be made a concentration point of these activities. The Party must wholeheartedly support the endeavors of the League to create a center for the left wing in the existing trade unions, and to build up an active organization center for the masses of unorganized workers.

The reorientation and revitalization of the work among the Negro masses leaves still much to be desired. The leading committees of the Party must take

up in a concrete form all the problems connected with this task, otherwise the Comintern Address will not be transformed into real pulsating life of the Party, into an element of Bolshevization.

The most important activities facing us at the present moment is the strengthening of our old and the systematic building of new shop nuclei. The intensification of every form of Party work finds its most effective expression in this specific work. Party districts that will not increase manifold their activities in this field cannot claim to accept and carry out the Address of the Comintern unreservedly. "The Party's face toward the factories" is a most important slogan of the hour.

The problem of mobilization against the war danger is the problem of mobilizing the working masses for the class struggle. We cannot solve this problem if we do not extend the roots of our Party more into the working class. Only if our Party has its members and units distributed over all important industries and industrial establishments, can it claim to be a real Communist Party.

The Party has as yet spent inadequate efforts on events in Gastonia. The outrageous attack by the police and mill guards on the strikers' colony and the dastardly frame-up against the strike leaders must find an echo in every city and every industrial establishment of the country. The Party must carry its agitation into every factory so that the capitalist conspiracy in Gastonia will be met by the united protest and resistance from the working class of the whole country.

The next concentration point of all of our Party activities must be International Red Day, on Aug. 1. Every fiber of strength that our Party has must be brought into action to achieve mass mobilization for this day. We have defeated the right opposition politically in the enlightenment campaign. We will annihilate it organizationally by putting the Party to work. In this work we will demonstrate the correctness and value for our Party of the Comintern Address. In this work we will also weed out from our Party all elements in opposition to the political line of the Party. The revolutionary enthusiasm and the Bolshevik determination of the ranks of the Party will sweep these elements out of the path of the progress of the Party and none will shed a tear for the loss.

FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE SECRETARIAT.

EXHIBIT No. 205

[Source: Daily Worker, June 1, 1929, page 1]

FOR A BROAD, ENLIGHTENMENT CAMPAIGN

The Address of the Comintern to the American Party members was received 14 days ago. The Political Committee immediately, by unanimous vote, accepted, endorsed, and pledged to carry it into effect and to fight against any opposition to it, open or concealed. The Address was published in the Daily Worker of May 20, the first issue after receipt of the document. Every member of the Party has had the opportunity to study it.

Promptly and decisively the Party has responded to the Comintern Address. By mail and telegraph a constant stream of messages has poured into the Party office, from district organizers, district bureaus, language bureaus and newspaper staffs, and from leading workers, all accepting, endorsing and pledging to struggle for the line of the Address and against all opposition to it.

Especially important to note is the fact, that the response of the proletarian membership, the workers in the shops, mills, and mines, has been the most prompt and unhesitating, the most determined to stand with the Communist International against all who oppose it. The Party membership, especially its proletarian core, has accepted the Address with the enthusiasm that springs from conviction, and from the knowledge that it means a new period of advance and achievement for our Party.

Especially decisive has been the membership's understanding of the fact that this Address liquidates once and for all the myth that the Comintern is trying to transfer the leadership of the Party from one group to another. The Party already understands that the Address is intended—and is achieving its end—to really liquidate all the old groupings which have been a barrier to the healthy development of the Party, and which have prevented an effective struggle against opportunist tendencies within the Party. The editorial article in the Daily Worker of May 27, which dealt with this point among others, has been overwhelmingly approved by the membership.

FULL ENLIGHTENMENT NOW REQUIRED

Another stage is now reached in the acceptance and application of the line of the Comintern Address.

Now that the Party has decisively entered upon the path pointed out by the Comintern, it is necessary that the whole Party membership enter upon an organized discussion, to make clear to each and every one the full meaning of the Address, and its application to the daily life of the Party. Such a discussion, demanded by the Address itself, must now begin throughout the Party, from bottom to top.

What does the Party's acceptance of the Address mean? What will be achieved by the Party Enlightenment Campaign now opening? The following objectives must be set for this campaign, toward which every member must strive:

(1) Implanting a deep understanding of the Comintern line, broadening and deepening the ties between our Party and the World Party, the Comintern, already demonstrated by the endorsement of the Address, and making this line an intimate guiding force in all our activity.

(2) Solidifying the ranks of the Party, obliterating all the old group lines and factional formations, in a great mobilization of all those who are for the Comintern.

(3) Disclose who is against the Comintern, make clear to the Party as a whole just what such opposition means, and break completely its influence in the Party ranks.

WHO IS AGAINST THE COMINTERN?

It is clear from the Address itself that opposition existed in the Party delegation to the Communist International. Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow in their declaration of May 14, refused to accept the Address, or to carry it out, and even went to the length of stating they would actively oppose it. They are thus entering upon a course leading toward an attempt to split the Party, a course in violation of the 21 Conditions and the Statutes of the Comintern. In this splitting course they do not in any way represent the true proletarian spirit of the American Party, and will find the Party membership solidly lined up against them. Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow, on attempts to renew the faction struggle on the basis of opposition to the Communist International, will quickly feel the solid determination of the Party, which will tolerate no further faction activities of any kind.

But let there be no mere mechanical acceptance of the Communist International Address. Such formal acceptance, without application in life of the line of policy laid down in it, would be barren. The Party discussion now opening must take the form of basic self-criticism, of development of inner-party proletarian democracy, which will eliminate all elements of factionalism and mobilize the Party for its really basic tasks—internally, to combat all traces of opportunism, to struggle against the Right danger; and externally, to mobilize the awakening sections of the working class who are more and more engaging in struggle against capitalist rationalization and against the danger of war. The Party discussion must be made into a keep weapon against all remnants of factionalism, as the first steps in a real drive against opportunism which has been deeply imbedded in the American Party and which must be burned out in the fires of merciless criticism, and to concentrate the full energies of the Party on the practical tasks emphasized in the Address.

Therefore, it is necessary for all Party Units forthwith to begin a full, thorough, honest, self-critical, Bolshevik discussion of the Address of the Comintern, and of the tasks of the Party in the light of this Address.

The next two weeks the Party press will especially concentrate upon this discussion, which means a new stage in the forward march of the Communist Party of the United States of America toward becoming a mass Party, the leader of the American working class in the struggle against American capitalism.

Form up the ranks of the Party, for the Comintern, against the splitters or splitting tendencies, no matter from what quarter!

The Communist Party of United States of America, is for the Comintern!

Reject and condemn all opposition whatsoever to the Comintern!

For a complete Bolshevik application of the Address, which shall infuse the whole Party with the Comintern line, and completely unify its ranks from top to bottom on the revolutionary line of the Communist International!

For the struggle against factionalism, against opportunism, and for the practical work that will build a mass Communist Party!

EXHIBIT No. 206

[Source: Daily Worker, May 27, 1929, page 6]

A NEW PERIOD OPENS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

With a ruthless sweeping away of all the accumulated obstacles inherited from the past—the heritage of narrow traditions which grow out of factional methods in the unventilated, stifling atmosphere of factional group formations—the Communist International has sent an Address to the membership of the Communist Party of the United States which will not soon—in fact never—be forgotten.

This Address of the Communist International, published in the Daily Worker of May 20, unquestionably marks the opening of a new period in the life of the American Communist Party, and—because of the role and the vital connection of the Communist Party with the working class—this will bring a real and lasting benefit to the working class which depends for the effectiveness of its struggles upon the leadership of a healthy, strong, Bolshevik Communist Party.

The very radical action of the Communist International in dealing with its American section cannot be understood out of connection with the time and place. The time is one of rapid approach to a second imperialist world war and the inevitable flaming of proletarian revolution and colonial wars of liberation in a series of countries. In this of all times the Communist Party must at any cost in the quickest possible time accomplish the transition from a narrow propagandistic organization to a mass party of thoroughly sound Bolshevik character. The place is a capitalist imperialist country unexcelled in the arts and means of debauching the labor movement with the imperialist ideology. It is not an accident that the serious mistakes made by and in the American Communist Party are of an opportunist or Right character, expressing the reflection within the Communist Party itself of the influence of capitalist imperialist ideology upon the working class in which the Party functions. It is not an accident that the chief impediment to the development of the Communist Party of this country into a mass party is found to be precisely that morass of unprincipled factionalism which has no place in a Communist Party and which is, in fact, an ear-mark of what the Comintern so aptly styles “petty-bourgeois politician-dom.” The Address of the Comintern to the members of the American Communist Party is a devastating exposure of the mistakes and the false methods which spring from the pervading influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology—an influence which reaches not only the non-Communist workers, but also penetrates into the Party itself. Unprincipled methods “which clearly bear the imprint of petty-bourgeois politician-dom” are non-Communist methods from which no good can come to a Communist Party, and the Communist International is going to see to it that such methods are ruthlessly crushed out of its American section.

It is necessary to mark well what the Comintern says is “the ideological lever of Right errors in the American Party.” The “ideological lever” is the theory of “exceptionalism.” When once the frame of mind is reached where the inexorable laws of capitalist development and decline and of proletarian revolution are somehow subject to “exceptions” in regard to the particular country which the capitalist system tries to teach us is “our own” country—then the floodgates are dangerously near to opening to let in the whole flood of imperialist chauvinism.

In refuting the common error of both groups, the theory of “exceptionalism” the Address restates the Communist analysis of the position of American imperialism, in a paragraph which will compare for brevity and clarity with the best documents of Communism. It declares that: “With a distinctness unprecedented in history, American capitalism is exhibiting now the effects of the inexorable laws of capitalist development, the laws of the decline and downfall of capitalist society.” All shades and varieties of the “exceptionalism” theory are “a reflection of the pressure of American capitalism and reformism which is endeavoring to create among the mass of workers the impression of absolute firmness and ‘exceptional’ imperialist might of American capital in spite of its growing crisis, to strengthen the tactic of class collaboration in spite of the accentuation of class contradictions.”

The address undertakes to correct the line of the American Communist Party in a most fundamental fashion, setting the Party on the road to becoming a real Bolshevik mass party. Taken in connection with the Open Letter to the Sixth Convention of the Party, of which the Address is a perfectly consistent extension

and amplification along the same line (which the American Party failed to understand), it gives the American Communists a complete reorientation, which it is already clear opens up a new and higher stage of Communist development.

The address deals mainly with the inner-Party situation, because it is this which has been the main obstacle to the development of the American Section of the Communist International. Here the dominant note is the demand for liquidation of factionalism—complete and unconditional—addressed to all members and former groupings in the Party. How deep the poison of factionalism had entered our Party is shown when the Comintern Address establishes the indisputable fact that the Minority as well as the Majority had been guilty of unprincipled factionalism, leading to a “gross distortion of the line of the Comintern.”

It is absolutely true, as the Comintern Address says, that the Sixth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States was of splendid proletarian composition representing the best qualities of the Party. But factional leadership caused the convention to fail to accomplish its purposes, and “this convention which was composed of the best proletarian elements of the American Communist Party who uphold the line of the Comintern, became an arena for unprincipled maneuvers on the part of the top leaders of the Majority as well as on the part of the leaders of the Minority.”

In the morass of factionalism both the Majority and the Minority saw, not the aims of the Comintern to cure the American Communist Party of its illness and to enable it release its powers for healthy growth, but an effort to hand over the leadership of the Party to the Minority. This was not and is not now the intention of the Comintern. Yet the Majority flew into a furious factional struggle to defeat this imaginary intention, while the Minority just as wildly and as factionally struggled to make the actions of the Comintern an instrument for taking the leadership of the Party into its own hands. Certain leaders of the Minority showed themselves unfit to play a role of a uniting factor in the struggle of the Party against factionalism in conformity with the directions of the Comintern, and yet it is the factional leaders of the Majority with Comrade Lovestone at the head who are mainly responsible for making use of the convention for factional purposes.

The illusion of some former Minority comrades that their own mistakes were of a left character, as contrasted with the “series of gross right errors” of the Majority, is effectively destroyed by the Address, which traces these so-called “left,” but in reality Right opportunist errors to exactly the same roots as the errors of the Majority, namely the theory of American “exceptionalism.” The Communist International establishes, as well, that it is “a factional exaggeration” to say that the Majority as a whole is a bearer of the right tendency, just as it is a factional exaggeration to say that the Minority group represents the Trotskyist deviation.

It must cause our Party most drastically to readjust itself when it reads of “rotten factional diplomacy” in regard to the Comintern being used in the American Party which has always and correctly prided itself upon being a “Comintern Party” in the special sense of having never in its previous history found itself in serious struggle with the Comintern line. The bright light of day now being thrown by the Comintern Address upon these most unhealthy developments will have the result of purging the Party completely from the germs of this disease.

It is now the task of the American Communists to secure the full and unconditional acceptance, endorsement, and carrying into effect of the line and the decisions of the Comintern.

The Address to the American Party membership is sharp, but its sharpness is necessary to stir the Party out of its factional self-satisfaction of the groups into which it is divided. On such occasions of open criticism in the revolutionary party, all enemies of the working class delightedly sneer and jeer at the Party of the Revolution. But the criticism is necessary, and we care nothing for the opinions of the socialist party and other traitors to the revolution. Do our enemies want to know how we will react to the criticism of our Communist International—to this “interference of Moscow?” Let them have their answer in the unanimous decision of our Political Committee, made on the same day on which the Address was received, accepting and endorsing the Comintern Address and already taking the first steps for carrying out its decisions. Let our enemies ponder over the fact that within a week after the Address was received (barely enough time for it to reach the far-away districts) every district organizer, every Party editor, every language bureau has already accepted and endorsed the Communist International's Address and the entire machinery of the Party is in motion to put it into effect. The Communist International

is correct in considering that, whatever its faults, the Communist Party of the United States is bound by unswerving loyalty to the Communist International and is full of confidence in the soundness of its leadership.

But it would be the most grave mistake to ignore the fact, pointed out in the Address itself, that opposition exists and that it exists among some members of the delegation sent to Moscow by the Sixth Convention. This opposition has taken such dangerous forms that the Comintern has thought necessary to characterize it as "a direct attempt at preparing the condition necessary for paralyzing the decisions of the Comintern and for a split in the Communist Party of America." The Communist Youth International, in the course of its duty in guiding the Communist Youth League of this country along the same line of the Communist International, has cabled to the Youth League in America that it must struggle "against the splitting policy of Lovestone and Gitlow." The Party must and will without the slightest hesitation repel every splitting attempt, and must proceed with a firm hand against any and every sign of response to or sympathy with such an anti-Comintern policy as that pointed out and condemned in the Address. And already it has been made clear that such a strong line will be the line of the overwhelming majority of the proletarian ranks of the Party.

The Party is now to be mobilized in its full strength for the struggle against unprincipled factionalism, to be able to carry out the struggle against the Right danger, for the healing and bolshevization of the American Communist Party, for the genuine carrying out of inner-party democracy and proletarian self-criticism. A large scale discussion of the inner-party questions is necessary, together with a discussion of the Party's political tasks. The Party membership must fuse itself into an organic unity in the course of this discussion and in the course of the carrying out of the Comintern line in the daily life of the Party. The Party must concentrate its attention on the most important questions of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of America, the struggle against unemployment, for social insurance, for better wages, hours and working conditions, for building the left wing in the existing trade unions, for the organization of new unions, for struggle against reformism and against the war danger.

The Party must realize the words of the Comintern Address:

"It is only by consolidating the whole Party for carrying out its fundamental practical tasks on the basis of the line of the Comintern and by more energetic struggle against the Right danger that the American Communist Party will become the genuine Bolshevik vanguard of the proletariat and will be converted into a mass political party of the American workers in the ranks of which inner-party democracy is being unfolded while at the same time an iron proletarian discipline is strengthened, to which all organizations and each individual member unconditionally submits; in the ranks of which is practised the submission of the Minority to the Majority on the basis of the Party's pursuit of the line and practical directions of the Comintern. Such a Party will be capable to lead the American proletariat to victorious struggle against capitalism."

EXHIBIT No. 207

[Source: Daily Worker, May 30, 1929, page 2]

URGE UNITY OF PARTY ON BASIS OF ADDRESS FROM COMINTERN—ADDITIONAL ENDORSEMENTS RECEIVED FROM PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND FUNCTIONARIES

(Continued from Page One)

FOR MASS COMMUNIST PARTY.

As proletarian Central Committee member I fully and wholeheartedly approve and endorse the Address of the Comintern to the membership of our Party. I also approve the unanimous Polcom action. I will exert every effort to carry decision into full effect amongst entire membership. Forward to a united Mass Communist Party. Long live the Comintern.—JOHN KAMP, Detroit, Mich.

SUPPORTS ADDRESS TO THE UTMOST.

The last factional strife was ruinous to the Party. The Comintern could do no different than it has done. I welcome the address and will do my utmost to support it and hope no member will fail to do so.—ZARTARIAN, Editor, Norashkor.

GREEK EDITOR ENDORSES UNCONDITIONALLY.

I endorse unconditionally the Address of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.—Editor Empros, Greek Communist Daily, New York.

SCANDINAVIAN EDITOR ACCEPTS LETTER.

I accept and endorse without reservations the Comintern letter and the decision of the Polcom.—ALBERT PEARSON, Editor of N. Y. Tid, Scandinavian Communist organ.

LUPIN ENDORSES FULLY.

I fully endorse the Comintern letter. Long live the Communist International.—ABRAHAM LUPIN, New York.

ENDORSEMENT FROM WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.

I wholeheartedly endorse and pledge support to the Comintern Address to liquidate factionalism.—N. MILO, Wilmington, Delaware.

DECISIVE STEP TOWARD LIQUIDATING FACTIONALISM.

I wish to state that I welcome the Address sent to the American Party by the Comintern as a decisive step toward the final liquidation of factionalism and factional groupings in the Party, toward the cleansing of the Party of the impermissible political methods which have been used by both groups in the factional struggle and the re-orientation of the Party on the correct line for the struggle against imperialism and the capitalist offensive. The Comintern has in this Address shown itself again as in the past as the leader of the American Party along the true Communist line and the membership should rally to the support of this leadership with united forces.—JULIET STUART POYNTZ, New York City.

FOR COMPLETE AND REAL COMMUNIST UNITY.

I accept fully and unconditionally the Comintern letter and the decisions of the Polcom of the American Party relative to this letter. I pledge myself to work wholeheartedly to carry out these decisions in letter and spirit against factionalism, for complete and real Communist unity in our Party.—ROBERT ZELMS, Organization Secretary, District No. One (Boston) Communist Party of the United States.

RUSSIAN FRACTION SECRETARY FOR LETTER.

As a loyal member of the Communist International I accept its Address to our Party and will work to carry out its decisions.

The Central Bureau of the Russian Fraction will meet and define its position in regard to the Address of the Communist International.—A. STRIZ, Secretary of Russian Bureau, Communist Party.

FOR BUILDING POWERFUL MASS PARTY.

After reading carefully the Open Letter of the Communist International and the decisions unanimously adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America we wish to state that we are first, last and all the time loyal members and supporters of the Comintern. We, will, therefore, endorse wholly and unreservedly the political and organizational decisions and we will work hard to put them into effect. Factionalism must be done away with for good as the first prerequisite to the building of a powerful mass Communist Party in the United States. For the editorial staff of a Vangnasda.—RAPHAEL PIRES, PETER HAGELIAS AND ELI KELLER, New Bedford, Mass.

DISTRICT NO. 5 ADOPTS RESOLUTION.

The District Bureau of District No. 5 (Pittsburgh) has adopted the following two resolutions:

1.—The District Bureau of District No. 5 of the Communist Party of U. S. A. fully endorses the addresses of the Comintern and the decisions of the C. E. C. and pledges itself to carry them out without reservations. We pledge ourselves

to take energetic measures to win over the entire membership for the unqualified support of the Address and to carry on a relentless struggle against the right danger and crystallize the leftward drift of the workers into a struggle against war and capitalist rationalization and to build the Party during these struggles.

The secretariat is instructed to immediately arrange a membership meeting in Pittsburgh and to tour representatives of the District Executive Committee to all outlying units to discuss the Open Letter to the VIth Party Convention and the Address to the membership.

2.—We recognize it as mistake of District Five Delegation to the 6th National Convention to sign a resolution which had as its purpose slandering and undermining the Open Letter and the organizational decisions, the only guaranty for realizing the Open Letter. This is the first prerequisite to the understanding and realization of the Open Letter in this district.—Abram Jakira, acting district organizer, District Five, Pittsburgh.

SECTION 3, N. Y. DISTRICT, TAKES ACTION.

The Bureau of Section 3, District 2, New York resolved unanimously:

1.—To accept the address to the membership by the Comintern printed in the Daily Worker on May 20, unreservedly and unconditionally.

2.—To endorse the decision of the Central Committee of the Party in regard to the open letter and the address, and to give wholehearted and sincere support to the Central Committee in its carrying out of decisions of the Comintern.

3.—To rally the membership of our section behind the decisions of the Comintern.

4.—To call upon all comrades of all groups and factions to renounce all caucuses and former groupings for the purpose of a real unification of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.—Bureau, Section Three, District 2, New York.

EXHIBIT No. 208

[Source: Daily Worker, May 28, 1929, page 2]

PARTY DISTRICTS SUPPORT THE COMINTERN ADDRESS

Additional statements received from district organizers of the Communist Party, members of the Central Committee, Language Bureau secretaries and editors of Party publications accepting and endorsing the Address of the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States follow:

DECLARATION OF NEW YORK DISTRICT BUREAU

The motion adopted unanimously by the District Bureau, District Two, New York, at its meeting May 24, was as follows:

"The District Bureau of District Two fully accepts and endorses the Address to the American Party membership by the Executive Committee of the Communist International and undertakes to win the entire membership of the Party in District Two for the support of the Comintern Address.

"2. The District Bureau endorses wholeheartedly and solidarizes itself with the unanimous decision of the Political Committee of the Party and pledges itself unconditionally to aid the Political Committee to carry into effect the decisions contained in the Address.

"3. The District Committee pledges itself and its membership to defend the Address of the Communist International before the membership against any ideological or other opposition to the Address.

"The District Bureau joins with the Central Committee of the Party in calling upon the members of the delegation in Moscow to withdraw all opposition to the Address and to the decisions contained therein and to do all in their power to assist the Communist International and the Central Committee of the Party to unify the Party in support of these decisions."

CLEVELAND DISTRICT ENDORSES COMINTERN ADDRESS

District Bureau unanimously accepted and endorsed wholeheartedly Communist International Address and pledged full support new secretariat. De-

mands end factionalism, complete unification, fight against Right wing and Trotskyism, organization unorganized, build up Party, complete subordination Comintern. Full resolution for publication in few days.—Israel Amter, District Organizer, Cleveland District.

TELEGRAM FROM KANSAS CITY DISTRICT ORGANIZER

I fully endorse Comintern letter to our Party and decisions of Polcom. Will do all possible to mobilize entire membership Kansas District to support this letter and decisions. In my opinion strongest measures must be taken against opponents Comintern Letter and decisions. Long live the Communist Party of the United States.—Roy Stephens, District Organizer, Kansas City.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRICT ORGANIZER TO POPULARIZE DECISION

I am glad to note our Communist International has taken decisive, final steps to eliminate factionalism in our Communist Party of the United States, thus making possible a united front of all Communist forces in the United States, which is necessary in order that our Party may fulfill its historic mission of organizing and leading the American Revolution.

I shall do everything possible to carry out the decisions of the Communist International, to popularize them and to urge the Party membership to go forward with the work energetically on the basis of these decisions.—Alfred Knutson, Agricultural Organizer, Bismarek, North Dakota.

KRUSE TO HELP MOBILIZE CHICAGO FOR COMINTERN

"As member Polcom solidarize myself action Polcom accept indorse Comintern Address pledge mobilize Chicago District for decision.—William F. Kruse, District Organizer, Chicago District.

ESTHONIAN BUREAU SUPPORTS ADDRESS

I am in complete agreement with the address of the Communist International and endorse the decisions of the Polcom. Bureau will meet Saturday.—Albert Moller, Secretary of the Esthonian Bureau, Communist Party.

BUILD PARTY AS LEADER OF WORKERS

"We welcome this definite Address to our Party! Unreservedly, we accept and endorse the decision of the Communist International. Completely we disassociate ourselves from the former fractional groupings, considering that they deviated from the line of the Communist International.

Through a determined struggle against all deviations from the line of the Communist International we will be able to build the Party as the leader of the American working class.

Long live the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

Long live the Communist International.—Section Executive Committee, Worcester, Mass., District No. 1. Evalde Anderson, Section Organizer.

OLGIN SEES DUTY CLEAR FOR PARTY MEMBERS

As member of the Central Committee and editor of a mass organ of the Party, the Daily Freiheit, I fully and unreservedly endorse the Comintern Address, and the Polcom decision concerning the Address. It is the duty of every Party member to stand firm behind the Comintern decision, to combat most vigorously any opposition to the decision, and to carry out all measures of the Comintern as leading to an absolute termination of factionalism, to a correcting of the Party line and to a building up of a Mass Party in the United States.—Moissaye J. Olgin, New York.

HOFFMAN SUPPORTS COMINTERN ADDRESS

"As a proletarian member of the District Committee of District 2, New York, I accept unreservedly the Comintern's open Address to the Communist Party of the United States of America on the past bitter factionalism in our Party. I

also accept the Polcom's decisions unconditionally on this question. Therefore, I ask all Party members to do likewise.

Long live the Communist International and the Communist Party of the United States of America.—Albert Hoffman, Harrison, N. J.

EXHIBIT No. 209

[Source: Daily Worker, May 25, 1929, pages 1, 2]

PARTY FUNCTIONARIES SUPPORT COMINTERN ADDRESS FULLY

Additional statements received from district organizers of the Communist Party, members of the Central Committee, Language Bureau secretaries and editors of Party publications accepting and endorsing the Address of the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States follow:

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE SECTION BUREAU OF SECTION ONE,
NEW YORK CITY.

The Section Bureau of Section One, District 2, New York City, Communist Party of America, unreservedly endorses and accepts the Comintern Address, and all decisions which may flow from it, printed in the Daily Worker of May 20th, 1929.

The Section Bureau, while accepting the line contained in this Address, calls particular attention to the parts in the letter which severely criticises both the former majority and minority groups and demands from the Party the immediate cessation of all factional activities.

The Bureau interprets this to mean that the basis is laid for the Party to function as a unified Party, with a unified leadership, made up of the best and most proletarian comrades in our Party.

The Section Bureau accepts all decisions of our Central Committee on the Comintern Address. We pledge our utmost support to the Central Committee to uphold and carry out the Comintern line contained in the Address.

The Section Bureau urges all comrades of Section One to take action on the Address, to accept it wholeheartedly, to endorse the unanimous Central Committee decisions, to endorse the decisions of the Section Bureau and help it carry them out. And we are confident that the whole membership of our Party will accept wholeheartedly the Comintern Address and its decisions.

The Bureau warns the comrades against interpreting this Address, either as a whole or any part of it, in a factional manner.

The Section Bureau calls upon all comrades to get to work. With a unified Party, under the guidance of the Comintern and our Central Committee, we will march forward to new victories for our Party and the labor movement as a whole, and will build a strong mass Communist Party in this country.—Section Bureau, District 2, New York City.

ACCEPT AND FIGHT FOR COMINTERN LINE.

Our leader, the Communist International, calls upon us to consolidate our forces in order to be more effective in mobilizing the workers under the leadership of the Communist International for the general class struggle against world imperialism.

I unreservedly approve and accept and shall carry out all of the provisions of the "Open Address of the Communist International."

We must destroy every remnant of factionalism from our ranks, expose the theory of exceptionalism, combat the right danger, etc. We must struggle against any attempt at resistance to the Open Letter of the Comintern, since such resistance would constitute a move toward the splitting of the Party.

In the name of every Negro member of the Communist Party in District Two, I call upon every member of the Communist Party to accept and fight for the line of the Comintern—Harold Williams, Secretary, Negro Department, Communist Party of U. S. A., District Two, New York City.

SCANDINAVIAN SECRETARY ENDORSES LETTER.

"I endorse and promise to carry out the decision of the Comintern and promise to mobilize the Scandinavian members of the Party for the Communist International.—Gustav Nelson, Secretary, Scandinavian Bureau.

SPANISH BUREAU WHOLEHEARTEDLY APPROVES

The Spanish Bureau of the Party, at a special meeting called for the purpose of discussing the Address of the Comintern, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"That we wholeheartedly approve and accept the Address of the Comintern to the American Party membership. We pledge ourselves to carry out the line and decisions contained in the Address which we believe will eradicate once and for all factionalism in our Party. The position taken by the Central Committee with reference to the Address of the Comintern makes us feel confident that in the very near future the Party will be on the road to become a mass Party.—Spanish Bureau, Communist Party, U. S. A.

BULGARIAN EDITOR SUPPORTS DECISIONS.

I unreservedly endorse the letter of the Comintern and pledge full support of final decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. I urge all Bulgarian comrades to accept the decisions of the E.C.C.I.—G. Raduloff, Editor, Bulgarian Party Organ.

* * *

Markoff Urges Acceptance

As representative of the Central Committee of the Italian section of our Party and as a member of the District Executive Committee of District 2, New York, I wish to declare my wholehearted acceptance and endorsement of the Open Letter of the Communist International to the American Communist Party.

The Communist International has spoken in a decisive manner. It is the duty of every Party member of the language sections to carry out the decisions of the Communist International to the fullest degree. The interests of the Party must be above groups and individuals. Only thus can we develop our Party into an effective instrument in the struggle for the principles of the International Communist Movement.—A. Markoff.

* * *

Heino Accepts Address.

Answering the request of the secretariat, I, as editor of "Tyomies," a Finnish language daily, fully accept and endorse the address of the Communist International and the decision of the Party. I will do all in my power to win members and readers of the paper for these decisions. The whole staff stands by the decision.—David Heino.

* * *

South Slav Secretary Will Carry Out Decision.

I accept the Communist International letter and will carry it out unconditionally. The South Slav Bureau will meet Sunday and I will send you its position.—Frank Borich.

* * *

Marinoff Accepts Address.

I fully endorse the Comintern letter and the Communist Party Polcom decisions. Our bureau meets May 26, and after the meeting I will wire you the positions.—Marinoff, acting secretary of the Bulgarian Bureau.

* * *

From Ukrainian Bureau Secretary

I fully endorse the letter of the Communist International and the Political Committee decision. We are calling a bureau meeting but I assure you that the whole bureau will endorse the Communist International letter and the political committee decision. We are loyal to the Comintern and the Central Committee.—D. Rolenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Bureau.

From the Anthracite.

I fully accept the Comintern address and the decision of Polburo. I pledge myself to carry out this decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. I urge entire membership in anthracite to do likewise.—Vratarick, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

* * *

The telegram from Charles Mitchell, Buffalo District Organizer follows: "My views are entirely in accordance with the Central Committee decision on the address of the Comintern. A District Bureau meeting will be held here tomorrow. I will wire results."—Charles Mitchell, Buffalo.

Urges Admission of Mistakes.

Peter Chaunt, District Organizer, Connecticut, declares his "complete agreement" as follows:

"I am in complete agreement with and express my wholehearted support of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the decisions of the Polcom as a prerequisite for the unification of the Party and for the strengthening of the ties between the Comintern and the Party of the U. S. A. No matter how embittered comrades may be, we must admit mistakes and renounce any policy of resistance to political and organizational consequences of the E. C. C. I. decision."—Peter Chaunt.

Proletarian Supports Letter.

"As a proletarian member of the Central Committee, I accept unreservedly the Comintern decision and call upon all Party members to do likewise. Long live our United Communist Party! Long Live the Communist International."—John Schmies, Detroit.

Gerlach Supports Decisions.

"As a proletarian member of the Central Committee, I wholeheartedly accept the address of the E. C. C. I. to our Party. I pledge myself to carry out the decisions and to fight factionalism. I also urge other Party members to do so."—Tony Gerlach, Detroit, Mich.

Heikkinen Supports Unconditionally.

"I am unconditionally in line with the Polcom decision on the E. C. C. I. address."—K. E. Heikkinen, Chicago.

For Mass Communist Party.

"I accept wholeheartedly the C. I. open letter and organizational proposals. I urge all Party members, irrespective of former groupings, to go forward in building a mass Communist Party."—Lena Chernenko.

EXHIBIT No. 210

[Source: Daily Worker, May 27, 1929, pages 1, 5]

BEDACHT, FOSTER, BITTLEMAN URGE SUPPORT OF ADDRESS

Additional statements received from Comrades Bedacht, Foster and Bittleman as well as from additional district organizers of the Communist Party, members of the Central Committee, Language Bureau secretaries and editors of Party publications accepting and endorsing the Address of the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States follow:

EXECUTIVE DECISIONS LOYALLY, SAYS BEDACHT

"The decision of the Communist International has been made. Although some members of the United States delegation have opposed the decisions of the Comintern, I emphatically believe that the decisions of the Communist Interna-

tional must be executed loyally. The address to the membership Party from the Communist International must be published forthwith."—Max Bedacht.

APPEAL BY FOSTER AND BITTELMAN

The full text of the appeal issued by Comrades Foster and Bittelman follows:
 "To Comrades of the Minority: To All Members of the United States Section of the Comintern:

"We, Minority Party Delegation have declared before the Communist International our unreserved acceptance of the Comintern decision on the American question and have pledged unconditional execution of the decisions. We now appeal to you to do likewise.

"All Party delegates have had sufficient opportunity to present and defend their points of view before the Communist International. The decision was finally rendered after an exhaustive study of the question. The decision constitutes a powerful instrument for struggle against the Right danger, for the final liquidation of factionalism, for the proletarianization of the Party leadership and unification on the basis of Comintern discipline and the line of the Sixth World Congress.

"With this decision the Party can confidently proceed to mobilize the working class for developing big struggles against rationalization and the war danger, against the treacherous reformists, the A. F. of L. and the socialist party, and for the proletarian revolution.

"The first condition for the realization of these tasks is the immediate dissolution of all factions and the merger of all Party forces to follow the Comintern leadership.

"We specifically appeal to all comrades associated with us to immediately disband as a faction unconditionally, to abandon all forms of factional activity and to support energetically and in deed the carrying out the Comintern letter."—Foster and Bittelman.

HUNGARIAN BUREAU PLEDGES UNRESERVED ACCEPTANCE

Unreserved Acceptance of the decisions contained in the Comintern letter is pledged in the resolutions adopted by the Hungarian Bureau of the Communist Party at its meeting, Thursday, May 23 and sent to the Central Committee of the Party through J. Peter, secretary. The resolution declares:

1. The Bureau fully and unreservedly and without any criticism endorses and accepts the Comintern letter and the unanimous decisions of the Polcom. The Bureau will do everything within its power to mobilize the membership behind the Comintern letter.

2. The Bureau endorse the the criticism of the C. I. letter when it says: "Both groups are guilty in opportunistic errors . . . both the Majority and Minority placed their group interest above the interest of the Party . . . the self criticism has been banished in the interest of the groups."

3. Some comrades of the Moscow delegation refused to submit to the C. I. line laid down in the address to the E. C. C. I. The Bureau sharply condemns their attitude.

4. The Bureau calls upon its members to sever relations with both groups.

The factional struggle threatens the very life of our Party and must be stopped by all means. The Bureau pledges itself to do its utmost towards the unification of all Party forces.

5. The Bureau calls upon the Central Committee to take organizational steps against those who attempt to take a stand against the C. I. line.

6. The Bureau will work on the line of the Comintern Open Letter and will liquidate all the survivals of language federationism and build the Communist Party of the United States.

TO UNIFY DISTRICT 13, CALIFORNIA, ON BASIS OF DECISION AND CORRECT LINE

"I fully endorse and accept the Comintern letter and pledge myself to carry out the decision and to secure unanimous acceptance by the District Executive Committee and by the membership here. With District 13 torn by factionalism and facing a dual, anti-Party organization, we expect that the Communist International decision will speed up the complete unification and building up of the Party on the basis of its correct line."—Emil Gardos, District Organizer, California.

ACCEPTS WITHOUT QUALIFICATION

"I endorse the unanimous action of the Polcom on the Communist International Letter and agree wholeheartedly with the letter and ask all Party members to accept it without any qualifications."—Nels Kjar, California.

"UNQUALIFIED ENDORSEMENT"

"I unqualifiedly accept and endorse the Address to the Party membership by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which I have just read in the Daily Worker on arrival at Seattle today. I pledge myself to carry support of the letter to the district membership, whose acceptance and endorsement I shall make my task to secure. I am calling a Bureau meeting for discussion on the letter."—Sorenson, District Organizer, Seattle, Washington.

UNRESERVEDLY ACCEPTS ADDRESS

"I unreservedly accept the Comintern Address to the membership and the polcom decision in connection with the letter."—V. Tauras, Brooklyn, N. Y.

PORTUGUESE PARTY EDITOR ACCEPTS

"I endorse and accept the Comintern letter."—Martin C. Correia, Portuguese Editor.

KOPPEL SUPPORTS WITHOUT RESERVATION

"I fully endorse the Open Letter of the Comintern to the membership without reservations."—A. Koppel, Brooklyn, N. Y.

VILNIS STAFF FOR LETTER

"All 'Vilnis' Staff is for the Comintern Address. We support the decisions and line of the address in letter and spirit."—Andriulius, Bimba, Gasiunas, Bacevicius, Strazdas, Vilnis, Lithuanian Communist Daily, Chicago.

FIGHT AS SINGLE UNIT

"I unreservedly accept the Comintern letter, and pledge my utmost to carry out its decisions. The Party must shake off the last vestige of factionalism and fight on as a single unit."—John Lucas, Armenian Fraction Bureau.

ENDORSES LETTER UNCONDITIONALLY

"We endorse unconditionally the Open Letter of the Communist International and the decision of the Polcom of the American Party relative to the letter."—Editors, Toveri, Finnish Communist Daily, Astoria, Oregon.

JEWISH BUREAU FOR COMINTERN LINE

A call for unanimous acceptance of the Comintern Address to the membership by the members of the Jewish sections of the Communist Party was made in the resolutions unanimously adopted by the Actions Committee of the Jewish Bureau of the Communist Party last Thursday.

"The Jewish Bureau of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. fully accepts and endorses the letter of May 20 of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the membership of the American Party," the resolution states.

"The Jewish Bureau greets and endorses the decisions of the Central Committee to mobilize the membership of the Party for the decisions of the Communist International.

"I fully accept and endorse the Address of the Communist International, which tend to liquidate factionalism in the American Party.

"We pledge ourselves to help bring to a full understanding of the line of the letter and its proper application against unprincipled factionalism, against right wing deviations and against any split tendency.

"We call upon all members of the Jewish sections to unanimously accept the letter addressed to the members of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and carry out the decisions of the Communist International."—Jewish Bureau of the Communist Party, U. S. A., S. Freeman, Secretary.

JEWISH BUREAU SECRETARY ENDORSES LETTER

"I fully accept and endorse the address of the Communist International to the members of the American Party.

"I pledge myself support to the Central Committee which has unanimously accepted and pledged itself to unconditionally carry into effect the decisions contained in this address.

I will do all in my power to mobilize the membership for the support and decisions of the Communist International, for the liquidation of factionalism and against right deviations and against any split tendencies.

"With more determination let us proceed towards the building of a stronger section of the Communist International in the United States, a mass Communist Party of the U. S. A."—S. Freeman, Secretary Jewish Bureau, C. P. of U. S. A.

EXHIBIT No. 211

[Source: Daily Worker, July 11, 1929, pages 1, 2]

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—YCI—USA ON SUSPENSION OF RUBENSTEIN AND SILVIS FROM NEC BUREAU

CABLE FROM YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The following cable was received by the Young Communist League of the U. S. A. from the Young Communist International, on July 6, 1929:

"Endorse suspension Rubenstein and Silvis. Call upon all members and units to unite against concealed and open right wing. Fight renegades and splitters, for Comintern Address and your Congress decisions.

YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Comrade Jack Rubenstein, a member of the Bureau of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League, and Comrade Miriam Silvis, a candidate member, have been suspended from the National Executive Committee Bureau and from the leading posts which they held, because of their open Right opposition to the Address of the Communist International to the American Party membership and to the whole line of the Comintern as laid down at the Sixth World Congress and specifically applied to the United States in this Address and other decision. These comrades have further been carrying on factional activities within the League. Comrade Rubenstein attended a caucus meeting with Lovestone and spoke at a full meeting of the New York District Executive Committee against the line of the National Executive Committee which he is supposed to defend as a NEC member.

In speeches, with factional activity and by their written statement these comrades not only brazenly attack the Communist International and our Party, but they open up a fight against the unanimous decision of our Fifth National Convention for which they themselves voted. Here these comrades show the same political inconsistency and unprincipledness which has marked their course since the convention.

On May 20th these comrades voted "to endorse and energetically support the Address and to mobilize the entire membership of the League to fight together with the membership of the Party for a full understanding of its line . . . to unconditionally and unreservedly carry into effect the decisions contained in this Address and 'to become one of the best interpreters of the policy of the Comintern on the American question.'" This is how these comrades spoke when they were fighting in a concealed manner against the line of the League, the Party and the Comintern.

Today the pledge of "energetic support" is replaced by "We find it necessary to state our disagreement to the Address . . . because the consequences of the Address are so disastrous that we must declare openly that we cannot accept the political responsibility for what the Address will do in our Party and League."

On May 20th these comrades voted unanimously with other members of the NEC Bureau to "condemn the opposition on the part of Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow to the Address and decisions of the Comintern and to call upon all League and Party members to fight against this position," also endorsing the cable from the YCI which called for a merciless fight against Lovestone's and Gitlow's splitting policy.

Today, in the face of categoric instructions from the Comintern that "all former adherents of Lovestone publicly disassociate themselves from him," these comrades write in their statement: "The expulsion of Comrade Lovestone is not justified on either political or technical grounds," adding that he "was the single outstanding leader of our Party until the eve of his expulsion."

In their attempt to open up a new factional struggle in the League, these comrades have presented a new opposition thesis in the form of a statement to the NEC Bureau. By bringing in this document signed by four comrades—Rubenstein, Silvis, Lurye and Welsh—they show very clearly that they are presenting a new caucus document and that this new Lovestone caucus within the League has already been organized at the top. This new group which the comrades wish to organize is, however, very different from the old unprincipled factional groupings of the past. It is a group definitely in opposition to the line of the Party and of the Comintern.

What is the platform of this anti-Comintern opposition as put forward in their thesis?

1.—The comrades register their fundamental political disagreement with the Address of the ECCI to the American Party membership.

They state: "We want to make clear our disagreement with the Address. On a number of important political questions (the character of American imperialism and its relations to world imperialism; the relation and mutual relations of inner and outer contradictions in the present period, etc., etc.) the line of the Address represents a distinct revision of the line of the Sixth World Congress." In this way these comrades follow the line of Lovestone and the International Right Wing by struggling against the line of the VI World Congress under the slogan that the Comintern is trying to revise its own line. In reality these comrades still cling to their theory of exceptionalism and refuse to accept the criticism of the address which points out the failure of the American Party to correctly interpret the decisions of the VI Congress.

2. The comrades still continue to employ the methods of petty-bourgeois politicianism so sharply criticized in the Address.

This is evidenced not only in the methods of slander employed in their statement but in their whole attitude to the Address and to the Comintern which their statement and verbal speeches express. Such formulations as "The Address, far from helping us to unify our Party and League and to enable us to give leadership to the struggles of the workers, has resulted in the disintegration of the Party cadres and in the rapid demoralization of the Party ranks," are comparable with the slanderous statement of May 14th in Moscow, which sets up the Comintern as some outside agent trying to destroy the Party. In the same strain they state "the logic of the Address is to pass the leadership of the Party to the minority," etc.—a slander reminiscent of the factional period and proven so false by the Address and various actions of the Comintern which show it is out to smash all factions in the American Party.

3. The comrades make factional capital out of the difficulties confronting the League and Party, painting a pessimistic picture for the United States in line with their theories of the degeneration of the Comintern, etc.

They make factional issues of such serious problems as the bad financial situation inherited from the period of irresponsible factionalism. They make an issue of the small income of the National Office since the Convention, lack of dues payments from the districts, etc. The sending of Secretariat members to the South into a struggle situation becomes "haphazard" methods. These comrades even raise the cry of "failure to issue The Daily Worker, for the first time in its history, and the occurrence of this suspension on the second day of the Furriers' Strike, the subsequent reduction of the paper to four pages at a time when important struggles are taking place," etc. These comrades deal in the same destructive way with such serious problems as the situation of the Miners' Union, the Gastonia Campaign, the Furriers' Strike and the TUEL Convention.

They show their lack of revolutionary faith in the proletarian members of our League and Party and in the class-conscious workers generally when they speak of the "disintegration of whole sections of the League in many of the most important sections of the country," and when in verbal speeches they express opinions to the effect that the future is very dark for the League and Party. The theories in regard to the degeneration of the leadership of the Russian Party and the Comintern is very closely linked to their theories as to the break of the American Party. When comrades can state before a lower body of the League: "I have faith in the forces that made the Russian Revolution. I have

faith in the forces that build the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And these forces which made the Revolution and built the CPSU will change the present internal regime in the Russian Party and in the Comintern"—the League members should take this as a warning where the anti-Comintern line of these comrades must lead if they do not correct their present position. Such a formulation has all the elements of the counter-revolutionary slogans of Trotsky and other renegades.

4. The comrades put forward a petty-bourgeois conception of democracy for the League and Party.

They reject the correct concept of League and Party democracy as proletarian democracy based upon the interests of the class and bound up with firm proletarian discipline. When comrades who not only fail to understand but actively fight the CI line are removed from leading posts they raise the cry of "terror" and "head-chopping," and the refusal to reopen the discussion as to the correct line for the Party (i. e., to hear "both sides," Lovestone and the Comintern) after the final decision has been rendered by the highest body, becomes "no inner Party democracy." And the Enlightenment Campaign suddenly becomes a "darkening campaign" because it is not made a pre-Convention discussion. These comrades even quote the American Mercury in an attempt to compare the necessary Party discipline with the dogmatism of the capitalist church.

Today, when the struggles of the workers are growing on every hand (New Orleans, Gastonia, Elizabethton, Detroit, Oakland, etc.), and the preparations for imminent wars bear down more and more upon the workers, our League and Party are faced with tremendous tasks. The YCI and our own 5th Convention already pointed out that the League, like the Party, is far from prepared to fulfill its obligations in the growing workers' struggles. Six long years of destructive factional struggle has led to an irresponsible neglect of some of the most elementary tasks confronting the movement and to a serious weakening of our apparatus. Already the proletarian members of the League are uniting their efforts to repair all those parts of our movement which have been damaged. They are doing this by means of relentless self-criticism. They are doing this by removing the greatest obstacle in the way of the League's growth—factionalism.

With the help of the Comintern and the YCI, by concretely applying the directives of the Open Letter and the Address and our 5th National Convention, by a sharpened struggle against the new Right opposition, we will take big strides forward to transforming the Party from a small propaganda organization to a mass political Party of the American working class. The proletarian elements in the League and Party will see that this is accomplished and that the League and Party are strengthened to measure up to their growing tasks. The splitting tactics of Lovestone, the factional course of Rubenstein, Silvis and others, the open Right wing line of this anti-Comintern opposition in the Party and League, will not be allowed to delay the Party in its march along this new course.

The pessimistic talk of these comrades about the collapse of the Party and League, their attempts to make factional capital of the problems confronting the movement, and, finally, their attempts to obscure the line of the Party for the present period, will not hinder our march forward but only add temporarily to our difficulties exposing at the same time the anti-Party character of this new opposition.

The best guarantee for quickly liquidating this difficulty presented to us in the form of the new anti-Comintern opposition is a sharpened struggle against the Right danger. This struggle must be combined with an energetic fight against all conciliatory tendencies which cloak and in every way aid the open Right opposition. This struggle must be conducted sharply and decisively so that this group will be rapidly exposed politically before it has any chance to hold us back from playing our full role in the growing class struggles of this period.

The League which made its line that of the CI at its 5th National Convention is already playing a leading role in the struggle for the Comintern line and is showing the solid basis of its unity by its unanimous condemnation of Lovestone and his few followers in the League. The League will follow the directives of the YCI and its own 5th National Convention by proving itself "one of the best interpreters of the policy of the Comintern on the American question."

We will mobilize the entire League to prove our acceptance and understanding of the CI Address in the field of everyday activity. We must immediately

activate and stabilize each unit, improve the social composition of the League, further proletarianize the League's leadership from top to bottom and finally stamp out all remnants of factionalism that we will be in a position to better carry out our mass tasks.

The League must react more quickly to the growing struggles of the workers and be the leader of the working youth in the ever-more numerous strikes. In our struggle against the war danger we must carry on more systematic anti-militarist work, especially in the regular forces, and connect up our struggle against the war danger more concretely with the struggle against the effect of capitalist rationalization on the young workers. We must struggle more energetically against pacifist illusions in the League and among the young workers, especially against the under-estimation of the war danger by our League members. We must broaden and concretize our anti-imperialist activities. We must finally make a beginning in work among the masses of Negro youth and carry on a bitter struggle against white chauvinism in the League. We must sharpen our struggle against the influence of reformist ideology and organizations upon the young workers by means of a sharpened struggle against the A. F. of L. misleaders, the Socialist Party and the so-called progressives of the Muste group who do their best to stifle the militancy and prevent the organization of the young workers.

The League must immediately take up the major campaigns confronting it which have already been outlined in 3 months plan of work. Every League member must be on the job in the defense of the framed-up Gastonia strikers; every League member must be an organizer of the young workers for the TUEL Convention; every League member must mobilize the working youth for a tremendous demonstration against the war danger and capitalist rationalization on Red Day, August 1st; every League member must help prepare a broad LSU Convention and Meet August 21st.

Sharpen the struggle against capitalist rationalization and war!

FORWARD TO A MASS YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE IN THE UNITED STATES!

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

EXHIBIT No. 212

[Source: Daily Worker, May 24, 1929, page 1]

DISTRICT ORGANIZERS, MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, LANGUAGE BUREAU SECRETARIES AND EDITORS OF PARTY PAPERS ENDORSE ADDRESS OF THE COMINTERN.

Additional statements received from district organizers of the Communist Party, members of the Central Committee, Language Bureau secretaries and editors of Party publications accepting and endorsing the Address of the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States follow:

FROM HUNGARIAN BUREAU SECRETARY.

I fully and unreservedly endorse and accept the Comintern letter and the Polcom's unanimous decisions. I pledge my full support to the Central Committee fighting against all factionalism, for building the mass Communist Party in the United States. I will do all in my power to mobilize members to support the Comintern letter and the unanimous decisions of the Central Committee.—J. Peter, Secretary, Hungarian Bureau, Communist Party.

DEATH BLOW TO FACTIONALISM, SAYS MOREAU.

The Comintern Address which proposes to deal a death blow to factionalism in our Party, will now enable us to carry out the political line indicated in the Open Letter. I approve, accept and pledge my support to all the decisions referred to in the Address. I urge the Central Committee, after its unanimous decisions on the Address, to energetically continue its campaign for the full support of the decisions of the Comintern especially concentrating on the best elements in the Party, the proletarian, and all sincere hard workers for our movement. For a unified Communist Party. Long Live the Communist International.—Albert Moreau, Secretary, Spanish Bureau, Communist Party.

HINDRANCE TO PARTY GROWTH ELIMINATED.

I fully accept and endorse the Address of the Communist International to the membership of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. I am confident every comrade will agree on the necessity for eliminating the unprincipled factionalism which has hindered the growth of the Party and made it impossible for the Party to carry out effectively its revolutionary tasks. I accept without any reservation whatsoever the leadership and authority of the Communist International.—Cyril Briggs, New York City.

URGES AN END TO FACTIONALISM.

The "Arbeiter" welcomes wholeheartedly the Comintern letter and pledges its unreserved help in carrying out the policies outlined in the letter. Factionalism which has pervaded our Party from its very beginning must cease. Our Party has done splendid work in spite of its shortcomings. She will achieve much greater results if all Party members will cast away their factional way of thinking, and united in a real Bolshevik spirit work to make our Party a political mass-party of the American working class as an effective instrument in our fight against all counter-revolutionist tendencies of the opportunists and pseudo-radical demagogues, against the imperialist war danger, and for the protection of the Soviet Union against capitalists' attacks.

Down with factionalism for all time! For a political mass-party of the working class by working on the line of the Comintern letter.—Theodore Berner, editor of the "Arbeiter," New York.

MILLER URGES CARRYING OUT OF LETTER.

As a loyal member of the Communist International, I accept and will support fully the decisions of the ECCI, the highest authority of our international party. I urge every loyal Party member to endorse and carry out fully the letter of the ECCL. Let us bend every effort to correct our errors, to eliminate factionalism, to unite our Party and lay the basis for a mass Communist Party in America under the leadership of the Communist International.—Bert Miller, Organization Secretary, District 2 (New York).

(Note: Ben Lifshitz, Acting District Organizer, now in prison, has already voted as a member of the Political Committee for the unanimous decision to accept and endorse the Comintern Letter.)

EXHIBIT No. 213

[Source: Daily Worker, May 22, 1929, page 1]

PARTY DISTRICT ORGANIZERS ENDORSE COMINTERN ADDRESS

JOIN WITH THE UNANIMOUS ACTION TAKEN BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The first four District Organizers of the Party to express themselves on the address of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the membership of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. are Abram Jakira, district organizer in Pittsburgh; Alex Bail, district organizer in Boston; Herbert Benjamin, district organizer in Philadelphia, and Norman Tallentire, district organizer in Detroit.

JAKIRA'S TELEGRAM FOLLOWS.

"I fully endorse Comintern letter and Polcom decisions and have begun campaign yesterday as soon as decisions become known to win over membership for unqualified endorsement. Bureau meets Thursday.—A. Jakira."

BAIL'S TELEGRAM FOLLOWS.

"Comintern letter indicated clearly and sharply ECCI determination to smash all former factions, eliminate anti-Party and anti-Comintern methods of faction fighting, lays down new and correct line for Party replacing incorrect line both former groups. Am convinced correctness organization measures as necessary prerequisite broader leadership on non-factional basis. Definitely disassociate

myself former majority to which I belonged since inception. Approve strongest measures against vacillators or opponents Comintern letter. Will do all in my power to mobilize membership support Comintern letter and unanimous decision Central Committee.—Alex Bail.”

BENJAMIN'S TELEGRAM FOLLOWS.

“As a loyal member of Comintern with full faith in our revolutionary international leadership I accept, endorse and pledge full support for the final decision of ECCI. This decision excludes all possibility for confusion as decision supporting one or another of the former groups and provides for the elimination of all group viewpoints, lays basis upon which our Party may go forward unhampered by remnants of old factional considerations to the many important tasks which confront our Party in the present period. Long Live Our United Communist Party! Long Live the Communist International.—Herbert Benjamin.”

TALLENTIRE'S TELEGRAM FOLLOWS.

“I urge that the entire Party both in its leadership and its proletarian rank and file elements must unreservedly accept and endorse as I do the decision of our Communist International—both in its organizational and political implications. The entire Party must be mobilized in the spirit of this latest decision to concentrate on building a mass Party of Communism without respect to previous factional grouping. As one of the strongest and longest supporters of the previous majority faction in the Party I pledge my support to the Central Committee in carrying out the C.I. line in the Communist Party of America.—Norman H. Tallentire.

These comrades show by their telegrams that they support the decisions of the Central Committee adopted unanimously by the Political Committee on Saturday, May 18, accepting and endorsing the Comintern address.

EXHIBIT No. 214

[Source: Daily Worker, May 23, 1929, page 1]

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FINNISH BUREAU ENDORSES COMINTERN'S ADDRESS AND SUPPORTS DECISIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Finnish Bureau of the Communist Party of the United States in its meeting Sunday, May 19, after reading the new Open Letter of the Communist International to the membership of the American Party and after hearing the decision of the Central Committee of the Party explained by Comrade Puro, adopted following motions:

1. That the Finnish Bureau fully and unconditionally accepts and endorses the Open Letter of the Communist International.
2. That we endorse the decision of the Central Committee of the Party in regard to the Open Letter and give our whole-hearted support to the Central Committee in carrying out the decisions of the Open Letter and mobilizing the membership behind it.
3. That we write to all fractions explaining the means of carrying out the Open Letter.

After receiving cable appeal from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, the Bureau with the advice of the Party Secretariat decided to publish it immediately and also to cable to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland that the Bureau has already endorsed and promised to fully and unconditionally carry out the Open Letter of the Communist International.—Finnish Bureau, Communist Party of the United States, H. Puro, Secretary.

TELEGRAM FROM PAT DEVINE, MINNESOTA DISTRICT ORGANIZER

“Wholeheartedly endorse and pledge unwavering support to the Comintern address as concrete progress towards the liquidation of unprincipled factionalism. The rigid enforcement of the address together with serious application to the many important tasks facing us will double Party efficiency.—Pat Devine.”

EXHIBIT No. 215

[Source: Daily Worker, May 23, 1929, page 1]

CABLE FROM YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE (U. S. A.) ON THE ADDRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The cablegram of the Young Communist International (May 20) to the Communist Youth League of the United States, and the motions adopted by the Bureau of the National Executive Committee of the League are as follows:

CABLEGRAM FROM THE Y. C. I.

"We demand from the Communist Youth League of the U. S. A.: Unreserved carrying out of the Comintern Letter in the Party and in the League as well, uniting all for loyalty not in words but in deeds. All comrades must mercilessly fight against Lovestone's and Gitlow's splitting policy and for the Comintern and for Party unity.—Young Communist International."

MOTIONS ADOPTED BY THE C. Y. L. BUREAU

The Bureau of the NEC of the Communist Youth League unanimously adopted the following motions in connection with the Open Letter (May 20th) of the Communist International to the American Communist Party, and the cable of the Y. C. I. to the Communist Youth League of the U. S. A.:

1. The Bureau of the NEC endorses and will energetically support the Open Letter of the Communist International to the American Party Membership (May 20th) and will mobilize the entire membership of the League to fight together with the membership of the Party for a full understanding and application of its line.

2. The NEC Bureau greets the unanimous decisions of the Party Polcom accepting and endorsing the letter of the ECCI to the CP, USA.

3. The Bureau of the NEC pledges unconditionally and unreservedly to carry into effect the decisions contained in this letter and "to become one of the best interpreters of the policy of the Comintern on the American question."

4. The Bureau of the NEC condemns the Opposition on the part of comrades Lovestone and Gitlow to the letter and decisions of the Comintern and calls upon all League and Party members to fight against this position.

5. The Bureau of the NEC endorses the cable from the YCI (May 20th) and instructs its publication in the next issue of the Young Worker.

6. The Bureau of the NEC instructs all districts of the Communist Youth League to organize a thorough discussion of the Open Letter of the Comintern, the Sixth Congress decisions, together with the discussion of the thesis and resolutions of the League's Fifth National Convention. This discussion must take place in all units and at membership meetings and the Secretariat is instructed immediately to issue detailed plans for this discussion.

EXHIBIT No. 216

[Source: Daily Worker, July 29, 1929, page 3]

DECISION OF THE TENTH PLENUM OF THE E. C. C. I. ON THE APPEAL OF LOVESTONE

We herewith print the decision of the Tenth Plenum of the ECCI on the appeal of Jay Lovestone and the cablegram of the International Control Commission.

In the telegram of the ECCI the Communist International gives a clear answer to the political line, violation of discipline and splitting activity of Jay Lovestone. Once more the Comintern condemns the opportunist political platform of Lovestone as a platform directed against the line and decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. The Communist International clearly characterizes Lovestone's position as one "finally descending into the camp of the renegades of Communism."

Regarding Lovestone's violation of Communist discipline the Communist International characterizes Lovestone's acts as "a gross violation of the discipline of the Communist International" and as "a criminal work of preparation for a split."

The Communist International like the Communist Party of the U. S. A. was not deceived by Lovestone's appeal supposedly to the Communist International but in reality against the Communist International. The Tenth Plenum of the ECCI correctly branded Lovestone's appeal as a maneuver against the unity of the Party "not at all intending to remain in the ranks of the Party."

DECISION OF THE TENTH PLENUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON THE APPEAL OF JAY LOVESTONE, MEMBER OF THE E. C. C. I., AGAINST HIS EXPULSION FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. OF A.

In refusing to carry out the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International removing him from work in the Communist Party of the U. S. A., in the interest of the recovery of the Party, Lovestone committed a gross violation of the discipline of the Communist International. He further aggravated his offense by the fact that after his return to America, disregarding the warning of the Central Committee on the necessity to conform to the decision of the E. C. C. I. he began a criminal work of preparing for a split in the Communist Party of the U. S. A. Most severely condemning the anti-Party conduct of Lovestone, which is impermissible in the ranks of the Communist International, the plenum does not consider it possible to change the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. on his expulsion from the Party, by which Lovestone ceases to be in the composition of the E. C. C. I.

Lovestone, in appealing to the E. C. C. I. is making merely a maneuver, not at all intending to remain in the ranks of the Party, against the unity of the Party.

The Tenth Plenum endorsed the expulsion of Lovestone from the ranks of the Communist Party declaring "the plenum does not consider it possible to change the decision of the Central Committee of the CPUSA on his (Lovestone's) expulsion from the Party."

At the same time the Comintern wishes to give not only to Lovestone but primarily to those members who still have some hesitation as to Lovestone's anti-Comintern attitude the final possibility to verify Lovestone's true position towards the Comintern.

The cablegram from the International Control Commission sent under the proposal of the Tenth Plenum of the ECCI proposes to Lovestone to present himself in Moscow, informing him that in case of his non arrival his expulsion from the Comintern will be considered final.

The membership of the Party will be in full agreement with the sharp political condemnation of Lovestone's opportunist line and splitting activity, by the Comintern, because the overwhelming majority of the Party membership has already rejected and condemned the Right opportunist line of Lovestone and is engaged in putting into effect thru its practical work in the American class struggle the line of the Sixth World Congress and the Comintern Address.

The E. C. C. I., in exposing his Right errors and condemning his factional activities, declares that Lovestone has started upon the path of an open splitting struggle against the Party and the Communist International, counterposing to the program and decisions of the Sixth World Congress his own opportunist platform of the exceptional situation of America and his social-democratic conception of discipline, thus finally descending into the camp of the renegades of Communist (Brandler, Hais, etc.).

Nevertheless, in view of his appeal to the E. C. C. I., the plenum instructs the International Control Commission to review the appeal in the presence of Lovestone in the shortest possible time and make a final decision on his appeal. In case of the refusal of Lovestone to be present at the review of his appeal, the plenum considers Lovestone as finally expelled from the Communist International and from the composition of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

NOTIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

Lovestone, from the International Control Commission, through the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America: The consideration of appeal is set for August 12th. In case of the non-arrival of Lovestone in Moscow within this time his appeal will not be considered in accord with the Tenth Plenum decision his expulsion from the Communist International will be considered final. Inform Lovestone of this and advise us of delivery of this message to him and whether he is leaving.

EXHIBIT 217

[Source: Daily Worker, July 9, 1929, page 4]

THE LINE OF AMERICAN RIGHT OPPOSITION TO THE COMINTERN

By Wm. W. Weinstone.

Two outstanding facts define the present stage of the struggle of the American Right Opposition to the Address of the Communist International.

Firstly, the concealed opposition hidden previously by either formal acceptance or endorsement of the Address has now come into the open.

Secondly, the platform of the Right opposition which is now being developed against the Address is that of the International right. Members of the concealed opposition have gone to the point of withdrawing their endorsement of the Address and have stated open opposition to the line of the Comintern for the Communist Party of the United States of America.

These events are not accidental but follow from the return of Jay Lovestone to the United States, from his flagrant breach of discipline and open defiance of the Communist International. It is evidence of the fact that those struggling against the Communist International are burning their bridges behind them and are aiming to accomplish what was intended by their cable of May 15th.

THE PLATFORM OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMINTERN

What is the platform of the struggle against the Communist International?

First: That the Comintern and the leading Party of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has degenerated. The "running sore" conception of Lovestone is now reinforced by the idea that there is a "scissors" between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other sections of the Comintern. This "scissors" conception runs as follows: "That the Party of the Soviet Union having achieved its proletarian dictatorship is far in advance of the other parties and since it is the leading Party of the Comintern, the most authoritative section, it is driving the other sections into adventurist tactics, for example, their allegations of "Putschist" tactics in Berlin on May Day, etc."

Secondly, they support the theory of exceptionalism and challenge the conception of the Comintern regarding the estimation of American Imperialism.

Thirdly: They challenge the conception of the leftward swing of the masses and the growing radicalization of the working class in the United States.

Fourthly, they adopt the right interpretation of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International and accept the opportunist conception that American stabilization is growing stronger and disagree with the conception of the sharpening of the class struggle, the growing intensification of the contradictions and the entrance of a period "which will usher in fresh imperialist wars, wide colonial movements and gigantic class battles" (Sixth Congress thesis). Fifthly: They challenge the estimation of factionalism in the American Party.

"THE RUNNING SORE AND THE SCISSORS."

What is the meaning of the "running sore" agitation and the "scissors" conception? It is nothing more nor less than the propaganda of Brandler. In the organs of the Brandlerists, in Germany, this conception was expressed as follows: "It is fatal," said Brandler, "that there is no Party in the Comintern of equal importance with the C. P. S. U."

The same idea was expressed by Thalheimer when he declared, "That the Russian comrades would not see them (the leaders of the Brandler group) again until they could speak on equal terms, as one power to another."

Both statements of these spearheads of the international right are clearly the expression of the "scissors" idea which Lovestone is developing in the United States. But these ideas are not new. The essence of these ideas has already been expressed in the theory time and again stated by right opponents of the Communist International and by social democrats that "the methods of bolshevism cannot be employed in the working class movements of the more developed western European countries." This idea is a repetition of the legends of the old opponents of the Communist International that the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union are applying mechanical methods. It challenges the fundamental

idea that bolshevism is international in its principles and tactics. As early as 1921 Lenin in his pamphlet on "Left Wing Communism" combatted this legend about the limited application of bolshevik tactics and declared: "We have now considerable experience of international scope which pretty definitely establishes the fact that some fundamental features of our revolution are not local, not purely national, not Russian only, but that they are of international significance. Not in the strictest sense of the word, that is, taking it in its essence, or in the sense of the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale, of what we in Russia have gone through, but one must admit some fundamental features of our revolution to be of such international significance. Of course, it would be the greatest mistake to exaggerate this truth and to apply it to more than the fundamental features of our revolution. It would be likewise erroneous not to keep in mind that after the proletarian revolution in at least one of the advance countries, things will in all probability take a sharp turn; Russia will cease to be the model, and will become again the backward (in the Soviet and socialist sense) country.

"But at this historical moment the state of affairs is such that the Russian example reveals something quite essential to all countries in their near and inevitable future. The advance workers in every land have long understood it—although in many cases they did not so much understand it as feel it, through the instinct of their revolutionary class. Hence the international significance (in the strict sense of the word) of the Soviet Power as well as of the fundamentals of Bolshevik theory and tactics" (emphasis mine—W. W.).

Those who maintain a contrary view to that expressed by Lenin not only repeat the legend of mechanical application which all renegades have maintained against Communist International as for example Levi, Hoeglund, and others, but slide down to the position of Trotskyism, to the conception of "Thermidor." We must frankly face the fact that despite the struggle against Trotskyism in our ranks, there are people today who are taking up the discredited weapons of Trotskyism and are repeating the same slanderous accusations against the C. P. S. U. and the Comintern. But this is not at all surprising. Those who take up the struggle against the Communist International whether they proceed in their attacks from the position of the so-called "left" or from the right inevitably arrive at the same social-democratic opportunistic platform and sooner or later will establish a common, united front against the Communist International though they be independent of each other at the present time.

"THE ACCUSATION OF PUTCHIST TACTICS"

The right are accusing the Communist International of putchist tactics in Berlin on May 1. Where does this accusation spring from? It arises from the fundamentally wrong conception of the rights regarding the third period. These opportunists view capitalism today as growing stronger and is entering into a period in which the contradictions are becoming weaker. For that reason, they do not see that the revolutionary tide is rising higher and that the working class is assuming the offensive against the capitalists. In order to deny this fact, these opportunists seize upon every weakness and shortcoming of the struggles of the working class, weaknesses which the proletariat will overcome in the course of further struggles and they overlook the gigantic fact that 200,000 workers demonstrated in Berlin despite the prohibition and violence of the police and that these workers showed a revolutionary will and energy which reminds us of the great battles of the German workers during first post war period. The accusations of putchism against the German Party can come only from people that see the strength of the enemy but are blind to the fact of the growing power of the working class.

THE THEORY OF EXCEPTIONALISM

Do the events now transpiring in the United States justify the theory of exceptionalism and that which flows from this theory, the exemption of America from the left swing of the masses and the growing radicalization of the working class? Quite the contrary. We see in the United States the class struggle growing ever more acute. New layers of workers are being attracted to the left wing. Strikes are breaking out in various sections of the country and the rank and file workers are making renewed efforts to overthrow the bureaucracy as for example in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and among the Illinois miners.

The struggle of the textile workers in Gastonia shows how acute the class struggle is growing in the United States and only those who are blind will fail to see that this great struggle is bound to have its repercussions in other sections of the working class. The capitalist class understands full well the meaning of the series of strikes that have been taking place in various industries and they are reacting to these developments of the workers within increased terror. This was shown in the food workers strike in New York City where 1,500 strikers were arrested before the strike was several weeks old. The mad system of rationalization is driving the workers to take up the struggle against the employing class, and the bourgeoisie recognizing this situation is making feverish preparations to break the fighting spirit of the masses by terror. This accounts for the summary action of the courts in dealing with workers, for the increase of injunctions, the sentencing of workers through contempt of court proceedings, the long-term imprisonment of workers for strike activity and the efforts of the bourgeoisie to reorganize their legal system so that they can proceed more swiftly against the working class.

NEW WEAPONS OF STRUGGLE

The developments among the working class show the following new facts:

First, the working class is adopting new forms of trade union struggle (formation of revolutionary industrial unions); secondly, the workers are looking to the Communist Party for leadership in their struggle; thirdly, the masses are beginning to overcome the barriers which have stood in their way of unity (the solidarity of black and white workers in Gastonia). The Bolshevization of the Communist Party which is now taking place is not some isolated event but is part of the entire process which is going on in the working class and is linked up with the tasks pressing hard upon the Party of assuming more vigorously the role of leadership of the masses of the country. The opportunists in the Party resist this Bolshevization process because they completely fail to understand the revolutionary requirements of the third period and the need for a Communist Party cleansed of the opportunistic remnants of the past; of factionalism, unprincipledness, of the old chaos and demoralization caused by the devastating factional fight and the lack of firm discipline and of a tendency to follow in the tail of the masses in place of leading the masses to struggle—through careful and systematic preparation, through developing in the masses a confidence in their power, through tactics relying upon the will of the masses to struggle—all of which requires a well disciplined, a firmly united Party following the revolutionary policies of the Communist International.

RIGHTS FIGHT PARTY UNITY

The right elements, however, do not aim to unite the Party but despite the crying need for such unity, are engaged in spreading all kinds of pessimistic propaganda, are aiming to paralyze the execution of the Address of the Comintern and thereby seek to justify their opposition to the Address by a campaign of demoralization of the Party work. Under the guise of the slogan of democracy, Lovestone and those that follow him seek the right to establish factions within the Party and show the reactions of petty-bourgeois individualists to the demand for greater centralization and discipline. Like the Trotskyites they challenge the doctrine of the twenty-one points and the fundamental conception of Bolshevik organization which declares that the Communist Party can lead the masses to revolution only on condition that it contains within its ranks the vanguard of the proletariat, a membership consisting of self-sacrificing, disciplined workers who are ready to subordinate themselves to the will of the majority and look upon themselves as members of a World Party.

What is Lovestone attempting to do? Without doubt to split the Party. This was shown by the cable of May 15. The proof of this policy consists in the fact that Lovestone has not only a platform that clashes fundamentally with the line of the Communist International but he is also fighting the organizational line of the Comintern. The efforts of Lovestone and others to discredit those that are vigorously fighting for the line of the Communist International has not merely the object of weakening Party authority so as to enable them to conduct unchallenged their miserable factional work but is part of a calculated plan to split up the Party and to build an organization outside the Comintern.

The right opportunists have lost faith or are quickly losing faith in the World Party of Communism. They are unable in the present third period to maneuver around with the World Party which has determinedly set upon the course

of ridding itself of obstructive opportunist elements, of those who show no desire to march together along the revolutionary path of Bolshevik principles and tactics. As long as Lovestone thought it possible to maneuver around and through tricks of petty-bourgeois politicianism maintain the line which he has followed, he declared that he would accept the decision of the Communist International irrespective of what that decision might be. But when Lovestone came face to face with the fact that the Comintern will not allow a continuation of the devastating practices of the past, he refused to submit to the will of the Communist International and took the next logical step of organization against the C. I.

Lovestone miscalculated upon the development of our Party membership. The members in the course of ten years of the existence of the Party have developed ideologically and understand the issues at stake and despite the propaganda of opportunist elements they know that the Communist International is the real leader of the American Party. The overwhelming response of the Party to the Address of the Comintern is proof of the correctness of the line of the Communist International and the latter's confidence in proletarian membership of the Party that it would understand that it was confronted with two lines—one line for the Communist International and for revolutionary policy and the other line against the Communist International and for an opportunist policy.

BELATED ECHO OF INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS

Lovestone is fighting a futile battle. His platform is a belated echo of the International Right. This fight has already been settled in the decisive sections of the Comintern. The rights in the Russian Party have been decisively defeated. The 16th Party Conference showed that the Party of the Soviet Union is firmly for the line of the Central Committee, for a decisive policy of class struggle against the kulak elements, for a rapid tempo of industrialization. The Russian Party members see in the policy of the rights a policy of pessimism, of defeatism, of retreat before the capitalist elements, instead of the correct course of overcoming the elements of capitalist economy in the rapid march of the iron battalions of the proletariat.

In Germany, likewise, the rights have been defeated as was shown in the parliamentary election in Saxony where the Brandlerists that had always had their strongest position in this district and who have been the parliamentarians of the Party in Saxony could secure only twenty thousand votes as against 300,000 for the Communist Party. In Czechoslovakia, likewise, the Party membership has rid itself of the opportunists without a long struggle.

The tactics of Lovestone, his maneuvers, his aim to confuse the Party by tricks of petty-bourgeois politicianism will not gain a foothold among the membership. Those that follow the course of Lovestone will succeed only in making themselves generals without an army.

A course of determined opposition, of ruthlessly supporting opportunist ideology in the Party, of quickly carrying out the practical tasks of the C. I. Address will make our Party able to fulfill the role of leader of the growing mass movements of the working class. The carrying out of these tasks will be the best proof of the correctness of the Address of the Comintern and will result in the establishment of a Party powerfully cemented by a Bolshevik unity, a Party that will sink its roots deeper into the shops and that will act with the will and determination of Bolsheviks, of followers of Lenin, in leading the masses of the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 218

[Source: Daily Worker, July 25, 1929, page 4]

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STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. ON THE APPEAL OF JAY LOVESTONE AND OTHERS TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

II. THE RELATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WITH THE COMINTERN

On the heels of theoretical deviations organizational disruption follows. Lovestone sought to evade the statement of his full political platform, but proved

unable to hide it. His attack on the organization of the Communist International, though still written with many evasive phrases, with insinuations rather than assertions, is yet a more open attack. In this section of his appeal Lovestone goes right against the 21 conditions of admission laid down at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920, and against the rules and statutes as re-adopted at the Sixth World Congress. First of all, with all the enthusiasm of a defender of State rights against "encroachments" of the Federal Government, he proceeds to delimit what should be the sphere of the Comintern. "The Comintern deals with the basic problems confronting the various sections. The E. C. C. I.," he says, "has never set itself the task of dealing with the smaller, inner-Party matters of the various sections * * *. The Comintern deals with the main line." Later he goes on to indicate interference by the C. I., and it becomes clear that Lovestone and not the C. I. is to be the judge of what are to be considered "basic problems," of what are "the smaller, inner-Party matters." But not only is the function of the C. I. delimited by Lovestone; he also has a new reading of the work of the sections. "It depends," he says, "upon every section to make the Comintern constantly better and more able to cope with its tasks." This is a very comfortable doctrine, coming from Jay Lovestone; and when he goes on further, it becomes clear that he wishes to make this apparently harmless statement a basis for an attack on the C. I., a basis for his conception that the C. I. has not been able to cope with its tasks. This becomes clear when he develops his arguments in to statements about "serious errors committed by the Comintern in its treatment of our Party." The objection which Jay Lovestone transforms into a new theory of organizational relations is directed against the fact that after six years of factionalism, which neither he, the Majority group nor the Minority group were able to heal, the C. I. did prove able to cope with its task and to put an end to the factionalism of which he was a top leader.

Developing his theme, Lovestone goes on to say: "It is a more decisive test of discipline and loyalty to submit to decisions when one disagrees with them than when one agrees with them." Then why, Jay Lovestone, did you not submit to the decisions of the C. I.? Why did you break discipline, not once, but repeatedly? Why did you break discipline, then make profession of loyalty, then break it again, and once more, after expulsion, make further professions of loyalty? Jay Lovestone is approaching very near the position when the best Communists will be those who most disagree with the Comintern, and who differ only from Jay Lovestone in the respect that they formally adhered to its decisions. This quibbling logic of Lovestone is next shown in his statement that "first of all, we must state categorically that the Comintern has full right to order any comrade for work anywhere, but"—and with this but he goes on to say that he is against this full right when it is applied to Jay Lovestone. The hypocritical way in which Lovestone endeavors to cover up his new disruptionist theory of the relations of the parties in the Comintern is shown by his profession that those whom he arrogantly names the former leadership of the Party (thereby setting on one side all members of the C. E. C. and Polburo who do not agree with him) "have been and will continue to be very energetic in loyalty to the C. I." This statement is to be compared with the passages in the Appeal, in which he attacks, not once but several times, the leadership of the C. I., and wherein he again makes covert insinuations and statements which are fully in line with his "running sore" propaganda, which itself was in line with the whole of the Brandlerist attack on the Comintern. This section of the Appeal is nothing less than a pitiful attempt to justify his breach of discipline and his political line by the erection of such a new, non-Leninist theory of international relationships as would disrupt the Comintern and give free play to the Brandlers, the Jileks, the Lovestones.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The outstanding feature of American imperialism in the recent period is the speedy progress of rationalization. The replacement of workers by machinery on the one hand and the speed-up of labor on the other are progressing at a rapid pace. This process of rationalization has increased the productivity of the various industries tremendously.

Thus, we see productivity accelerated, profits increased and new capital accumulated in an ever quicker tempo. All the apologists of capitalism, the economists, the politicians, the journalists, are commenting upon this feature and boast about the prosperity of American capitalism.

But into all these glittering pictures of prosperity there falls the shadow of the basic contradictions of capitalism. Society needs its productive machinery

in order to provide the necessities of life. Capitalism uses this machinery in order to make profit and to increase its capital. The purpose of production on the part of the capitalists, production for profit, is in flagrant contradiction to the social purpose of production, production for use. This basic contradiction is intensified with the intensification of the productivity of capitalist industry.

Rationalized production, with progressive rapidity robs ever larger sections of the working class of the only means of livelihood which capitalist society provides for it: a market for its labor power. Consequently permanent unemployment is growing tremendously in America. This teaches the workers some lessons about class division.

Rationalization means a simplification of production. The skill of the artisan acquired in years of training becomes more and more useless in modern production. The masses of skilled workers are replaced by semi-skilled and unskilled. The skilled worker sees himself robbed of the value of his skill and often has to hire out as unskilled. Thus automatically the standard of living of the American workers is reduced. Because of that the American working class is becoming more homogeneous. This, too, teaches the workers a lesson about class division.

The simplification of the mechanics of production enables capitalism to force the workers to adapt themselves more and more to the tempo of the machinery. Every ounce of energy possible of the worker is thus being exhausted in the process of a day's work. This speed-up uses up the life of the worker in America with such rapidity that at the age of 40 he is thrown as useless on the scrap-heap. This teaches the workers some lessons about class division.

The growing unemployment and the gradual elimination of special skill as a necessary qualification for the workers is facilitating the onslaught of American capitalism against the existing wage standards. Wage cuts become the order of the day in all industries. This also teaches the workers some lessons about class division.

These continuous and numerous lessons begin to speak an imperative language. The workers begin to heed this language. They commence to fight. In shoe, textile, auto, transportation, etc., the workers take the initiative with increasing frequency for attacks against these conditions. In the New England States, in New York, in the Middle Western States, in the South, strikes are taking place. Unskilled and unorganized masses take the offensive against the increasingly unbearable conditions imposed upon them by capitalism.

The American bourgeoisie answers this growing offensive with a counter-offensive. A czarist police system is introduced against the workers. The private individual spy system of the American capitalists of yesterday is today augmented by official spy systems as inaugurated recently in New York. So-called law enforcement commissions, as the one appointed by Hoover, are openly concentrating their activities upon the problem of suppressing and paralyzing the labor movement and the working class. Even the new American tariff laws, primarily a method of economic warfare between the capitalists themselves, are adorned with jokers aiming at the muzzling and gagging of the working class.

The sharpening of these internal contradictions of American capitalism are an outgrowth of its very growth and power. The dominating role American imperialism and its financial interests play in the world, forced it into a leading position in the settlement of the reparations question. American leading capitalists have prescribed the methods of settlement of this reparations question through the Dawes and Young Plans. These Plans provide for a settlement by means of a most intensive exploitation of the German workers. The execution of these Plans presupposes that the commodities thus produced by the German workers find a ready market. Otherwise the surplus pressed out of the blood of the German workers cannot be realized. After American capital was instrumental in finding this solution and of helping to force it upon the German working class, it proceeds with a new tariff bill to organize an economic war against its European competitors. Thereby it is trying to close or take away the very markets from the German-made commodities which are indispensable to it if Capitalist Germany is expected to live up to the provisions of the reparations settlement.

The international relations of American capital today are dominated by the desire to defeat its European competitors in the struggle for markets. American capital needs markets for its goods and for its rapidly accumulating new capital. The present economic war exemplified in the new tariff bill is only the forerunner of a military war. Every ounce of strength, every subterfuge of diplomacy is used by the capitalist government of the United States to gain and secure the needed markets from the capitalist competitors. And it becomes daily clearer that

diplomacy is insufficient and that force is going to be used. The policy of the government as agent of the capitalist class to secure markets at the expense of the capitalist competitors remains the same in peace and war time. The only difference is that in the war the soldier and his cannon replaces the diplomat with his negotiations and pacts. Considered from this angle it is clear that the American government today is already convinced that peaceful means are no longer sufficient to secure the aim. Therefore, the present period is dominated by the most intensive war preparations. While rationalization has partly led to this condition, it is in turn intensified by it because the economic preparations for war drive toward further rationalization.

Along with the economic and military preparations for war, American capital is directing its offensive against the advance guard of the working class. The anti-red propaganda is intensified. Persecution augments the propaganda. In Pennsylvania our Party has again been forced to defend the right of workers to belong to the Communist Party. Where the legally assigned funds for these activities seem inadequate, these available funds are augmented by volunteer collections and volunteer contributions to anti-red activities. Another form of mobilization is the closer and ever closer connection established between the functions of private capital and of government. The merger of private capital and the State into specific forms of State-Capitalism, as pointed out in the Sixth Congress program, finds its most classic realization in the present Hoover administration. All of the steps taken by the ruling class for meeting the emergencies growing out of the contradictions of their social system are dictated by a growing consciousness on their part of the weaknesses of this system. The more glorious capitalism seems to be, when measured by the seemingly phenomenal progress of its productive forces, the more hollow does the colossus of capital become. Capitalist prosperity cuts the very branch on which it is sitting. American capitalism is getting daily more aware of this. It is preparing for emergencies. It prepares against the working class as well as against its capitalist rivals and competitors. It proceeds against the working class by the ever bolder use of the State power for the suppression of the workers and by participation in the conspiracy of international capital against the Soviet Union. It prepares against its capitalist rivals for an imperialist economic and military war.

Lovestone in his so-called appeal refuses to see these main features of the present economic and political situation in the United States.

While the Communists, because of their theoretical understanding of capitalism, are supposed to lead the workers, Lovestone insists to be even behind the spontaneous reactions of the workers. These spontaneous reactions of the workers manifest themselves in numerous sporadic strike movements of unorganized workers in many industries. Instead of seeing in the present strike movements the manifestations of a process of radicalization, Lovestone insists on protesting against a conception of a "general" radicalization of the workers. He refuses to see that these manifestations of radicalization indicate the process. If they are not yet general they present a broad and effective basis of action for the Communist Party for the spreading and deepening of this radicalization into all sections of the American working class. The Communist International and our Party emphasize the process of radicalization to show the Party's duties and tasks; Lovestone emphasizes the insufficiently general character of the radicalization in order to prove the difficulties of the task and the limited character of the duties. One is the perspective of revolution, the other is the perspective of opportunism.

Lovestone's opportunism manifests itself not any less definite in his consideration of the inner-Party situation. The coming class struggles demand a unified Party; Lovestone fights for his faction against Party unity. The Party needs the undivided loyalty of all its members; Lovestone ridicules Party loyalty, accuses those loyal to the Party of treachery to his faction, and raises factional loyalty upon the pedestal of revolutionary virtue. The Party needs an iron discipline; Lovestone does everything in his power to undermine Party discipline and to replace it with factional discipline. The Party welcomed the C. I. Address as a formidable weapon against factionalism; Lovestone denounces the C. I. Address because it destroys his faction.

The Party recognizes how fast and how far Lovestone has traveled toward the camp of the enemy since our Sixth Party Convention. It unhesitatingly expressed this recognition in the promptness with which it accepted the expulsion of Lovestone. In the most proletarian sections of our Party, like in Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, there is practical unanimity in support

of the expulsion. Boston, Philadelphia, Minnesota, Kansas, promptly and wholeheartedly answered the defiance of the C. I. by Lovestone with a determined support of the expulsion of Lovestone by the Central Committee. The Young Communist League met and fought practically unanimous Lovestone's splitting attempt in the League itself, and supports Lovestone's expulsion. In New York, where Lovestone after his return established a headquarters for his splitting campaign, he succeeded up to now to organize only a pitiful handful of followers. The general direction of Lovestone's political views is characterized by the very composition of his group of followers. Three-fourths of them are school teachers, pedagogues who lack a proletarian class approach to the problems of our Party. They are condescending toward the working class—expecting thankfulness on the part of the workers for the "service" condescendingly rendered them. But even with this congregation at his disposal, Lovestone did not succeed in getting more than 2 per cent of the votes in the meetings of the Party in New York, the headquarters of the opposition.

The Party recognized this as a necessary condition for its further existence as a revolutionary party, and therefore accepted and immediately applied the Address. As a result the factions have been shattered; a collective leadership has been established: factional groupings have given way to the Party as the only organization; the free contribution of political opinions and proposals of all individual members of the Party has replaced the two-Party system with its fixed factional plans, platforms, and proposals.

Lovestone refuses to accept this new condition. He feels that he can "lead" only under the old conditions. His "Communist" conception and "revolutionary loyalty" do not fit into a Communist Party and a section of the Communist International. They only fit into a faction in which he is not merely a soldier or officer of the revolutionary army, but in which he is the boss. This role fits his petty-bourgeois individualism much better than the role of a disciplined comrade. That is why he strives with all his might to bring back to the Party the pre-Comintern Address days of factionalism.

In his appeal Lovestone tries to play as his trump card the financial difficulties of the Party at the present moment. In renegade fashion he attempts to spread defeatism and to exploit the difficulties of the Party for his splitting purposes. In doing this he withholds from the membership the information that the financial difficulty is heritage from his "administration." The finances of the Party were left by him in a most chaotic condition.

The suspension of the Daily Worker for one day, caused by an unexpected crisis growing out of Lovestone's financing policy, is used by him as an argument against the Party, against the Party leadership, and against the C. I. Address. In reality it is the C. I. Address which has saved the Party from an otherwise inevitable financial catastrophe and which has created conditions under which it may be possible for the Party to straighten out the indescribable financial chaos inherited from Lovestone.

Lovestone complains that "What is demanded of us by the Address is self-abuse," not self-criticism. With this he tries to cover up his refusal to admit openly to the Party the many indefensible actions on his part. He found it perfectly in order to abuse and deceive the Party and the Communist International on the matter of Pepper's return to Moscow. But when he is requested to admit this deception to the Party and the C. I. then he balks at "self-abuse." Like a typical petty-bourgeois shop-keeper he tries to defend his personal conduct, even though it is obviously indefensible, while he does not care a damn what happens to the reputation of the Party.

The C. I. demands of him that he admit and condemn the deception he practiced on the C. I. and the Party in the matter of Pepper. Lovestone answers this demand with a denunciation of other comrades who are carrying out the decisions of the Comintern. All comrades of the Politburo who had knowledge of Pepper's presence in America during the period when he, supported by Lovestone, claimed to have been in Mexico, have submitted long ago their statements of the facts to the International Control Commission, the only body that is acting on this question. Lovestone must understand that he is not called upon now to inform upon others but to own up for himself.

Lovestone is trying to play a similar trick with the factional cable of May 15th. First he attempts to disown it, and then, doubtful of the success of his maneuver, he denies its splitting character. But the cable speaks such a clear language that no effort will succeed in explaining away its purpose. It is an act leading directly to a split to refuse to publish Comintern decisions. It is a direct splitting act to instruct the caucus to dispose of the Party's property. It is a direct splitting act to instruct a caucus to remove without cause and

without any official action Party functionaries for the sole purpose of getting Party funds into the possession of the caucus. What the Party had a right to demand of Lovestone was that he should condemn this cable as an act of splitting, and also that he should immediately discontinue all actions in line with this cable.

Lovestone raves about his right to return to America to set right his private affairs. He keeps quiet, first, about the fact that he had ample opportunity to set in order his private affairs before he left for Moscow; secondly, he hides the fact that the "private" affairs he attended to immediately upon his return was the holding of caucuses and the organization of a split movement against the Party. This movement has now crystallized into the setting up of a directing body for the Lovestoneites' abortive grouping. This directing body is that section of the majority of the delegation to Moscow which still defies the Comintern. Lovestone in his appeal even tries to give a legal status to this body. He says, "There are only two bodies which owe their authority directly to the last National Convention and the membership, namely, the Central Committee and the Delegation of the Convention to the Comintern." The Party understands this threat very well, and knows that it is nothing less than an attempt to set up a parallel body to the C. E. C., a rival C. E. C. It will tell Lovestone that the delegation to Moscow was elected by the Polburo on the night before their departure. It will tell Lovestone that the delegation to the C. I. has no legal existence within the Party except for the execution of the functions assigned to it. This function was to represent the viewpoint of the Party in Moscow. With the decision of the C. I. on the question involved the delegation ceased to have any legal existence within the Party and can continue its meetings and the formulation of documents only as a caucus in defiance of the authority of the Party and of the C. I.

The Central Committee of the Party, the responsible leading body of the Party is exercising its authority and duty—in spite of Lovestone. It has answered Lovestone's splitting tactics through the Political Committee and will answer as decisively in its coming plenary session.

Precisely at a time when the Political Committee of our Party has become a real leading body, discussing the policies and tactics of our organization, Lovestone complains of the liquidation of the Polcom. As long as he confined the activities of the Polcom to rubber stamping the decisions of his faction, he had no fault to find with the functions of the Polcom. But when the Polcom begins to disregard the interests of his faction and consider only the problems of the Party, then his ire is aroused and he raves of "degeneration." Were it not so serious one could laugh at the "Knight of the Sorrowful Figure," the Don Quixote Lovestone, whose mind and body are still wandering in the fargone past and who tries to force the condemned and dead practices of the past into the healthy pulsating Party life of the present.

Our Party has entered a new life. Its inner-relationships are re-orientated from factional groupings, factional sympathies and antipathies to Party loyalty. The Party consciously carries out the line of the E. C. C. I. by a gradual but purposeful transformation into a Communist mass Party of action. The derogatory remarks of Lovestone's appeal notwithstanding, the Party carries on widespread mass activities, is intensely active in the offensive struggles of the textile workers in the South. It is now organizing the defense of the frame-up victims in Gastonia. It is organizing the defense not merely as a legal technicality but in the form of mass agitation among the American workers, mobilizing the American workers for a defense through more conscious action in the class struggle. The Party is active in all fields of industrial struggles in spite of the persistent efforts of Lovestone and his handful of followers to paralyze its activities, to sabotage its work, to misdirect its energies and to split its organization. The Party has suffered too long from the paralyzing influence of factionalism. It is too keenly aware of the danger of opportunist and petty bourgeois ideology in this present period of struggle. That is why the Party is ready and able to defeat Lovestone's maneuvers and propaganda. It is just this readiness of the Party to defeat him that irritates Lovestone most. He sees that his agents and emissaries who defy the Comintern Decision, who violate Party instructions, who counteract Party policies, are taken to task by the nuclei, by the section committees and by the District Committees. In every case of such anti-Party activities these local Party bodies took the initiative in removing the insubordinate official or functionary. Lovestone is peeved by the effectiveness with which the Party and all its units are fighting all manifestations of the Right danger concretely wherever this danger arises in proposals

and actions in contradiction to the revolutionary line and of the Party. Lovestone sheds tears about the bygone days in which the Right danger supplied him with a factional issue against his opponents and where he could, without a quiver of his conscience, hide and suppress all manifestations of Right tendencies within the ranks of his own faction. He sees the Party taking serious the war danger. He sees the agitation and propaganda of the Party concretized in the mobilization for International Red Day on the 1st of August. He sees the line of the Comintern put into action and bringing results and he is making a desperate effort to defend his line, the line of maintenance of factionalism and the substitution of his right line for the line of the Comintern and the Party. It is exactly a realization of this that makes him so desperate and that dictated to him this appeal. Only thus can the spirit of vindictiveness be understood which dominates this document. Only thus can the pettiness be explained with which this so-called appeal to the Comintern is formulated.

The Comintern and the Party will answer this latest effort as it has all his other attempts to deviate the Party from the line of the Communist International.

The Party is correcting its errors. The Party is closing its ranks. The Party is intensifying its activity on every front. The Party is going forward towards carrying out the great tasks that stand before it.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.
C. P., U. S. A.

By the Secretariat.

EXHIBIT No. 219

[Source: Excerpt from the "Draft Resolution of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A.," published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: March, 1934; page 35]

* * * * *

The whole Party must be aroused for a fight against the imminence of imperialist war and intervention. The main task consists in * * * strengthening the Party and the revolutionary mass organizations in the decisive war industries and in the harbors * * * By our struggle against the danger of imperialist war, we must prepare to convert the imperialist war into civil war.

EXHIBIT No. 220

[Source: Excerpts from the "Theses and Decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—December, 1933," published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: March, 1934; page 13]

* * * * *

In fighting *against war*, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, concentrate their forces in each country, at the *vital parts of the war machine* of imperialism.

EXHIBIT No. 221

[Source: "Thesis and Resolutions for the Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party of U. S. A. by Central Committee Plenum," March 31–April 4, 1930]

* * * * *

In view of this growing danger of war, the Communist Party must carry thru an intensive and continuous campaign for the popularization of Lenin's teachings on the struggle against war, propagating the slogan of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, the defeat of "our own" capitalist government, for the overthrow of "our own" bourgeoisie. [pages 13, 14]

EXHIBIT No. 222

[Source: "Thesis and Resolutions for the Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party of U. S. A. by Central Committee Plenum," March 31–April 4, 1930]

* * * * *

In all the mass activities of the T. U. U. L. the question of the fight against the impending imperialist war and the struggle in defense of the Soviet Union must be kept in the very foreground. [page 44]

EXHIBIT No. 223

[Source: "Theses and Resolutions for the Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party of U. S. A. by Central Committee Plenum," March 31-April 4, 1930]

* * * * *

The Party's shop work must be strengthened, not only to strengthen the regular units of the Party but especially to have the roots of the Party deep in the factories to meet the efforts of the bourgeoisie to drive the Party into illegality in this period of sharpened class struggles and preparation for imperialist war. [page 51]

EXHIBIT No. 224

[Source: The Communist, September, 1933, Vol. XII, No. 9. From an article entitled, "The Intensified Drive Toward Imperialist War," by W. Weinstone]

* * * * *

7. The center where these central tasks outlined above are to be carried out must be the factories, particularly the war industries. To do this, however, the Party must make an inner turn, it must really explain, based upon the last Central Committee letter, precisely why the anti-war struggle must now be based on the factories and trade unions. Only if our anti-war campaign is developed in the factories, munition plants, docks and ships can our struggle against war be effective. Only by such means can we actually paralyze the war plans of the American bourgeoisie; only in this way can the Soviet Union be defended from American imperialist intervention. The factories, the places of heavy industry, will be the necessary guarantees that it will be the proletariat that will lead, which is the only class capable to lead the anti-war movements of all non-proletarian stratas of the population. The next strategic places for the anti-war activities of the Party and the Y. C. L. must be within the armed forces, as well as within the various semi-military reforestation and concentration camps of adult unemployed and homeless youth. [pages 937, 938]

EXHIBIT No. 225

[Source: Communism in the United States, by Earl Browder, published by International Publishers Co., Inc., 1935]

* * * * *

These elements are valuable; their contribution to the League has been considerable, but they will themselves be the first to admit that the most important work of the League—rooting it among the workers in the basic and war industries, cannot be done by them, but only the trade unions and workers' organizations, and first of all by the Communists. [Page 266.]

EXHIBIT No. 226

[Source: Excerpt from "The Tasks of the C. I. in Connection With the Preparations of the Imperialists for a New World War—Resolution on the Report of Comrade Ercoli" International Press Correspondence, September 7, 1935, Vol. 15, No. 43, page 1128]

* * * * *

The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries must fight against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarization measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarization of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms.

EXHIBIT No. 227

[Source: Excerpt from "The Second American Youth Congress," by Leo Thompson, International Press Correspondence, August 31, 1935, Vol. 15, No. 42, page 1084]

* * * * *

It is imperative that the A. Y. C. becomes keenly mindful of the fact that only by entrenching itself in the factories, along with the working youth, in the centers of war production, in the trade unions—only by winning the working youth—can it really become a decisive force which cannot be destroyed by war or fascism. . . . The perspective of developing stoppages of work and anti-war strikes on the part of youth and adult workers in war industries should be raised. The whole question of militant anti-militarist activity in the factories should be dramatically stressed.

EXHIBIT No. 228

[Source: Excerpt from "Militant Action Against War on August First," by A. Ulrich, International Press Correspondence, August 10, 1935, Vol. 15, No. 34, page 874]

* * * * *

It is the duty of revolutionary opponents of war to advance by every means unity of action among the masses precisely in the nerve-centres of war-preparation.

EXHIBIT No. 229

[Source: Excerpt from "Fight Against War and Fascism," by Harry (Paris), International Press Correspondence, August 3, 1935, Vol. 15, No. 32, page 836]

* * * * *

In this situation it is necessary not only to talk of peace but to act against war. Therefore the anti-war movement has to approach those whose work is closely connected with war preparations, i. e., the workers of the armament and transport industries. It is one of the most important tasks laid down by the World Committee in its instructions to the national committee to win for active participation in the anti-war campaign the workers in the metal and chemical industries, without the help of which it is impossible to manufacture war material, the transport workers, without whose help the war material cannot be brought to the scenes of war. In the next few days the national and local committees will approach the trade unions and trade union meetings of these workers' categories in order to mobilize with their assistance the staffs of the transport and munitions factories. The committees will do everything in order to get the slogan of refusal to transport war material adopted and carried out. In addition, supervision committees for the prevention of war material transports are to be set up wherever possible during this great anti-war week.

EXHIBIT No. 230

[Source: Excerpt from "The International of Seamen and Harbour Workers in the Struggle Against War," International Press Correspondence, April 20, 1935, Vol. 15, No. 17, page 459]

* * * * *

Water-Transport Workers, live up to the traditions of the struggle against War.

Transport is called the vital artery of the bourgeoisie in peace and war. Standing as they do in this vitally strategic key position none can do more in the struggle against fascism, in the struggle against imperialist war than the international transport proletariat.

The water-transport workers have a good tradition in the fight against War. These traditions must now be renewed.

EXHIBIT No. 231

[Source: Excerpt from "Mass Campaign of the World Committee Against War and Fascism," by P. Rax; International Press Correspondence, April 13, 1935, Vol. 15, No. 16, page 435]

* * * * *

International meetings will be organized in order to express the determination of the toilers of all countries to fight against war and fascism. These meetings are also to serve to organize effectively the stopping of the transport of munitions and armaments.

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